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THE

Parliamentary Debates

FROM

THE YEAR

1803

TO THE PRESENT TIME:

FORMING A CONTINUATION OF THE WORK ENTITLED
" THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE EARLIEST
PERIOD TO THE YEAR 1803."

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THE FIFTH DAY OF APRIL
TO
THE THIRTY-FIRST DAY OF JULY
1804.

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Cabinet Ministers.

The Duke of Portland..........	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
The Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Right Hon. William Pitt	First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. (Prime Minister).
Viscount Melville..............	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Chatham	Master General of the Ordnance.
Lord Hawkesbury..............	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Harrowby	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Camden	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Lord Viscount Castlereagh	President of the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Lord Mulgrave..................	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Not of the Cabinet.

Right Hon. William Dundas....	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. George Canning	Treasurer of the Navy.
Right Hon. George Rose......	Joint Paymasters of his Majesty's Forces.
Rt. Hon. Lord Charles Somerset	
The Duke of Montrose........	Joint Postmasters General.
Lord Charles Spencer	
William Huskisson, Esq........	Secretaries of the Treasury.
William Sturges Bourne, Esq...	
Sir William Grant..............	Master of the Rolls.
Hon. Spencer Perceval	Attorney General.
Sir Thomas Manners Sutton	Solicitor General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Earl of Hardwicke...............	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Redesdale	Lord High Chancellor.
Sir Evan Nepean	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. Isaac Corry	Chancellor of the Exchequer. (See p. 1001)

THE

Parliamentary Debates

During the Second Session of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, and of the Kingdom of Great Britain the Nineteenth, appointed to meet at Westminster, the Twenty-second Day of November, 1803, in the Forty-fourth Year of the Reign of King GEORGE the Third. [*Sess.* 1803/4.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, April 5, 1804.

[MINUTES.]—Their Lordships met this day pursuant to adjournment.—The Earl of Westmeath, one of the Irish representative peers, and lord Grey de Howic, were sworn, and took their seats.—Mr. Fowler, from the commissioners of the customs, presented An Account of the balances and arrears due, from the several collectors at the ports in England, on the 5th of January last, as far as the same could be made up. Ordered to lie on the table.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—The order for committing the Scotch bank bill was discharged, and renewed for to-morrow.—The Earl of Dartmouth reported his Majesty's answer to a recent address of their lordships, respecting the production of certain state papers, the purport of which was, that his Majesty would give directions accordingly.

[VOLUNTEER CONSOLIDATION BILL.]—The order of the day being read, for the house to resolve itself into a committee upon this bill,

Lord *Grenville* observed, that with respect to a very important subject, forming a part of the present bill, and which had undergone some discussion previous to the recess, it was not his intention to offer any observations upon it in the committee, as he proposed, on a future day, to bring in a bill upon the subject.—Their lordships then went into a committee upon the bill, Lord Walsingham in the chair. The consideration of the preamble being postponed, the committee proceeded to discuss the clauses and provisions of the bill.

Lord *Grenville* proposed several amendments. One of these related to the exemptions, and which, in particular, gave rise to a discussion of some length. The noble lord observed, it should be clear and explicit, how far the exemptions, in certain cases, were meant to be extended. This was by no means the case, as the bill then stood: as, to qualify for these, it was necessary that returns of certain attendances at exercise, &c. should be made at three distinct periods of the year; the first of those was on or before the 1st of Jan. in each year, and the last was on the 21st of Sept. How a return could be made before the 1st of Jan. in each year, was to him inexplicable, yet so it was provided in the bill; and with respect to those volunteers who did not attend the days of exercise, &c. until after the 21st of Sept. as numbers of the working people could not, on account of the harvest, or other necessary occupations, great doubts obtained as the law at present stood. With a view to obviate these doubts, and to place that part of the measure under some systematic regulation, he moved an amendment to the effect, that no volunteers included in the returns made between the 1st of May 1803, and the 1st of May 1804, should be liable to any ballot which took place before the 1st of Aug. 1804.

Lord *Hawkesbury* observed, that a great deal of what fell from the noble lord referred to the principle of the bill, and not to any part which could regularly fall under the consideration of a committee. The operation of the bill was to be chiefly prospective; its object was to repeal the existing acts upon the subject, and to provide a system for the future regulation of the volunteer corps. He disapproved of the noble lord's amendment.

Lord *Harrowby* made some general observations upon what he considered as the total want of system or consistency in the conduct of ministers with respect to the volunteer corps, and adverted to certain parts of the bill, in illustration of his positions.

The *Lord Chancellor,* in debating those amendments, took an opportunity of condemning a practice which had pretty generally prevailed, not only among their lordships, but in another assembly also, and which had even found its way into various publications; he meant that which went to impute to the negligence or incapacity of his Majesty's law officers, all the confusion and inconsistency that was to be found in the various acts of parliament that were passed by the legislature from time to time. He could assert, from experience, that but few of those errors proceeded from them. But the fact was, that a bill, which was often prepared with the greatest care, underwent so many modifications in its progress through both the houses, and received so many amendments from what was called, how properly or not he would not take upon himself to say, the conjunctive wisdom of parliament, that it not unfrequently became, to a certain degree, inexplicable. As little did he approve of the frequent remarks that were made on the opinions of his Majesty's law officers on subjects of law. Did noble lords consider that these law officers (the Attorney and Solicitor General), were sworn to give their advice and opinion judicially to his Majesty? And, whenever they had done so, he thought it would have been better if the good old practice had been adhered to, and that the govt., which acted upon such advice, should have declared that such was their opinion, and not to have thrust forward upon most occasions, the opinions of those two law officers, as if they were not to be supported by the rest of his Majesty's ministers. Whenever the executive govt. chose to apply to those officers for their legal advice, it would be proper in that govt., if such advice were approved of and adopted, to promulgate it to the country as their own opinion. His lordship paid some handsome compliments to the ability and industry of the Attorney and Solicitor General, in which he was joined by Lords Grenville and Harrowby, who disclaimed any intention of insinuating any thing to the prejudice of persons whom they highly respected.

Lord *Grenville* proposed an amendment, tending to prevent any further increase of the volunteer force, by omitting that part of the bill which authorizes his Majesty to accept the services of any corps that in his discretion he may deem proper. His lordship supported his amendment by arguments drawn from the actual number of the volunteers, being no less in Great Britain than 360,000, and the injury that any further addition to it must produce to other parts of our defence, and particularly to the army and militia. His lordship was supported by Earls Spencer and Carnarvon, Lords King and Darnley, and opposed by the Lord Chancellor, Earls Romney, Winchelsea, Westmorland, Lords Hawkesbury, Hobart, Auckland, Rous, and several other noble peers, on the grounds that it was indispensably necessary for the preservation of a system, the admirable tendency of which was generally admitted, that his Majesty should be vested with a power sufficient to counteract the possible ill effects of the principle of resignation; and that, they contended, could only be effected by giving his Majesty authority to accept of service from new corps. The amendment was rejected after a long discussion.

Lord *Grenville* next moved an addition to the same clause, by which his Majesty should be restricted from accepting the service of any greater number of volunteers than what they should amount to at the passing of this act. As the house seemed to disapprove of fettering the discretion of his Majesty as to the acceptance of future offers of service, the noble lord thought that the least injurious mode of keeping up the number would be by filling up vacancies in the old corps as they should occur, and not by accepting offers from new corps. His lordship's amendment was rejected.

When the clause relative to the exemptions was read,

Lord *Grenville* called the attention of their lordships to an amendment which he had to propose. Although he might be induced to agree to the principle of granting exemptions in certain cases, he could not, by any consideration, bring himself to consent to the extension of them to the individuals of corps which might be enrolled hereafter. The conduct of govt. in the adoption of the measure, was very contradictory; for, after all the checks and difficulties which they had thrown in the way of the volunteer system, after attempting to counteract, by circular letters and other means, the increase of the volunteer corps, they now came forward for the purpose of augmenting the numbers, by carrying the exemptions to a greater length than was at first intended, and admitted by themselves to be impolitic. They were, in reality, rescinding their own acts; and the effect, he had no doubt, would ultimately prove injurious to the ballot for the militia and the army of reserve. After a recapitulation of several arguments which he formerly used, his lordship concluded with moving an amendment to the clause, "that the words, 'to be enrolled hereafter,' be left out."

Lord *Hawkesbury* opposed the amendment, and entered at some length into the nature and constitution of the volunteer force, and the circumstances under which it had been formed. He defended the granting of the exemptions from the reasonableness of the thing, that volunteers should have them whose services were extended to every part of the kingdom, in the same manner as those of the militia. It was proper that these exemptions should be continued to any corps that might hereafter be formed, in order to have them all on the same footing, especially as it was not at present in contemplation to increase the numbers of the volunteers.

Lord *Harrowby* spoke in favour of the amendment, and against the exemptions. He thought ministers reprehensible for fluctuation and inconsistency. Though they found the volunteer system in part established, yet the circumstances of the country, under which that system was set on foot by his Majesty's former confidential servants, were very different from the present. Till now invasion was never seriously expected. Though he thought the amendment right, he acknowledged he did not see any considerable practicable consequences, as it seemed to be the intention of his Majesty's ministers not to extend the number of volunteers.

Lord *Hobart* supported the clause as it originally stood, and stated the motives of his conduct in writing the letter of the 20th of June, or rather the postscript of it. As far as he could at that time divine the intention of himself and colleagues, he thought it was likely the exemptions would be denied. He, therefore, conceived it would be the safest mode to repress any expectation of that sort in the volunteers.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* was in favour of the amendment, and thought the exemptions extremely injudicious.

The *Lord Chancellor* entered into a minute defence of the clause. The question, he said, was, whether it was politic at this moment to extend the exemptions to such volunteers as might in future be inrolled? He conceived it was; and, therefore, the measure had his support. In fact, the exemptions now contended for were, by this very act, lodged in the discretion of the crown.

Lord *Caernarvon* opposed the clause, and thought that discretion of the crown that was to be exercised by his Majesty's present ministers should be carefully guarded against. The ballot he thought oppressive and unjust.

Lord *King* said, that in the parallels drawn between the volunteers of last war and this, it was always forgotten, that in the last war the exemptions did not apply till the militia was complete. In this, the volunteer system was coexistent with the ballot for the militia. The exemptions, he thought, injurious, and supported the amendment.

Lord *Bolton* thought the exemptions originally wrong, but as they could not now be taken away without introducing variation of service in the same corps, he was against the amendment.

Lord *Westmorland* was decidedly against the amendment, thinking the exemption useful. He could not conceive how the recruiting of the regular army oculd be impeded by it; and as to ballots, unless no man was to be found in the parish, he did not see how the militia, or army of reserve, were losers.

Earl *Spencer* defended the amendment, and pointed out the inconsistency and impolicy of the clause. It materially affected the recruiting the regular army, as by narrowing the number to which ballots for the militia and army of reserve applied, the prices for substitutes were increased, and of course the competition of the recruiting parties for the army was injured.

Lord *Auckland* supported the original clause on the ground of its justice, consistency and policy.

Lord *Grenville* replied to the arguments advanced against his amendments: as to variation of service in the same corps, nothing was more common now. This was evidently the case with supernumeraries of all sorts, and, with respect to the exemptions of this act, some men who served 5 days had one exemption, those who served 20 another. In short, these variations were common. He refuted with great force and happy effect, the assertion of the noble lord who spoke last, and shewed that nothing could be more unjust, inconsistent, or impolitic than the clause in question.

Lord *Winchelsea* considered all the volunteers entitled to exemptions, both in point of justice and of gratitude. Besides the time that they gave up to acquire military discipline, the expense which every volunteer incurred was greater than would have been sufficient to purchase the exemptions, by subscribing to indemnify himself against being drawn in the militia or army of reserve.

Lord *Romney* supported the clause on nearly the same ground. He however expressed an opinion, that a much greater volunteer force should be raised, and particularly in the maritime counties; and he thought those who should in future join were equally entitled to exemptions.

Earl *Camden* thought, that originally the volunteer army might have been raised without granting those exemptions; but since they were granted to the volunteers now existing, he thought they should be also extended to those who might in future be joined to them. He agreed with the noble lord who spoke last, that there should be a considerable increase of volunteer force in the maritime counties. This was, he said, almost the unanimous wish of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county of Kent, at a public meeting which he had attended.—The house then divided on the clause as it originally stood.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, April 5.

[Minutes.]—This day the house met pursuant to adjournment.—A message was received from the secretary of state's office for Ireland, presenting An Account of the exports and imports, in pursuance of a previous order of the house.—A message was received from the Lords, announcing their concurrence with the innkeeper's allowance bill, and several other public and private bills that had passed the house previously to the recess.—Mr. Creevey moved, that the order of the day of the 17th instant, for taking into consideration the petition against the undue election of the county of Stirling be read, in order to be discharged. The order having been read and discharged accordingly, the hon. member then moved, that the petition be taken into consideration on Tuesday the first of May, which was agreed to.—Mr. Sec. Yorke, in pursuance of a former order of the house, brought up lists of such militia corps in Ireland as had volunteered their services to Great-Britain, which were ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed for the use of the members.—Sir J. Anderson, in pursuance of a former order of the house, brought up certain accounts relating to the armed shipping of the country, which were ordered to be printed. — Mr. Vansittart moved for the production of the accounts of the outstanding exchequer bills of last year, which was accordingly ordered.—Mr. Corry brought in a bill to amend the existing laws for the better regulation of the linen manufactory in Ireland, which was read a first and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—Mr. Corry moved that the Irish flax seed bill be printed, which was accordingly ordered. — Lord Castlereagh, in pursuance of a previous order of the house, brought up a copy of the correspondence that had taken place between the govt. of India, and the King of Candy, in relation to the causes of the present war, which was ordered to be printed.—Mr. Fergus in pursuance of a former order, presented certain accounts from the Excise Office, which was ordered to lie on the table.—The Dublin police bill was read a second time and ordered to be committed.

[Liskeard Election.]—Mr. *Sheridan* moved, that the order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate on the election of Liskeard be read, which having been read accordingly,

The *Speaker* recalled the attention of the house to the situation of the debate on the day of its adjournment. The original motion was, that the order of the day for taking into considerrtion the petition of Mr. Huskisson on the 9th instant be read in order to be discharged.—The question therefore having been accordingly put, that the said order be discharged,

Mr. *Burroughs* rose, and opposed the discharge of the order. He animadverted particularly on the inconsistency of Mr. Sheridan's opposing, in the first instance, the legality of the return, and on the next day objecting to the legality of the election. He contended, that the petition of Mr. Huskisson did not complain of a double return, but of the inconveniency of being prevented from taking his seat, by means of a schedule annexed to the indenture of his election, purporting to be a return, but which in fact, was nothing, as it had not been legally signed by the returning officer. He laid the more stress upon this, as neither of the petitions denied the mayor to be the legal returning officer. The question to be tried by the committee was quite competent to the house, as Mr. Sheridan had given up the double return, and concluded by urging, that there was no reason whatever for discharging the order in question.

The *Secretary at War* stated, that he had formerly moved the adjournment, in order that members, as there existed some difficulty in regard to the rules of the house on the subject, might have time to make up their minds, and to ascertain the usual practice of the house in such cases. The hon. gent. who had just sat down, he thought, had gone much further than he ought, as the decision of the house on a former day in referring the question of return to a committee had completely superceded every opinion in that respect. But the petition of Mr. Huskisson, he contended, did complain of a double return, or a false return, which to all intents and purposes was the same thing, so far as the proceedings of the house were concerned, and which equally required the appointment of a committee. He argued farther, that Mr. Sheridan might withdraw his petition against the return, and support, notwithstanding, the rights of his election. The right hon. gent. adverted minutely to every objection that could be started, and concluded by warmly supporting the motion.

Mr. *Henderson* could not be convinced, notwithstanding all that had been said, that the return in question was a double return; not a single allegation even in Mr. Sheridan's petition went to make a double return of such a nature as required the interference of the Grenville act. He argued that the conduct of the sheriff was highly culpable, and adduced several cases, to shew that the house ought not to be deprived of the presence of members, either from caprice in the electors, or obstinacy in a disappointed candidate. He argued that no return was good, unless signed by the returning officer; but the return in question was not only not signed, but was positively refused to be signed by the mayor, who was allowed on all hands to be the returning officer.

Mr. *Sheridan*, at some length, repelled the various objections that had been offered. He maintained that Mr. Huskisson's petition did complain of a double return, and turned over to the words which he apprehended must admit of that construction. At any rate the double return had been already recognized by the house, in as much as they had sent it to a committee. So far was the conduct of the sheriff to be condemned, that measures were now taking against the mayor, on account of his obstinacy, in refusing to sign the return in question. The double return, however, was not the shape in which they wished the business to go to the committee. They wished the right only to be considered certain, that in that respect they must have a very decided superiority.

Mr. *W. Dundas* opposed the motion from the inconveniency of keeping the house empty by such measures, and defeating the legal representation of the country. He would appeal to both parties if the schedule in question was not a paper which they could both wish had never existed; but as he already perceived the inclinations of the house, he was unwilling to trespass on their time.—The question was then put and carried, that the order should be discharged. And on the motion of Mr. Sheridan, that the said petition be taken into consideration on the 3d of May next, the day appointed for the consideration of Mr. Sheridan's petition.

Mr. *Burroughs* then moved, according to a standing order of the house, that the petition of Mr. Huskisson be heard first, as they were now both fixed for the same day.

The *Speaker* begged leave to remind the hon. gent. that the standing order of the house, to which he had alluded, applied only to the conduct of committees in regard to the priority in question.

Mr. *Somers Cox* moved, that the order for the consideration of the right be now read, in order that it might be postponed to the same day fixed for the petitions. His reason was, that the parties that would be in consequence of this business brought up to London, might not be detained longer than was absolutely necessary.

The *Secretary at War* observed, that, if the question of right was once ascertained, the other two questions would follow of course, and would therefore save the trouble of any farther attendance of witnesses.

Mr. *Sheridan* did not think, that any witnesses that might be brought up would refuse their farther attendance.

Mr. *Cox* then stated that, on account of the thinness of the house, he was willing to withdraw his motion, and gave notice that he would again bring it forward to-morrow.

Mr. *Sheridan* presented another petition respecting the Liskeard election, which was ordered to be taken into consideration with the others, formerly presented, on the 3d of May next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, April 6.

[MINUTES.] — The comittee upon the Irish priests and deacon's bill, which stood for this day, was, on the suggestion of the Bishop of St. Asaph, postponed till Thursday.—On the motion of Lord Auckland, certain accounts respecting the capital, &c. of the Scotch bank were ordered to be laid before the house; these were moved for, his lordship observed, from no inclination on his part to oppose the measure, but from the accounts moved for being necessary, he understood, for the due illustration of the subject.—The bankers' bill, and the Irish militia families provision bill, were brought up by Mr. Alexander from the commons.—Three private bills were brought up by Mr. Duncombe and other gentlemen; these were severally read a first time.—On the motion of the Bishop of St. Asaph, all the lords present during this session were ordered to be members of the committee on the St. Pancras poor bill.

[VOLUNTEER CONSOLIDATION BILL.]—The house having resolved itself into a committee on this bill, and the clause being read, which provides that volunteers shall be "exempt from serving in any additional force, raised, or to be raised, for the defence of the realm, under any act of the last session of parliament,"

Earl *Spencer* moved to add the words, "or in an act that may be passed in the present, or any subsequent session of parliament." He observed, that by an act of the 43d of the King, exemptions were given to the volunteers from any force to be raised by virtue of any future act of parliament; that act would be repealed by this, and the volunteers would have no other exemption than that which was provided for by this bill, which would be only from such additional force as might be raised under the acts of future session. Any additional force that might be raised under future acts, they would not be exempt from. This was narrowing the exemptions to which the faith of parliament was pledged. In raising a corps in his own neighbourhood, he had stated to the persons whom he invited to become members of it, as it was his duty to do, the exemptions of the act of the 43d of the King, as part of their compensation for their services. If his amendment should be rejected, what would it be his duty now to do? To tell those very persons, that he had believed parliament would have kept its faith with them, but it had not. The time at which govt. propose to take away the volunteers' exemptions from service in any additional force to be raised by future acts of parliament, made this breach of good faith more striking, since they have declared their intention of ballotting for men, to form a body, to supply the troops of the line with recruits; and this is proposed as a permanent system for a new kind of army of reserve.

The *Lord Chancellor* objected to the amendment, because it went to continue a practice, become too frequent of late years of binding future parliaments. The power of parliament could not be bound, as, at all future times, it must be left to its discretion; and the honour of parliament ought not to be bound, without strong necessity. In the present case, he saw no reason for such pledge, because he conceived the construction of the clause, as it now stands, would exempt volunteers from any additional force, raised under any new act, unless such act should specifically take away that exemption. The only proper way in which parliament could bind itself, would be by declaring the exemption when such new act come to be passed.

Lord *Grenville* did not deny the power of parliament to recall its pledge, although he was not one of those who used the foolish, and he had almost said impious, phrase of the omnipotence of parliament. But this could only be, in some such case, as it would be difficult to suppose or argue so generally. And that parliament might wisely bind itself, in the way he had already limited, was plain in the case of the laws which secure the public creditor. He did not think it prudent to introduce the question of parliament not keeping its faith, as it might be supposed to express something not in the contemplation of the speaker. The only point here was, whether the promise was one to which parliament would continue to pledge its faith? And he would confess, he could scarcely conceive any one which so imperious demanded such explicit declaration and pledge. The vote of parliament was a record to which the public creditor could resort in the case of money; and, in the present instance, it would be a record of the same nature to the volunteer. If the amendment should be rejected, the record which is the pledge to the volunteer, would be withdrawn, and every man of plain understanding would conclude that parliament does not intend to continue those exemptions it had promised by the former act. The clause, as it now stands, alters the extent of the exemptions, the persons to whom exemptions are given, and the conditions on which they are given.

The Earl of *Caernarvon* said, if the amendment was rejected, the good faith of parliament would now be actually broken; and it would be impossible longer for any man to place any confidence in parliament. It was not for the house to say, parliament will keep its faith with the volunteers, when any additional force comes to be raised under future acts. No! the faith of parliament was to be kept now, by continuing the exemptions of the former act; or broken now, by passing the present clause.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he had contended for the only way in which the faith of parliament could be preserved. His lordship then repeated his former arguments.

Earl *Spencer* rose to say, how impossible it was for him to express his surprise at the argument of the noble and learned lord. He had never heard any thing which did so much surprise him. He considered it as a subterfuge, to take away the volunteer's exemptions, by legal distinctions and subtleties. If the clause passed, he should look upon himself as having been tricked into kidnapping men by false offers. His personal pledge would be destroyed, and the faith of parliament violated. He saw their lordships thought him warm. But so highly did he prize the honour of parliament, he would rather see his own personal honour tarnished than that of parliament, and he hoped every one who heard him would know how valuable his honour was to him. It might be said the volunteers may resign, if they are now dissatisfied with the exemptions. It ought never to be so put. He did not, however, think they would resign. He knew too well their zeal and courage. But surely this was not a reason for depriving them of any benefits that had been promised them.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, the noble earl had argued as if he had advised parliament to trick the volunteers of their exemptions, by what he was pleased to call legal subterfuge and subtleties. He would inform the noble earl, that he had as high a regard to the honour of parliament and to his own honour, as the noble earl; and he meant by that to express his feelings of the injustice done him, since he could not wish for a higher character, as a public man, nor a higher character as a private man, than that of his lordship. He begged leave to restate his argument, if he might presume to call it such. His lordship then repeated his former argument.

Lord *Ellenborough* objected to the amendment on the same principle as the Lord Chancellor.

The Duke of *Montrose* lamented the warmth which had entered into the debate. He was sorry to see noble lords agitated in the manner the house had witnessed. He wished his noble friends to consider this amendment candidly; and he confessed, he saw it as a reasonable and just demand of the noble earl in behalf of the volunteers.—A long conversation followed this; after which,

The *Lord Chancellor* observed, that if the amendment was adopted, all the volunteers who might be hereafter raised, would be entitled to the exemptions from any additional force to be raised under future acts, as well as those to whom the promise of parliament had been made, which went beyond the scope of the noble earl's argument. He, therefore, recommended the noble earl to withdraw this amendment; and suffering the clause to pass, to move an amendment afterwards, specifically to give the volunteers, now in existence, the exemption contended for.

Earl *Spencer* said, govt. had chosen to contend, and the house had resolved, that all the volunteers that might hereafter be raised, should be entitled to the same exemptions as those now existing. He had not introduced that question to be re-argued. He was, therefore, bound to take that as he found it by the decision last night, and to make the amendment generally.—The house divided on the amendment,

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Lord *Grenville* said, he rose for the purpose of proposing another amendment, which both justice and policy required. By the returns on the table, the wole number of volunteers amounted to 360 or 380,000. Among these the same returns specified about 4 or 5,000, who originally tendered their services generally, unclogged by any condition of exemption whatever. Though averse for the reasons stated last night to the principle of exemption, it was not to be supposed that he could think its extension to so inconsiderable a portion of the volunteers would be of any material consequence, much less could those noble lords who seemed, last night, to think so little of the number of volunteers, when those who, on account of age and families, were exempted, were deducted, would remain subject to the ballots for the army of reserve and militia. It was true, he did not confide implicitly in the accuracy of the returns as to either class, but still the number of volunteers, of the description to which he now referred, was known to be very inconsiderable. Such as they were, in point of numbers, it was, however, obvious, that in point of zeal and spirit, they stood distinguished highly to their advantage. Govt., however, wholly unmindful of this circumstance, proceeded in their conduct towards this meritorious class of volunteers with a kind of Jewish rigidity. Such was the letter of their agreement, and they must fulfil it. When the number of these exemptions was considered, the greatest enemy to the principle of exemption might relax something to such prompt and confiding loyalty as these volunteers had shewn. But, it was wonderful how govt., which had so warmly contended for exemptions to the whole class of volunteers now in existence, and yet to come, could so far set all consistency at defiance, as to introduce a proviso for the express purpose of taking it away from them. Before this class of volunteers were tied down to the strict letter of their offer, let it be considered under what circumstances it was made. The circular letter of the noble Sec. of State on the 20th of June, held out to the public the opinion and intention of govt. relative to exemptions; it was a kind of public declaration that they ought not to be allowed. The noble and learned lord (the Chancellor) had said, that the bill, allowing those exemptions, passed through all its stages in due form. It might so, but let it be recollected that these stages did not commence till the 9th of Aug.; and that in the course of that day and the two following the bill passed. Now, from the 20th of June to the 9th of Aug. all that was known to the public was, that govt. thought no exemptions should be allowed. What, therefore, was more natural, than that this very expression of opinion, might call forth the very terms of offer, which, now that govt. had changed its own opinion, it ungraciously attempted to perpetuate on those who, from a sense of duty, had been induced nobly to step forward and make a tender of their services, on terms less favourable than what they might have obtained? These were the sentiments which a fair and liberal construction of these terms of offer would suggest; but take them in the strictest letter, even there his lordship contended they were and should be exempt. Though govt. themselves brought in the clause that, against the general tenor of the bill and their own public opinions, introduced the exemptions, they were so little conversant in its meaning, that they could not comprehend its effect, till they had consulted the law officers of the crown. He was sorry to advert to the opinions given on that occasion, but must observe, that though the Attorney and Solicitor Generals declared they thought the description of volunteers, now alluded to, could not withdraw their terms of offer, though the opinion of govt. and the provisions of the act were altered, they had yet not thought proper to assign any reason for that opinion, and, by what they subsequently said, it rather appeared that they were not very confident in it; for, in pointing out the remedy for the case of this description, of claiming exemption, their revision and advice is altogether of a political nature, and does not at all partake of that precise and technical character which legal redress would have done. It commands the commanders of corps not to make the returns they would otherwise be bound to make. Possessing personal respect for those two gentlemen, the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, his lordship yet was obliged to differ in opinion with them, as to the strict and legal construction of the act, the terms of which clearly, to his apprehension, did convey to this class of volunteers the right of exemption belonging to others. Were it even otherwise, the honour and consistency of parliament should interpose. These men, under a mistaken notion of the sentiments of govt. had generously come forward; and unless it was corrected, might be said to be entrapped into offers they would not otherwise have thought of making. For these reasons his lordship moved an amendment to the proviso, leaving out the exception which it contained to volunteers of this description.

Lord *Hobart* said, the noble lord supported every proposition he made with such ability, that it was a task of no inconsiderable difficulty to rise in opposition to his arguments. He thought, however, the noble lord seemed bent on objecting to every part of the bill, whether for or against exemptions. As the matter now stood, it rested in the discretion of the crown to continue or not those non-exemptions. Notwithstanding the legal opinions given, it was clear, from what even his lordship said, that doubts prevailed on the point, and if so, it was certainly a fit subject for the decision of parliament, which, by this proviso, left an adequate discretion in his Majesty, while it adhered to the terms of the original offers. He therefore should vote against the amendment.

The Earl of *Romney* said, the language used by the noble secretary, was not very parliamentary. The motives alluded to were not to be ascribed to noble lords. He should exercise his own judgment; and, he confessed, he approved of the amendment. He thought all the volunteers ought to enjoy the same exemptions, and certainly those ought not to be excepted, who were most meritorious.

Lord *Hawkesbury* thought this should be left to the discretion of his Majesty's government.

The Earl of *Caernarvon* supported the amendment.

The *Lord Chancellor* opposed it, and insisted that the clause contained no greater powers than ought to be entrusted to his Majesty at such a momentous crisis as the present.—A division then took place on the amendment.

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Lord *Grenville* said, that after what had fallen from the noble lord, he could have no doubt but the words were sufficient to satisfy the enlightened minds of judges of the supreme courts of law, but as they might come under the consideration of those who had not the advantages of such superior understandings nor such extensive legal study, he could wish the words "shall be" should be admitted, in order to take away any doubts that might arise in the minds of deputy lieutenants, justices of the peace, and others, who did not possess the advantages of the noble and learned lord, and of other judges of the land. As to the noble lord's objection to his being strenuous for a nicety and discrimination in the wording of an act of parliament, it was the first time he ever heard of its being made. The general complaint of all judges, and others who had to judge of them, had been, as far as he recollected, the direct contrary, and they had too generally, and too truly been taxed with the vague, loose, and uncertain manner in which they were worded. He condemned the bill *in toto.* In his opinion, every clause, sentence, line, and word, required amendment. He did not wonder at it, when he considered the uniform and unremitting inconsistency of his Majesty's present ministers, and when he reflected on their known incapacity for the stations they now filled, from that want of confidence he must naturally have in every thing they proposed, he could not but be extremely cautious how he ventured to trust any extraordinary powers in their hands.

Lord *Hobart* said, his Majesty's ministers could not but seriously lament the loss of the noble lord's support; and having sustained so great a loss, he did not wonder to hear him disapprove their measures, and roundly charge them with inconsistency. With the noble lord's support, it seemed ministers had also lost his confidence. This, too, was not to him any great matter of surprise; but by way of consolation, his Majesty's ministers had the supreme satisfaction to reflect, that they still possessed the confidence of that, and the other house of parliament, and, he believed, of a very great majority of the public also; and while they had that, they had a right to bring forward such measures as they deemed necessary for the defence of the country, however those measures might be disapproved by the noble lord. As the amendment did not seem to him to be at all necessary, he should resist it.

Lord *King* said, that no person really hostile to the government would wish to narrow their discretion relative to the volunteers. What discretion they had exercised they had so abused, that the greater the enmity to them the more that discretion would be extended. The noble sec. of state had boasted of ministers enjoying the confidence of the house; perhaps that was an enjoyment that would not be of long continuance. As to the confidence of the public, he thought they did not possess any great share of it, for he really believed that the news of a splendid victory, or even what was still more desirable, the certainty of a treaty of peace being signed, would not inspire the people with so much real joy as an assurance of the present ministers being dismissed.

Lord *Hawkesbury* defended ministers against the charge of inconsistency. He had acted during the last war with the noble lord who made it, and with the then ministry, the greater part of whose conduct he highly approved, and they were charged with many acts of inconsistency; the reason of which was, that war produced new events, and new events new measures. The same was the case in the present war. Measures unlooked for, and untried before, were obliged to be resorted to, and when tried, were obliged to be changed. The argument, however, urged by the noble lord, that the King's ministers had lost the public confidence, was neither just nor constitutional. They were the organs of the crown, and were therefore entitled to confidence in all measures which were pressing for the defence of the country. If the house disapproved those measures, they should send an address to the throne for the dismissal of ministers, and not endeavour to take away that confidence which was so necessary to their well doing, by broad assertions that they had lost it. A noble duke had said, that ministers had before the recess promised to bring forward a complete system on the subject of the volunteers. For his own part, he never heard of any such promise; all that had been promised was, that they thought it necessary some further provisions should be made to what had been then done. As to the amendment, he thought it unnecessary, and should resist it.

The Duke of *Montrose* said, what he had stated was, that ministers had, before the recess, promised to bring forward a system on the volunteers, and they had only brought in a bill, which was a blank, and which had been made up by alterations and amendments, suggested by ingenious and well meaning members of another assembly, who had kindly endeavoured to take it out of its original chaos and confusion, and to put it into some shape and form, applicable to the purpose for which it was professed to be first intended. Hence arose its almost innumerable defects. He could not but condemn the bill, and must oppose it in almost every part; but, in so doing, it was by no means his intention to embarrass his majesty's ministers; on the contrary, he would endeavour to assist them, by giving them information of all those parts he thought exceptionable, in order that they might give them consideration, and be prepared to alter or amend them as they might think was best.

Lord *King* said, he had drawn from both the first and second sec. of state, a warm boast of their enjoyment of the public confidence, but he still continued of opinion that all the confidence they possessed, was in their own confident statements.

The Earl of *Caernarvon* said, he was surprised at the language used by the noble sec. of state (Hawkesbury), that it was unconstitutional to say in that house, that ministers had lost the public confidence. He contended that it was, on the contrary, strictly constitutional; and, so far was it from being unjust, that he perfectly coincided in opinion with the noble lord (King) near him, by whom it had been advanced.

The *Lord Chancellor* defended what had been said by his noble friend (lord Hawkesbury). He did not deny that it was constitutional to say ministers had lost the public confidence; but it was only fair that any noble lord who made the assertion should mention the grounds on which he made it, and follow it up with an address to his Majesty to dismiss such ministers. Amidst all this talk about confidence, however, the noble lords opposite should take into their consideration, that suppose his Majesty's present ministers should be removed, they might, perhaps, be succeeded by those who would really possess no more of the confidence of those noble lords than the present ministers did. His lordship conjured their lordships either to give them a continuation of their confidence or to move for their dismissal.

Lord *Grenville* defended the right which every individual had of opposing the entrusting of discretionary powers to ministers in whom he could place no confidence. He insisted that it was the duty of every one who held such an opinion, to refuse to ministers those supplies without which the executive govt. could not be carried on. This was the check imposed upon the crown by the constitution. He agreed in the good intentions of ministers. He never meant to say of them, or of any individuals in the kingdom, that they were not eager to promote the public welfare as far as lay in their power. But he did say, that their minds were not equal to the duties of their station at the present crisis, and the want of confidence in them was rapidly increasing.

The Earl of *Limerick* compared the conduct of the opposition to the Kings of France and England attacking one city. The inhabitants refused to surrender till they found which of the Kings was the strongest. But the Sovereigns resolved to attack the city in concert, and then to fight between themselves for the possession of it.—After a few words from Lord Harrowby, the Duke of Montrose, and the Lord Chancellor, the amendment was rejected.

Earl *Darnley* then moved, as an amendment, that no volunteer should be entitled to exemptions who had not offered to serve in any part of Great Britain in case of invasion. This was opposed by Lords Romney, Winchelsea, and Egremont, who contended that it would be a breach of faith to the volunteers to narrow the exemptions under which they had been embodied.—Earl Darnley then consented to withdraw his amendment, for the purpose of introducing another, the effect of which was to deprive all volunteers of exemptions who had not offered to serve in the military district to which they belonged.—This amendment was opposed upon the same grounds as the former, and after some consideration, the noble lord was induced to withdraw it.—The clause was then agreed to, and the house being resumed, the committee was ordered to sit again on Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, April 6, 1804.

[Minutes.]—Lord John Campbell took his seat for the first time since his election for the county of Argyle, together with the usual oaths.—On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, an order was made for laying before the house, accounts of all imports into Great Britain, exclusive of grain, from April 1803 to April 1804; also, accounts of all British exports, and of the net produce of the permanent taxes during the said period.—The accounts presented from the Excise Office, were ordered to be printed for the use of the members.—Mr. Irvine, the inspector general of exports and imports, presented at the bar, the accounts moved for by Mr. Vansittart.—Mr. Sec. Yorke moved, that the accounts which he had presented on a former day, of those Irish militia regiments who had made a voluntary tender of their services to serve in Great-Britain, be withdrawn, on account of some error in the same. This was done; and he presented other accounts, which were ordered to be printed.—Mr. Vansittart brought up certain accounts relative to the 7th art. of the convention between this country and the United States of America. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Dent postponed for a week longer his intended motion concerning the loyalty loan.—Lord A. Hamilton gave notice, that on Thursday next he should bring forward a motion on the subject of payments made at par to the officers belonging to the Irish govt. in this country.—On the motion of Mr. Corry, an order was made, that the house should resolve itself into a committee on Monday next, to consider of making a provision to enable the lord lieut. of Ireland to augment the militia of that country. Mr. Corry at the same time said, he had authority to state, that this measure was recommended by his Majesty.

[WAR IN INDIA.]—Mr. *Francis* said, it must be in the recollection of several members of the house, that he had lately made some propositions to the house respecting the war that was entered into, and carried on by the direction of the British governor-general in India, without the consent or knowledge of the govt. of this country. Since he had offered that proposition to the house, he had seen published in the Court Gazette of this country, as well as in dispatches coming from the India-house, the accounts of many important events, of which the advices had been recently received. From the circumstance of these accounts having been published in the Gazette, he was justified in concluding, that ministers must have received some further advices from India. And he thought it might be useful to bring this subject again before the house, in order that the noble lord (Castlereagh) might have an opportunity of giving some explanation upon it. He thought it necessary to observe, that the military successes obtained by our army in India formed no part of the question on which he meant to rest his proposition. A war might be attended with the most brilliant success, and yet have been undertaken contrary to law, and on the most unjustifiable grounds. On the other hand, a war might be undertaken on the most wise and just principles, and prove disastrous in the end. Therefore, the circumstance of the war in India having been successful, could form no part of the consideration, whether that war had been improperly undertaken or not. His object now was, to know from the noble lord, whether it would be convenient to him to state to the house, any communication that might have been received from the govt. in India, relative to the cause of that war. It appeared from the official dispatches, that the army under General Wellesley was in motion, in the beginning of Aug. last; therefore, there was ground to conclude, that the orders he had received must have been of a much earlier date than that period. Such great operations as those, which appeared to have taken place in India, must have been a subject of long deliberation; much preparation must have been made, and the business must have been determined upon in the council at Calcutta, three months at least before the commencement of hostilities. That determination then must have been made in May last. What he wanted to ask, therefore, was, whether the Marquis of Wellesley had advised the Court of Directors of such a resolution; whether a report had been made to them of the plan, the grounds, and the projects of the intended hostilities? There certainly was sufficient time for them to have received an account of any resolutions that might have been taken in Calcutta since May last. This was all he wanted the noble lord to explain. He should then move, "That there be laid before the house, copies or extracts of all dispatches received by the directors of the East-India company, from the governor-general of Bengal, or from either of the presidencies of Fort George or Bombay; so far as the same related to the hostilities lately carried on with the Mahratta states."

Lord *Castlereagh* thought it would be much more proper to wave the discussion of this subject until the practical question should come fully before the house. The same reasons which had induced him on a former day to resist a proposition brought forward by the hon. gent., made it necessary for him to oppose the present. In point of fact, he could assure the hon. gent., that no direct communication had been received from Bengal, either by sea or land, concerning the hostilities in question. The advices that were received came from the presidencies; and it was from these the court of directors had the accounts of the brilliant successes which took place in India. He was ready to admit, that these successes made no part of the question, whether the war had been properly undertaken or not. At the same time, he thought it necessary, in order that no conclusion might be drawn to the prejudice of the noble marquis at the head of the govt. in India, to state that no advices had been received from him later than the 26th of June last. With respect to communications overland, they had of late been very slow; and he could not account for the delay of these advices through that conveyance, which were long expected. It was true, the measures which led to the war arose out of a treaty that had been concluded some months before; but govt. was not yet in possession of the resolutions of the govt. and council relative to the war. He hoped, however, the business would be looked upon as a whole, and not in a confined or partial manner It would be impossible to form an accurate judgment on the transaction, until dispatches were received from the supreme govt. in India, and until then, he wished the hon. gent. might forbear making any motion on the subject.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, he could not forbear expressing his astonishment that govt. had received no information as to the grounds upon which hostilities had been commenced in India. There were three opportunities of conveying information on the subject from Bengal. An overland dispatch was sent off on the 9th of Sept. from that place; and two vessels had since sailed from thence. The act of parliament positively prescribed, that information concerning war should be conveyed as speedily as possible; and it was extraordinary, that no information had been sent to this country relative to the causes of the war; and even if the information should arrive, there was danger, from its probable length, and the time necessary for printing it, that it could not be taken into consideration before the present session of parliament should pass away. As far as he was able to judge of the battle which took place on the 23d of last Sept., he could not see in it any of the fruits of a victory. He hoped he should be disappointed in his apprehensions concerning that combat; but he thought it most extraordinary and unaccountable that the information the house had a right to expect, had never been conveyed to it.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that his Majesty's ministers were in possession of the discussions which took place between Scindea and General Wellesley, and which led to hostilities in the Mahratta country, but they were not in possession of any documents that could shew what had been the governor general's view of the subject, when he gave directions to commence hostilities. At present it was not candid to suppose that he had neglected any opportunity of making the necessary communications, because one or two ships might have happened to sail from Bengal, without bringing any dispatches from him.

Mr. *Francis* said, he knew none of the parties concerned in those transactions to which he alluded, and therefore he could not be supposed to act from prejudice towards any of them. But this he knew, and from the knowledge he had of India, and his residence there, he thought it his duty to state it; that one of the leading principles always inculcated there was to preserve the peace of India, and no governor had a right to enter upon a war from his own authority. It was a most lamentable thing to hear of wars being now carried on along the Malabar coast and north of Delhi. He was not now discussing the operations of General Wellesley. What he pressed upon was, that the house ought to be in possession of the deliberations which took place at Calcutta, when it was determined to make war, and send an army against the Mahrattas. And all this must have been done before the 26th of last June. At present he had no objection to withdraw his motion, but he should resume it again whenever he should find it necessary to do so; as he conceived it to be of the utmost importance that the house should discuss a question of this kind.—The motion was then withdrawn.

[Liskeard Election.] — Mr. *Somers Cocks* said, that upon inquiry, he found that the petition of right ought to be tried before any other petition relative to this election; and as it must be the wish of all the parties to save the expense of sending for witnesses from Cornwall, to appear before three different committees, he should propose such days for taking the different petitions into consideration, that one might speedily follow the other; and as the witnesses on each were nearly the same, one journey to town would serve for all.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he had no objection to the days being fixed in the following manner: the 24th of April, the 3d of May, and the 7th of May.—The petition of right was then postponed to the 24th instant; and the petition of T. Sheridan, Esq. was ordered to be taken into consideration on the 3d of May. On Mr. Sheridan's moving to put off the consideration of Mr. Huskisson's petition until the 3d of May, the motion was opposed by Mr. Banks, Mr. Burroughs, &c. and at last it was withdrawn on the suggestion of the Speaker, who observed, that if it should now be negatived, the house could not afterwards alter the order which now stood for taking it into consideration.

[Irish Militia Offer Bill.] — Mr. Secretary Yorke moved the second reading of the Irish militia offer bill.

Sir *William Elford* declared, that he did not feel himself completely satisfied as to the propriety of such a measure as that which the bill before the house professed to enforce. At a time when that country was particularly supposed to be the chief object of invasion, nothing could prove to him the propriety of withdrawing 10,000 good and effective troops out of the island, unless any hon. member could bring forward a clear and positive demonstration that there were at present in Ireland full 10,000 men more than were absolutely necessary for the defence of that part of the empire. He might be told, perhaps, that they were to be replaced by another levy of the same description. He was certain, however, that no new raised troops could be rendered as efficient as those to be withdrawn, within the time in which it was probable that some attempt might be made by the enemy; it would be difficult even to recruit such a force within the time, as far as he could infer from what he had heard his Majesty's ministers declare respecting the danger of invasion. The Irish militia had proved themselves to be a most gallant and useful body of men during the late unfortunate rebellion; and, though it might be added that the appearance of the English militia was also of some importance at that period, he could not suppose that any gentleman could for a moment imagine that the danger of this country was at present so far greater than that of Ireland, as to justify a similar offer on the part of the Irish militia. Their liberality and loyalty he did not mean by any means to call in question. But there were some circumstances respecting the offers of particular regiments which might perhaps be further explained in the course of debate. All that at present he could wish was, to hear the matter fairly accounted for, and all its concomitant circumstances related to the house.

Mr. *Bankes* rose to state that his sentiments with respect to this measure had undergone no alteration since he had last the honour of addressing the house, although, from the thinness of the house upon the present occasion, he should not enter into the subject at any length, but would reserve himself for a future opportunity.

Mr. *Bastard* said, that he entirely coincided with the hon. member who had just sat down, as to the nature and tendency of the bill before the house.—The motion was then agreed to, and the bill ordered to be committed for Tuesday. The Irish militia augmentation bill was also read a third time, and committed for Tuesday.

[Irish Flax-Seed Bill.] – On the second reading of the Irish flax-seed bill;

The Hon. *C. H. Hutchinson* expressed a wish that provision should be made in the bill to prevent the oil manufacturers of Ireland from being injured in their trade.

Mr. *Corry* said, if his hon. friend would read the bill, he would find that, although bad or damaged flax-seed was not permitted to be sold till the first of July, yet it might be served out to the oil manufacturer, sooner than that time, on his giving security that it was not be sown in the ground.—The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Wednesday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, April 9.

[Minutes.]—The several bills before the house were forwarded in their respective stages.—One private bill was brought up from the commons by Sir J. W. Anderson, and read a first time.—Mr. Mansfield, from the Scotch bank company, presented certain accounts relative to the capital, &c. of that corporation, which were ordered to lie upon the table.—On the motion of lord Auckland, Mr. Wyatt was ordered to attend the committee of their lordships, when it was referred to consider of the best mode of improving the lighting of, and avenues to the house, &c.

[Defence of the Country.] — The Earl of *Suffolk* observed, that as he could not, in the stage the volunteer bill was at present before their lordships, regularly deliver his sentiments upon the principle of that measure, a consideration which he conceived of extreme importance, he should, to-morrow, bring forward a motion upon a subject of the highest importance, and closely connected with the measure alluded to, he meant the general defence of the country. The noble earl then moved that their lordships be summoned for to-morrow; which was ordered accordingly.

[Volunteer Consolidation Bill.]—Lord *Hawkesbury* moved the order of the day for the house to resolve into a committee upon this bill; and accordingly Lord Walsingham took the chair.

Lord *Grenville* observed, that there was some obscurity in the word "joined," in the clause then before the house. It was meant to refer to those persons who first joined any corps of volunteers as new members; but it was ambiguous, in as much as still remained inequalities, which in time might be easily amended. As it was, however, allowed that this clause was an improvement on the old law, he thought it was better to try the effect of it as it stood; and when any material hardship should be found to result from it, parliament could at any time apply a remedy.—The clause was then passed without a division.

On the clause respecting the compulsory service in the militia of balloted volunteers who should cease to continue effective members of their corps,

Lord *Grenville* objected to the wording of this clause, which appeared to him to take away from the person so balloted those exemptions that he might be entitled to from other causes, independent of his being a volunteer. This produced some conversation, and the farther consideration was postponed till to-morrow. Adjourned at twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, April 9.

[Minutes.]—Mr. J. Latouche brought up a petition from the prisoners confined for debt in the prison for the county and the city of Dublin, stating the hardships under which they labour, and praying relief. Ordered to be laid on the table.—He brought another of a similar kind from the prisoners confined for debt in the Marshalsea prison of Dublin, which was also ordered to be laid on the table.—Sir J. Newport gave notice, that he should on Wednesday next move to postpone the consideration of the subject of the Ilchester committee on the 17th of this month, until the 8th of May next.——Mr. Corry gave notice, that to-morrow he should propose for the consideration of the house a measure respecting the present circulation of Ireland, he meant that which circulates as coin in Ireland.—Mr. Serjeant Best presented a petition on behalf of the company of proprietors of the Swansea canal navigation, against a bill now depending before the house. Ordered to be laid on the table.—Mr. H. Addington moved, that the order of the day for taking into consideration the report on the cotton weavers' petition be postponed to Thursday next. Ordered.

[Irish Militia augmentation bill.]—Mr. *Corry* moved the order of the day for going into a committee of the whole house, to consider of making a provision for augmenting the Irish militia; which being read, the hon. gent. said, that before he moved that the speaker do now leave the chair, he should state the nature of the measure now proposed, the augmentation of the Irish militia; and if parliament should think fit that it should take place, money must be advanced out of the exchequer of Ireland, to be afterwards repaid by the treasurers of the counties; for this it would be necessary to introduce a clause into the bill, and there must be a resolution by a committee of the whole house for the purpose: that should be reported on a subsequent day, and an instruction must afterwards be given to the committee on the bill, that they may have power to insert it in such bill.

Colonel *Calcraft* doubted the regularity of moving any certain sum for a certain service, before parliament had voted that service. He thought it extraordinary that the sum of money should be voted for a thing, before that thing itself was voted. If there was any absolute necessity for it, or that it could not be done at any other time, he should be ready to give way, and offer no opposition to it; but he should think it would be much more regular for parliament to grant the thing itself before it granted the means of supporting it.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* said, that the thing now proposed was mere matter of course, in order to enable the house to proceed in the committee to-morrow on the subject of the Irish militia, for until there was a vote of a committee of the whole house to advance this money out of the Irish exchequer, no provision could be made to enable the lord lieutenant to go into the measure. This was merely matter of form; for if the house should not adopt the bill, the vote now about to be proposed would fall to the ground; the report could not be received until to-morrow, and without this vote it would be impossible to proceed upon the bill; and he submitted, that as there were two bills before the house upon this subject, whether it might not be better that they should both come on together.

Colonel *Calcraft* thought one of them sufficient for the discussion of one day, but he was satisfied with the reason given for the vote which was now about to be proposed, and therefore should not oppose it any longer.—The house then resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, in which Mr. Corry moved a resolution to the effect he had stated, for advancing a sum not exceeding 4 guineas per man, &c.; which was passed, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

Mr. *Bankes* asked, which of the two bills on the subject of the Irish militia was intended to be brought on to-morrow?

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* said, he should have thought it more convenient to the house, and a saving of a great deal of debate, if they were both to come on together in the discussion upon the principle, but if gentlemen chose to exercise their lungs twice upon one subject, he could have no objection, and the debate must therefore necessarily be put off on one of them. The one which was to come on to-morrow, was that which stood first in order, and therefore he moved that the bill for making provision for augmenting the militia of Ireland be postponed to Wednesday next. Ordered.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, April 10.

[Minutes.]—Mr. Plumer was heard as counsel for the appellant in the cause of Richardson *v.* the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The farther hearing was postponed till Thursday.——The Bank of Scotland bill was read a third time and passed.

[Caledonian Canal.]—Mr. Rickman, from the commissioners of the Caledonian Canal, presented an account relative to that work.

The Earl of *Suffolk* highly approved of that undertaking as one likely to be productive of great advantage, not only to that particular part of the island, but to the whole of the kingdom. He wished to know whether it was the intention of ministers to make any addition to the (in his opinion) very insignificant sum that they had allotted for the annual prosecution of that work. He was disposed to give due praise to the intention of ministers, with regard to that national object, but he was of opinion that £20,000 was by no means adequate to the importance of such an object.

Lord *Auckland*, in the absence of ministers, professed himself unable to give any satisfactory answer to the question of the noble earl.

The Duke of *Montrose* thought that it was incumbent on him to express the very great obligations he was under to ministers for having, at the risk of incurring some imputations, countenanced a measure which promised so much advantage and improvement to that part of Scotland. He was happy to acquaint the house, that very great facilities had already been derived even from the comparatively insignificant progress that the undertaking had made. New communications had already been established in a country where access had been nearly impracticable, and the inhabitants began to feel much advantage from such convenience. That work was, in his opinion, truly a national one, and therefore he did not doubt but it would meet with all necessary encouragement from his Majesty's ministers.

[Defence of the Country.] — The Earl of *Suffolk* rose and spoke nearly as follows:—My lords; not having been in the house on the second reading of the volunteer bill, as I was compelled by indisposition to leave it at the commencement of the debate, I was prevented from giving my sentiments on the principle of that bill; I have, therefore, taken this opportunity of introducing a motion, in discussing which, I may, without any impropriety, allude to that system, on the merits of which I was accidentally prevented from giving my opinion. There is not, my lords, any one in this kingdom, who more highly approves of the great and leading principle upon which the volunteer force has been established than I do. I fully subscribe in every way to the gallant and patriotic spirit by which that admirable body of men has been actuated; and, if there be trivial defects in its organization, I trust that a little expense and the attention of the legislature will remedy them. Although, my lords, I admit, that there are some inconsistencies in that system, yet I am far from concurring in that persevering opposition that has been made to it. Many of the arguments have turned upon verbal niceties and altercations, and I really think, my lords, that much time, that could have been better employed, has been consumed in the consideration of them. I have that confidence in his Majesty's govt., as well as in those persons who shall be called upon to execute the provisions of the volunteer bill, that, where any doubts may arise upon the meaning of any particular clause, it will be intrepreted liberally, and rather to the advantage of the individual who thinks he is entitled to a benefit from it. If, my lords, I may be allowed to give my opinion, without referring to any thing that has been heretofore said, either here or elsewhere, on the degree of efficiency that the volunteers are capable of, I am decided in preferring them to an armed peasantry. They, in my judgment, possess a competent degree of discipline, and certainly may be incorporated with infinite advantage either with the army or militia. Besides, my lords, I much doubt whether it be possible to arm the peasantry to the extent that has been recommended, with that celerity that would enable us to reap the full advantage of their services. Even the volunteers, as I am informed, are very far from being completely armed. M lords, at an earlier period of the present session, I took an opportunity of submitting, as a military man, some ideas to your lordships, as to what I conceived necessary to be done for the more complete defence of the country; and it is with much regret I have perceived that none of them have been deemed deserving the notice of his Majesty's ministers. I recommended the establishment of a central depôt, to which 7 or 8000 men should periodically repair, there to be instructed in military tactics, under the command of a well informed and experienced staff. The advantages of even that inadequate share of discipline would be soon visible, both in the officers and privates, and particularly in the former, who, in my opinion, have much greater occasion for instruction than those they command. There is also another part of our defence which, in my judgment, ministers have not considered, as they should have done; I allude, my lords, to the principle of limitation in the volunteer system. The maritime counties, the most exposed and the most liable to attack, are governed by the same rules in this respect as the inland counties are; an error, in my mind, pregnant with danger, and which cannot be too soon corrected. I also recommended the construction of Martello towers, and illustrated the immense advantage of such a mode of fortification, by the circumstance that a serjeant and 12 men working a single gun in one of them had defeated an English ship of the line and a 44 gun frigate. Instead of resorting to that cheap and effectual mode of defence, his Majesty's govt., at least the military part of it, have, with immense labour and expense, constructed lines of circumvallation, which, as a soldier and as an Englishman, I am happy to hear are crumbling daily into ruins.—My lords, if those whose duty it is to provide for the defence of the country, for the mechanical part of it I should say, had acted as they should have done, they would have erected fortresses in Kent, Sussex, Essex, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Yorkshire, and the county in which Newcastle is placed. A competent garrison in each of those forts would have occupied a considerable portion of the enemy's troops, and, if they could not have eventually maintained them, would have effected, at least that, which, in all military operations, is of the greatest consequence, namely, creating a great loss of time to the attacking army.—There is also another measure in which I think there has been made shameful and unnecessary profusion, I mean the article of barracks, in the construction of which 2 millions have been already expended, and to complete which nearly an equal expense must be incurred. The govt., my lords, could have provided better for the accommodation and comfort of the soldier, at one sixth the expense, had they resorted to the practice of hutting, such as was customary during the American war. In some places where they had determined on building barracks, they have abandoned the plan, and left them half constructed, because they at length perceived that the situations were too exposed, and that they were likely, in case of invasion, to prove rather an accommodation to the enemy than to our own troops.—When, my lords, I speak in approbation of that degree of discipline which the volunteers have obtained, let it not be thought that I undervalue the exertions of an armed peasantry. I know from experience how formidable the attacks of an armed population, possessing great local information, acquainted with every hedge, rivulet, and green lane, may be. When I commanded the brigade of guards in America, I was, on more than one occasion, compelled by the men in white shirts (the militia of that country, or, as we call them, the armed peasantry) and sometimes by an inferior number of them, to a precipitate, and not unfrequently a difficult retreat, and there was not a man under my command, who would not have rather encountered the regulars of the American army, than that particular description of force. As to the use that may be made of bodies of men of that character and organization, I fully agree with an hon. officer in another house (Col. Craufurd), with whom I have not the honour of being acquainted, and who, I hear with regret, is not employed. There is a noble friend of mine, I mean Lord Moira, to whom govt. has at last thought proper to give a command; but how have they treated that noble and excellent commander? Why, although he is invested with the chief command of the northern part of the island, they have not thought proper to give him any of the privileges that usually accompany it. They have been lavish where they should have been liberal. When they had an opportunity of manifesting their sense of that noble lord's services and great military talents, they neglected it, and conferred the command of a vacant regiment to a junior officer. The only compensation my noble friend has ever had for all his labours in supporting the interests and maintaining the honour of his country, has been a colonel's half pay, a paltry 200 l. a year. When he commanded the army at Southampton, he was restricted, from what motives I cannot tell, as much in point of patronage as he is at present; and when he resigned that command, he was not less than 10,000 l. out of pocket by the honour that had been conferred on him. Ministers may say, and I know it has been said, that there was no necessity for the noble lord to involve himself in such expense; but to this I will answer, that the liberal nature of my noble friend could not bear to see the poor emigrants, by whom he was surrounded, starving on the miserable allowance that they drew from govt.; that his expenses were incurred in feeding and supporting them, and that, therefore, it was not to be wondered at if his fortune, great as it was, was too little for his generous and compassionate mind. I do not wish to trespass longer on your lordships' attention. I am aware that on a question of this delicate nature it may be argued, that considerable confidence should be placed in the exertions and intentions of the executive govt. I trust, my lords, I am as little averse as any of you from entertaining an improper distrust of those who are honoured with his Majesty's confidence; but I will not, through the rashness of confidence, endanger the safety of the country. I say, my lords, as the great and venerable Earl of Chatham did formerly in this house; "confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom." I shall not occupy any more of your lordships' time, but move, "that a committee be appointed to provide for the defence of the country, and for inquiring into the preparations that have been made to meet the menaced danger."

Lord *Hawkesbury*.—My lords, I shall occupy but a very small portion of your time, which, I conceive, would be much better employed in discussing and perfecting that bill which forms part of our national defence, and the adjourned consideration of which is fixed for this day. If the noble lord had urged one single reason to justify the appointment of such a committee as he has moved for, I should have felt it my duty to state at large, to your lordships, my reasons for opposing his motion, and the grounds upon which I have formed my conviction, that a parliamentary committee is not the most practicable mode of obtaining those results the noble earl seems to aim at. The military defence of the country has been entrusted, by a competent power, to the care of the commander in chief; and if he be guilty of misconduct, he is as liable to censure and removal as any one of his Majesty's ministers. He is responsible for his conduct, and may be called to account for it. I am persuaded the illustrious person who fills that office does, and will always avail himself of the advice and experience of those whom he supposes most competent to give him information, and, I conceive it would neither be prudent or decorous in parliament to interfere, except upon very extraordinary and unexpected circumstances indeed. I must therefore, my lords, give my negative to the motion of the noble earl, for the reasons I have before stated, that he has made out no case, and that he has assigned no good grounds for the appointment of such a committee.—The question was then put and negatived.

[Volunteer Consolidation Bill.]—The house resolved into a committee on this bill. On the clause which requires commanding officers to give certificates to volunteers on their changing residence and entering into other corps, Lord Grenville moved an amendment, the effect of which was, to make the granting of such certificates a matter of discretion. The amendment was, however, negatived on a division, 35 to 7.—The clause which places drummers, buglemen, farriers, &c. receiving pay, under military law, gave rise to a discussion of some length. It was proposed that only those paid by the public should be liable to the mutiny act, and on this account Lord Grenville moved to insert after the words "receiving pay," the words "from his Majesty." On this motion their lordships also divided, against the amendment 42, for it 11.—Several verbal amendments were made in the bill, and the consideration of an amendment proposed by Lord Grenville, relative to the regulations of volunteer corps, was adjourned. Lord Walsingham then reported progress, and the house adjourned to to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, April 10, 1804.

[Minutes.]—The bill for the improvement of the town and docks of Liverpool was read a second time, on the motion of Gen. Tarleton, and ordered to be committed.—Sir J. Anderson brought up the report of the bill for the improvement of Temple-Bar and Cornhill. The amendments were agreed to, and the bill ordered to be engrossed.—Mr. Dickens, from the office of the chief secretary for Ireland, presented, at the bar, copies of all orders from his Majesty's exchequer in Ireland, affecting the half pay of officers on the half-pay of the Irish establishment, resident in Great-Britain since the union. Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—Mr. J. H. Brown presented at the bar, the Report of the committee appointed under an act of parliament for conducting the inland navigation between the eastern and western seas, from Inverness to Fort William in Scotland. The report was ordered to be printed, and taken into consideration on Friday se'nnight.—Mr. Corry postponed his motion relative to the circulating coin in Ireland to Thursday next.

[Barracks.]—Admiral *Berkeley*, seeing the Sec. at War in his place, stated, that there were certain papers connected with that right hon. gent.'s department, which he wished to move for. After some remarks, he accordingly moved, that there be presented to the house, 1. A copy of the contracts entered into between the several builders and the barrack-master general. 2. An account of the respective periods at which the several barracks were to be completed, and what penalties were annexed to the non fulfilment of such engagements. 3. Copies of the certificates granted to contractors, shewing the barracks to be in that state of readiness as to entitle them to payment. 4. An account of the several barracks, with the number of men and horses they were fit to accommodate in the possession of government at the peace of Amiens, distinguishing such as were hired.

The *Secretary at War* stated, that though the hon. admiral had been kind enough to shew him the motion several days ago, he could not discover any necessity for such papers. The hon. gent. had brought forward his motion from an idea that the expenses of the barrack department had been extraordinary, without recollecting that extraordinary exertions required extraordinary expenses. As to the first paper moved for, he could see no good purpose its production could serve, as an account of the same nature had been, in fact, already before the house, in consequence of a motion made some time ago, and as no return can be made on this subject different from that already in possession of the house. He had no objection, however to produce a copy of the mode of the certificates, and begged the hon. gent. to recollect in general that at the peace of Amiens, some of the barracks were sold, and some had been only hired during the war.

Admiral *Berkeley* contended, that all that had been laid before the house respecting the barrack contracts had been extracts only, whereas his object was to see the contracts themselves, which in his apprehension had been so ill digested, and whether or not there were any penalties attached to them. From the experience he had had in a certain board, contracts of this description ought always to be accompanied with penalties. He wished only to see if the barrack board had made such contracts as they ought to make.

The *Secretary at War* admitted that there were no penalties in any of the contracts in question; but at the same time contended, that no board had ever more controul over the contractors, than the barrack board, which rendered such penalties unnecessary. If the hon. Admiral would move the production of any individual contract, he should have no objection to the motion.

Admiral *Berkeley* then moved, instead of the first paper, for a copy of the contract entered into on July the 26th, 1803, between T. Neil and the barrack-master general for the barrack of Chichester. The hon. Admiral wished it to be understood that he had selected that one from no particular motive, but merely as one of those taken notice of in the papers alluded to by the right hon. Secretary, and being in his own vicinity.—The first motion, thus amended, was accordingly passed. The second motion passed without opposition. The third also passed, after receiving an amendment suggested by the Sec. at War, that instead of loading the table of the house with a variety of such certificates, it would be better that a copy only of the form and mode of such certificates be presented. The fourth motion was also agreed to.

[Irish Militia Offer Bill.] On the order of the day, for the house to resolve into a committee on the bill for accepting the voluntary offer of Irish militia regiments to serve in Great Britain, being read,

Mr. *William Elliot* claimed the indulgence of the house, while he stated briefly his opinion of the measure before it. In whatever view he considered it, he could not regard it but as an impolitic, imperfect, and inadequate measure. In point of policy, it appeared to him only calculated to remedy a defect which had arisen from the misconduct of his Majesty's ministers. He recollected, that at the close of the late war, an order had been issued by the adjutant-general, for discarding not embodying the Irish militia, which order had been sanctioned by his Majesty's crown officers in Ireland. A short time after, however, it was deemed expedient to renew the militia establishment in that country, and the measure for that purpose allowed but a bounty of two guineas per man, which proving insufficient, another act had passed about a year since, enlarging the bounty to four guineas, and at that time the bounty for general service was but five guineas.

He and his friends had on that occasion opposed the measure, on the ground that it would annihilate the recruiting for the army in Ireland, and recommended, if the militia were to be raised by bounties like fencibles, to take their services accordingly. What could have been without impropriety done in that instance, was now proposed to be done when it would be a breach of faith and a violation of the constitution of the militia. It had been then stated, that a militia was the natural defence of a country, and that Ireland ought to have a force of that description. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had adverted, too, with exultation, to the gallant exploits of the Irish militia, and even the right hon. sec. had stated, on a late occasion, that they possessed that *nonchalance* which peculiarly suited them for becoming good soldiers, and, as if they would be inefficient in Ireland, he proposed to bring them to this country to complete their education. The hon. gent. then stated, that his objection to the measure arose chiefly from its not being taken up on necessity, and in this view he differed with his noble friend (Lord Castlereagh); because the necessity might constitute the policy of a measure, he could admit the converse. He also objected to it, because it would place the men out of the circumstances of service for which they had entered, and introduce a system of deliberation among them which would be subversive of discipline. Another important topic was, that the offers, though perhaps spontaneous in some instances, were not so in all; and that many individuals would be dragged into the offer by apprehensions from their comrades. He lamented that the only instance in which a name had been inserted in the lists on the table should be with respect to an officer, who had refused to volunteer, and he contended that the officer was strictly justifiable in limiting his services to the terms of his original engagement if he thought proper. The only argument he had heard like an argument was, that by bringing over 8 or 10,000 of the Irish militia to this country, the same number of the disposable force would be set free; but he contended, that it was no less desirable to augment the disposable force in Ireland. With what view the present measure had been resorted to he could not conceive. He remembered that one of the objections against the union had been, that it would increase the number of absentees from Ireland, and he was convinced it would neither be politic nor just to bring over so great a proportion of the magistrates and gents. of Ireland, as composed the officers of such a number of militia regiments, without sending an equal number of our own in return to that country. The hon. gent. was sure, that every militia officer who was an enemy to innovation in the constitution of that force, would oppose a measure the probable effect of which would induce the English militia to make offers in return. On all these grounds he felt himself called upon to oppose the measure, because it was not founded either on expediency or necessity, and if it were to be adopted at all, a reciprocal interchange of services should be established for the militia of both countries.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* said, he had listened with considerable attention to the speech of the hon. member, but had not been fortunate enough to hear from him any thing to convince him of the justice of the objections he had made to this salutary measure. He adverted to the state of the country at the time Admiral Bruix sailed from Toulon, when it was not accurately known whether the French fleet was destined eastward or westward, in the year 1799, a period when the danger to England was not certainly so great as to Ireland, or as it is at present. Then a bill was passed by the Irish parliament, allowing the Irish militia to come over here. Where could be the consistency of the hon. member, who was then a member of the Irish parliament, and held a high situation under the crown, opposing such a measure as the present at this time? But still more strange was it, to find it opposed by the right hon. gent. on the same bench (Mr. Windham), who was then actually a cabinet minister. He should like to hear such apparent inconsistency explained. He wished shortly to stae his view of the subject. He had before stated to the house, that this measure was a part of a general plan, all of which was not now before the house, for augmenting the disposable military force of the country. If this force were brought over here, we set free so many regular troops for such services as might be required of them. The original principle of the militia, on which so much was said, had in the last war been in two instances departed from, both with the English and with the Irish militia. There was no wish, in any degree, to decrease the efficient force of Ireland. If 8 or 10,000 militia were brought away, their place could be supplied by an equal number of troops from hence. For instance, he would mention the troops of the army of reserve, and also by the augmentation of the Irish militia in the same proportion as they may have been reduced. He could very easily see that the danger of Ireland was great, and might be greater; but he could also see, that, in certain cases, the danger of G. Britain might still be greater. The hon. gent. had spoken of the disbanding the Irish militia with seeming displeasure, but he should have recollected, that from the nature of their different terms of service, they could not have been retained any length of time. When he spoke of ministers coming to parliament to revive the militia, he had spoken in terms tending to shew himself, if not unfriendly to the militia, at least as considering a militia a bad system for defence. But his objections to the amount of bounties to the militia were not effectual, for the bounty of two guineas was in the first bill in Sept. 1802, but the four guineas were not given till Sept. 1803, after the King's message, when symptoms of war appeared, and when the war bounty was announced. But then he had accused ministers of breaking through a constitutional principle of the militia. Now, when the Irish militia was revived, there was no kind of question about bringing them over here, and therefore no breaking in upon any constitutional principle whatever in that measure. But, the measure now submitted was entirely owing to the noble and spontaneous offers of the militia themselves. He must think that it was infinitely better not to have interfered at all with this subject at the revival of the Irish militia, but to leave the spirit of loyalty, of patriotism, and of bravery, to the spur and exigency of the times, more particularly as our force was of a nature and consitution so different from that of the continental powers. But the hon. member accused administration of a great inconsistency, in saying the Irish militia was an admirable force, and afterwards not considering them as a fit force in their own country. Who had ever said so? which of his Majesty's ministers? none that he had heard. He was surprised, therefore, to hear it asserted. The truth was, the Irish militia were excellent in either country, equally good in both. They had now testified, in a marked manner, their voluntary zeal, and he was confident, wheresoever they were, they would be found constantly to do their duty against an enemy, and would yield to no other troops in the essential and constituent qualities of brave soldiers. The hon. member had said a good deal about an over-ruling necessity, the first offer from the English militia to go over to Ireland, being during the rebellion in the sister island, and the threat of a French invasion being very strong. All this was true. It was all very good so far; but, in point of fact, this act was continued long afterwards, and acted upon too; for many regiments were sent there, when this over-ruling necessity had actually ceased. Upon that principle of an over-ruling necessity to justify the transferring of the militia, not another regiment should have been sent, after it was clearly ascertained that the French fleet had gone up the Mediterranean, and Ireland was consequently placed in a situation, comparatively so, much less dangerous. But when the Irish parliament passed the act, there was, in fact, no such thing as an over-ruling necessity. He could not understand what was meant by the objections raised to the receiving voluntary offers from the militia, on the score of deliberation. He could not see that there was any sort of dangerous deliberation or discussion whatever. Was it reckoned a dangerous system of deliberation, when the captain of a company called on his men to ask them concerning the stoppage of their pay, or matters of that kind, for particular purposes? But, if this was so dreadful a thing, how did it apply during last war? What was the case with those corps who volunteered from limited to general service? What was it with the 20th regiment? What with the 40th, which did so much in Egypt under Colonel Spencer? What with the ancient Irish fencibles, and various other corps, who had distinguished themselves, but who had never been considered as impaired by their volunteering, which gents. chose to consider a mode of dangerous deliberation? What could the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) say to all these instances, which happened when he was in office, and which were the precedents, and very excellent precedents too, for ministers now; precedents of the right hon. gent's. own making? There must be a strange inconsistency, which he should like to have explained, as he had a great respect for every thing that fell from that right hon. gent. The hon. member had stated that this was not altogether a spontaneous measure. On the part of some individuals offering, it might, perhaps, be possible to raise such an objection. Even in that house of parliament, he supposed that those gents. who voted together on a particular question, did not all vote from the same reason, or exactly upon the same principle. The hon. gent. had asked what view govt. had in this measure, whether they adopted it for the moment, or with some larger view, such as making it a reciprocal affair? In answer to this last point, he could only say, that no such idea was entertained by ministers, and no such question was, in fact, before the house. Two regiments, indeed, had made such voluntary offer, but there was no such plan in the view of govt. But, if the over-ruling necessity spoken of should occur again, by another cruel, bloody, and terrible rebellion in Ireland, aided by French power, then certainly govt. would feel justified in resorting to such a measure for saving that bright jewel of the British crown. But he thought the Irish militia were now making a return to that of England, for what they had done for Ireland in the hour of danger and distress. In that gallantry he saw nothing but what he should have expected from their characteristic loyalty. He had wished to go through the principal points of objection that had been urged to this measure, and could only say, that as a militia officer himself, he saw nothing to object to in it, but great advantages accruing, as it must be admitted that G. Britain was in as great danger as Ireland from the common enemy of them both.

Colonel *Calcraft* was desirous to say a few words on the present occasion, and had felt anxious to catch the speaker's eye immediately after the right hon. gent. who had just sat down. Though he agreed with that right hon. gent. in two or three points, he could not admit that the arguments he had used had reconciled him to what he looked upon as a breach of the fundamental constitution of the militia force. If an over-ruling necessity existed, he was sure there would be no difference of opinion in the house. But it had been said, that the offers of the Irish militia were in payment of the debt of gratitude which they owed this country for the services of the English militia; he contended that these debts, when paid, would involve the English militia in a similar offer in return. The question was hot justifiable on constitutional grounds, nor on the grounds of policy or expediency. The right hon. gent. had passed over the constitutional consideration of the question altogether. If he had looked into the preamble of the militia acts, he would find it there stated, that it was expedient to keep up within the realm a well ordered and well disciplined militia. If the service was to be altered so as to prevent the gentlemen of property from entering into it, the militia could not be well ordered, and if the militia should be made a deliberative body, it could not be well disciplined. This had taken place already with respect to one part of the military force of the country, the volunteers, and he trusted it would not be extended to the rest of it. He maintained, that it was a degrading situation for an officer to be placed in, to assemble his men about him, and ask them, however noble his object, whether they should be disposed to engage in a particular service with him. He was of opinion, that, unless the service should be reciprocal, the service of the militia of either country should be kept out of sight of the other, though, in an extreme case, it might not be so. If a landing of the enemy should unfortunately take place here, and there should be no attempt on that country nor probability of attack, it would, in such a case, be justifiable to bring the militia over. It was the opinion of military men of experience, that militia regiments would be more effectually employed in their own counties than out of them, because they would be more warmly assisted by their friends and acquaintances in case of actual danger, and that was the reason why a military officer in one of the maritime districts, kept as many of the militia regiments in their counties as could conveniently be done. There was no comparison between the present period and 1798, when a rebellion raged in Ireland; a French force had landed there, and an exhausted army in this country precluded the means of reinforcing the troops in that country in any other manner than by accepting the offers of the militia regiments. Though he had been one of those who had volunteered on that occasion, yet, finding it now used as a precedent, he believed it had been wiser to attach the individuals who volunteered from the militia to old regular regiments, as had been then recommended by gentlemen who opposed the violation of the militia constitution. He was ready to allow every credit to the loyalty, the patriotism, and good intentions of the gentlemen of the Irish militia, who had offered their services in the present instance; and he trusted they would attribute the same motives to him and those who opposed the present measure. The militia was raised on the landed property of the country; and, if the present offers should be accepted, the consequence would be, that the landed gentlemen of Ireland would be obliged to provide for 8,000 or 10,000 after having raised 18,000, which had been looked upon as a just proportion for the country. If the object was to augment the force of the country, it ought to be done generally, not in the Irish militia in particular. There was no question of the loyalty and efficiency of the Irish militia, but he could not see why 10,000 of them were to be removed, if to be replaced by so many from the army of reserve, of nearly the same state of discipline. The augmentation, though that question was not properly before the house, would raise a competition against the 6 new battalions to be raised in Ireland. The hon. gent. who had opened the debate, had alluded to the ill consequence of taking so many of the gentlemen of property from Ireland, as should come over with their regiments, and the same observation would apply to English gentlemen. The right hon. gent. had stated, that it was not the intention of govt. to weaken the military force in Ireland, for that if 10,000 were to be withdrawn from it, a like number was to be sent over in their place. He would ask them, what was to be gained but a breach of the great constitutional principle on which the militia was formed? When in 1802 the interchange of the service of the militia of both countries had been agitated, the house had decided, that they should be confined to the respective countries. If ministers wished to get rid of the militia altogether, they ought to say so, and not keep it hanging over gentlemen, that if they should not join in an offer of service at some future period, they should be told they were ungrateful. The constitution of the militia should not be trenched upon by a side wind, nor in a collateral manner. As to the offers of the Irish militia in 1799, which the right hon. gentleman had quoted as a precedent, they were only a return for the services of the English militia; but this measure would go to overturn the whole system, by laying the English militia under an obligation of making other offers in return for those now made. If any ground of necessity or expediency had been laid for the bill, he should not have opposed it, but contemplating it under the unfavourable consequences which appeared to him likely to result from it, he should oppose the speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. *Alexander* was happy to hear the question argued on constitutional grounds with the fairness and candour with which the hon. gent. who had just sat down had treated it. He was particularly gratified at his having taken it up in that view, because the measure had been charged from another quarter as a consequence of the incapacity of his Majesty's govt.; and he must say, that the allegations of incapacity were much too frequently employed, as well that there was no description of force provided for the defence of the country, militia, reserve, volunteers, &c. that had not been degraded by the manner in which they had been adverted to by gentlemen. He thought that on every ground of public policy, the offers of the Irish militia ought to be accepted, as it appeared to him that no opportunity should be omitted for augmenting the disposable force in this country. If Ireland were the object of the enemy, it could only be attacked from Brest, or some of the ports of Holland, but not by any part of the great Boulogne flotilla. He contended, that, in a constitutional point of view, nothing could be brought into precedent that should not be sanctioned by the wisdom of the legislature, and that the legislature of the day would always guard against any injury that might be apprehended from the influence of the precedent not justified by circumstances. As to the observation, that this measure would convert the militia into a deliberative body, he contended that it was unfounded, because as soon as the act was over, the deliberation ceased, and an individual act constituted no system. If the time should arrive that Ireland should be attacked, he was convinced that there was not a man in England who would not willingly shed his blood in its defence. The hon. gent. then adverted to the number of shipping and convenience of ports in England for conveying a disposable force to any foreign destination, and concluded with giving his support to the motion for the speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. *Bankes* could not but consider the present measure as one of the most important subjects that could arrest the attention of the legislature. It was a direct infringement of the militia system, and was resorted to, in his mind, without any necessity to justify it. If we ceased to adhere to the principles upon which that system was founded, we might be found to act without the guidance of any principle at all, and we might soon be hurried into a stream which we should be unable to resist, and by which we might be carried to incalculable extremities. It was only the extremely perilous and unnatural state in which Ireland was placed in 1798, that could by any means permit us to overlook those principles which before had uniformly been held sacred. What is the object of the present bill? It goes to take away from Ireland, the most vulnerable part of the country, 10,000 men of its best disciplined force, and of that species of force which it is least able to spare. So far the plan must be acknowledged to be novel and surprising. Both countries may be in real danger; but it is universally acknowledged that Ireland is in ten times more danger than G. Britain. Were that not the case, why should we be so lavish of our panegyric on the patience, the perseverance, and the intrepidity of our blockading force under Adm.

Cornwallis, unless we were sure that to his vigilance in preventing the sailing of the Brest fleet, the safety of Ireland is chiefly to be ascribed? But we are told, that if this force be taken away from Ireland, it is to be supplied by another; and by what other? By a portion of the army of reserve. Can that be regarded as an effectual supply? Surely not. For the one you take must be confessed to be of superior discipline. Indeed, the whole of the business seems so unaccountable to common reason, that ministers must be supposed to have some private motives for their conduct, which they are unwilling to disclose. They surely would not openly violate the militia laws, were it not that they intended to introduce for all times and occasions a reciprocation of the services of the militia of both countries. This mutual interchange of services could not, however, be placed on the same ground. The militia of Ireland was raised on a different footing from that of England. The latter was raised by ballot; the former by bounties, and, consequently, might be more manageable. As to the voluntary offers said to be made here and in Ireland, they deserved any thing but the name of voluntary. On the part of the officers, the offer might arise at the moment from a sense of duty, or a point of honour; but it should never be ascribed to spontaneous and unprompted alacrity. The direct contrary was well known to be the fact. Indeed, whether the offer came from the officers or the men, it was equally objectionable. On the part of the officers it might be suggested by ambitious views, or a wish to ingratiate themselves with persons in power. If it came from the men, the danger attending it would be tenfold greater, and would involve all the inconveniencies and confusion that must arise from military men erecting themselves into deliberative bodies. Over such men, fired by the zeal and spirit with which declaimers amongst them might then be naturally actuated, what authority could officers retain and exercise? The services of the English militia may soon be called for under the same pretence of a voluntary offer; nor will it stick there. The same mode may be applied to the volunteers. The exuberant zeal of some of the corps may suggest the offer, and advantage might soon be taken of such an example. If no discrimination was to be made in these offers of voluntary service, where could they be conceived to stop? The fatal tendency of such an example, he trusted, the wisdom and caution of the house would reasonably provide against, and not permit them to be so easily worked upon as they were in the year 1798. They should recollect, that permitting innovations of this nature, must render a service, easy and acceptable in its origin, grievous and oppressive by an abuse or infringement of its principles, and that the operations of it must prove of such personal inconvenience and national detriment, that it is enough to dissolve and disorganize the whole militia service. There were other and more effectual modes of raising the force required: they might indeed require something of more expense. But, under the present circumstances of the country, a trifling addition of expense should not be attended to; we should no doubt be grateful for the gallant offer which the zeal of the Irish militia has prompted them to make; but the prudence of parliament should dictate something more to be relied upon than such temporary and occasional expedients.

The Hon. *C. H. Hutchinson,* after a few introductory observations, proceeded to state the grounds on which he felt it his duty to support the bill. He should support it as a measure which could not fail to have the happiest effects on the situation of Ireland. He wished, however, to state distinctly to the house, the grounds on which this opinion was founded. It was from an idea that the interests of all ranks of the community in Ireland would be benefitted by the measure, that he was determined to vote for it on the present occasion. The manufacturers and agricultural peasants of Ireland, would, by coming to this country, have an opportunity of contemplating the happiness which prevailed among the lower orders, and would be prompted to emulate and to cultivate those habits from which this happiness and comfort proceeded. They would have an opportunity of observing in how many respects the inhabitants of this part of the united empire, excelled those of a similar description in Ireland; and it was not to be denied that the circumstances of superiority were various, and, from such a review, they would see the propriety of acting on the principles by which this superiority was procured. They would learn to appreciate the value of husbanding their time, and would see the advantage of pursuing that system of habitual industry which, in this country, was the distinguishing feature of the lowest, in common with the highest ranks in society. The advantages arising from union of public sentiment, would not fail to excite their attention, and, from the comparison which must arise in their minds, it was natural to anticipate the most important alteration of national opinion on their return to their native land. Respect for the people of this country would necessarily be created, and a degree of affection would be contracted which, under the present circumstances of the empire, could not possibly exist. It would be seen that they came into a country where they were received as fellow citizens, as sharers of the same constitutional privileges and political rights. The consequence of such an interchange of opinions was obvious. It was, more than any other circumstance, calculated to destroy those feelings of prejudice, which it was so material to eradicate. They would unlearn much of that misconception which, from a variety of circumstances, now prevailed. But, above all, the beneficial effects of the measure would operate in shewing the people of Ireland, that there was a great distinction to be made betwixt the feelings of this country at large, and the opinions and system, not of this ministry alone, but of any cabinet that had hitherto been formed. It would convince them, that whatever the perversity and wickedness of any cabinet might be with regard to Ireland, this policy was not countenanced or supported by public opinion. Ministers might act on narrow, illiberal principles, but the sentiments of an English public would be found to be candid, liberal, and generous. The militia of Ireland, who now volunteered their services to this country, would leave it with the impression that the people were not partakers in the persecuting policy of any administration, but were inspired with every wish of extending to all parts of the empire the blessings of an equitable system of govt. But this was not the only view which he entertained of the beneficial consequences of the measure. The gents. who were to command the militia regiments which were to volunteer their services to this country, would likewise learn many important lessons by this extension of their services. The house would keep in view, that they were principally land-owners, who necessarily maintained a most important and interesting relation with the lower orders in Ireland. He entertained a hope that they would feel it their duty to compare the situation of the tenantry of England with that of the tenantry of Ireland, to view their relative degrees of comfort and happiness, and on their return to Ireland employ themselves in introducing the improvements which such a review would naturally suggest. Such a review must indeed most powerfully impress, on the mind of every land-owner, that his real interest consisted, not in the number of pounds which he was enabled to put into his pocket, but in the general diffusion of that domestic enjoyment which rendered the lower orders the best tenants, as well as the most valuable members of society. These were the general principles and views on which he felt himself called on to give his support to the bill. But, while he was resolved to give the measure his support, he begged leave to add, that he could not give this support unconnected with certain conditions. He would be sorry, indeed, to think that an offer so liberal as that of the Irish militia, should be received without some corresponding return of liberality, and even justice, on the part of this country. The present was a moment of the greatest interest for the security of both countries, and when it was considered how great was the armed force of this country, Ireland was not to be deprived of a large proportion of well disciplined troops, without receiving an equivalent for this diminution of the existing means of defence. This was not, however, the only point of view in which the effects of the measure could be contemplated. It was not merely the armed force of the privates in the militia regiments volunteering their services to this country, that Ireland would lose by the measure. As he had already remarked, the great majority of the officers were land-owners, whose presence at all times of high importance, was more especially requisite at a crisis of unparalleled difficulty and danger. One great source of the present unfortunate state of Ireland was, that there was not a sufficient number of the country gentlemen resident in the country. Of this description of the inhabitants of Ireland, the services were of the highest moment to the interests and the happiness of the lower and industrious orders. It was their peculiar business to be the supporters of the poor under circumstances of distress, to be their advisers in circumstances of difficulty, to be their patrons and protectors against schemes of oppression. One great objection against the union was, that the residence of the land-owners would be discouraged. Whatever advantages might arise from the union, in relation to the general interests of the empire, this was an evil which had materially increased. In agreeing to the present bill, therefore, he could not discharge his duty without requiring that, before Ireland should be deprived of the residence of so great a part of the landed interest, some adequate return should be afforded. It would be contrary to every sentiment of justice, as well as every feeling of humanity, to increase in Ireland an evil already so crying and so enormous, without taking precautions to prevent its further progress, so far as it could be affected by the bill now before the house.—The return then which he asked was, that a certain proportion of the militia corps of this country should be sent to Ireland in the room of those regiments of Irish militia which had agreed to extend their services to this country. He was not inclined to deny, that in asking this exchange, he asked for a return which, by many members, would be considered as of the highest value. It was certainly asking a good deal of the officers and privates of militia corps in this country, to give up all the comforts they enjoyed here for the purpose of volunteering their services to Ireland. In this case, however, it was to be considered, that the inconvenience was only one of a temporary duration; whereas the union of the two countries had placed the gents. of Ireland under inconveniencies which were permanent in their duration. He would put it to the candour of the house, whether Irish gents. were not labouring under a very considerable inconvenience, in consequence of their attendance in parliament in this country? This inconvenience, however, they cheerfully submitted to, from an enlarged consideration of the advantages accruing to the whole of a great empire. When he proposed the return which he had alluded to, he did not think, therefore, that he asked what was unfair, unreasonable, or oppressive. The best claim on the militia of this country to volunteer their services to Ireland was, that by this extension of service they materially contributed to the defence and security of the kingdom in one part where it was most peculiarly vulnerable. In the case of the attendance of Irish gents., an inconvenience never to be removed was submitted to. In the present instance, all that was called for on the part of Ireland was submission to an inconvenience of a temporary nature, at a crisis when all that was dearest to both countries was at stake. But a good deal had been insisted on as to the violation of the principles of the militia establishment. He could not help thinking that, if gents. who urged this objection had taken the trouble to allude a little to the records and usages of parliament, they would not have laid so much stress as they appeared to do on the argument. Gents. would do well to recollect that a standing army, such as it now stood, was repugnant to the original principles of the constitution, but a difference of circumstances had in the lapse of years produced the present extended establishment. In judging of the expediency of the measure now before the house, he thought it but fair therefore, to look back to former precedents, and not to stand so closely by the strict letter of the militia system. Precedents of the same description certainly did exist, and it was too rigid a mode of reasoning to hold up one principle one day and to disclaim it on another occasion, when, perhaps, it was found convenient to hold another species of argument. On the general principle, then, he did not think that the measure was liable to the objections which had been urged against it in the course of the discussion. There were, however, several points on which he wished to make a few observations. If the right hon. gent. on the other side (Mr. Yorke) meant, that the only return to be made for the militia regiments volunteering to this country should consist of a new body of militia to be raised in Ireland, he should most strongly oppose such an arrangement as highly objectionable. If it was meant that the deficiency should be made up by foreign corps, his objection, so far from being weakened would be materially strengthened. He had no difficulty in declaring, that he had the strongest objection to the introduction of foreign corps into any part of the empire, but he more particularly objected to their introduction into Ireland in the present circumstances of that country. To suppose that the people of England wanted foreign corps to defend them against the attempts of France, would be disgraceful to the national character. What would the posterity of the present age think of the inhabitants of England being so luxurious or so corrupted as to trust the defence of all that is dearest to men to be upheld by no considerations but the mere low consideration of pecuniary reward? As to Ireland, more particularly, he begged leave to enter his most solemn protest against such a measure, as the introduction of any foreign corps. On various occasions ministers had stated, and they had stated truly, that there was a very visible change in the sentiments and feelings of the people of Ireland, as far as related to the invasion of a French force. Fortunately, a most important change on this head had taken place, and at this moment he believed that no part of the population of Ireland entertained any confidence in the false and delusive promises of the despot of France, who was now threatening a descent on our shores. There was no wish for assistance from a power which was regarded with universal detestation and abhorrence. But, though it was true, that the people of Ireland had no wish for French assistance, it did not by any means follow that they were satisfied with the conduct of ministers. Such an assertion had not indeed been made by ministers, and it was right that it had not been made, for it was an assertion contrary to fact. The hon. member, in illustration of this sentiment, drew a very animated picture of the situation of Ireland, at the moment when the offers which formed the ground of the present bill were brought forward. He particularly referred to the letters written by the lord chancellor of that country. He characterised this production as one calculated, not to instruct, but misrepresent; not to conciliate, but to irritate. It was a production fitted to insult and degrade the religious opinions of a great majority of the Irish people. It was evidently intended to dictate in matters connected only with the Divine Being and the individuals concerned. It was an indecent, an unjustifiable libel on the character of the people of Ireland. He stated his decided dissent from any idea being entertained, that the people of Ireland were at all satisfied with the measures pursued by ministers since their accession to power, so far as the affairs of that part of the empire were concerned. He particularly quoted several passages from the speech of the right hon. gent. now at the head of his Myjesty's govt., previous to the union, and in recommendation of that measure, which demonstrated his opinion, that the situation of Ireland was one which admitted of many important improvements. He was proceeding to ask of the house what improvements that right hon. gent.'s administration had produced? when he was called to order by

Colonel *Vereker*, who said, the present stage of the bill was not the proper one for such a discussion. The colonel not being supported, however, by the opinion of the speaker,

Colonel *Hutchinson* was allowed to proceed. He said, he was just about to conclude his observations, when the hon. member had thought proper to interrupt him. He did not wish to add to the irritation of his countrymen, by making any allusions which could have that effect, but he conceived that, even in the present stage of the bill, he had a right to explain his sentiments fully, and to demonstrate on what grounds he was led to support a bill which went to accept the offer of 10,000 of his countrymen to serve in Great Britain. He had no idea of smuggling such a bill through the house at a moment when we ought not to shrink from our duty. He appealed to the house whether he had not always endeavoured to induce his Majesty's ministers to attend seriously to the concerns of Ireland, in order to remove the cause of that discontent and agitation, which seemed to excite so much alarm in the mind of the hon. member; but surely this was not a time to shrink from the discharge of public duty: every man should speak out boldly, and warn the govt. of the danger to which it may be exposed, from persevering in an iniquitous system, that was tried for centuries, with occasional variation, but had always failed. He felt, in common with every member of the house, and every person in the country, who valued its interest, that private considerations ought to be sacrificed, prejudice combated, the passions moderated, and party spirit, as well as religious discord, extinguished; the terrible effects of this were too keenly felt, and were likely to be still experienced, if not removed by seasonable and sound policy, instead of that which encouraged and fomented this dreadful cause, which

> "Called truth itself to testify a fraud,
> "And stampt imposture with the seal of God."

The hon. member concluded, with giving his support to the bill.

Mr. *Burroughs* thought that a great part of the hon. gent.'s speech had nothing to do with the question before the house. He applied this observation particularly to the employment of foreign corps, and the remarks made on the letters of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He contended, that many of the general objections against the bill would be very powerful under the ordinary circumstances of the country. It was to be recollected, however, that the present was not a period of ordinary danger, but a crisis of unexampled interest. It was on this principle that he judged of the bill, and on this ground it had his support. It did not appear to him fair to argue against the bill on the ground that the Irish militia, who volunteered their services to this country, were to be immediately removed from Ireland. If he had conceived that the bill necessarily implied this, he could not but have viewed it in a very different light. As it struck his mind, however, all that was meant by the measure was, to enable parliament to sanction any preparatory measures which particular circumstances might render desirable at a moment of peculiar emergency. Such an emergency might occur at no remote period, and it would be very extraordinary policy, never to think of precautions till the day of actual danger approached. Would any man say, that we ought to wait till the fleet from Brest, or any of the enemy's ports, had eluded our vigilance, before we had recourse to plans for the safety of the united kingdoms? He assented, therefore, to the bill, from a conviction that such were the objects of it, and that no immediate withdrawing of these forces from Ireland was to take place, till the exigencies of this country absolutely and urgently required them.

Mr. *Canning* delivered his sentiments in opposition to the bill. He had not intended to deliver his sentiments, but to content himself with a silent vote, but the view of the subject taken by his hon. friend who spoke last, induced him to trouble the house with a few observations. In judging of the bill, there were three points to be taken into consideration. It was to be considered, how far the measure was at all necessary? how far Ireland possessed the means of supplying the force proposed to be sent into this country? and in what manner the deficiency created by this supply was to be repaired? On the first of these points, he wished to postpone his observations, till he had alluded to the means possessed by Ireland, of furnishing the supply of troops to be raised by the bill. On this point he contended, that an hon. gent. on the other side (Col. Hutchinson) had, so far from being out of order, argued in a manner the most strictly logical. When speaking of the means of Ireland to supply the force wanted, nothing was more natural than to allude to the political circumstances and situation of Ireland. When discussing this subject, gents. ought to keep in view, that Ireland at this moment laboured under martial law, that the *habeas corpus* act was suspended, that a rebellion had burst forth, and that some new insurrection might ere long make its appearance. How far Ireland possessed the means of giving the supply of troops wanted, was therefore a matter of serious inquiry. How far the measure was expedient was an inquiry not less interesting. The principle of the bill, as described by a right hon. gent. below (Mr. Yorke), was to procure, by the speediest means, an augmentation of our disposable force. That such an augmentation was desirable, all parties allowed, and the only question was, how it was to be most speedily effected. The house had been told by ministers, that, even with an establishment of 70,000 English militia, and 380,000 volunteers, our whole regular force was locked up from offensive operations. How, then, was this inconveniency to be removed? Why, the fact was, according to the reasoning of ministers, that what this immense force could not accomplish, was to be effected by an addition of 10,000 Irish militia. True it was, that we had previously 70,000 militia, and 380,000 volunteers; but this was quite unavailing. But only allow us 10,000 Irish militia, and the scale will be immediately turned. Our whole regular force would be at liberty, and we should have as many men as we required to be dispatched on any distant expeditions. Such was the only intelligible view of the reasoning of ministers; but what could be more ridiculous or absurd? But he wished to put the matter in a point of view, if possible, still more striking. Ministers insisted much on the necessity of a disposable force. But how was it that this force was to be procured? The fact was, that ministers introduced into this country a proportion of the force of Ireland, raised for limited service; and how did they propose to supply the place of this force? They proposed to do this by raising a new proportion of force for limited service in the same country. The consequence was obvious. The disposable force of the empire was not augmented, while ministers, by augmenting the force for limited service, cut off the supplies of the regular army. Ministers had nothing consistent or uniform in their views. They knew not what they proposed, and they took no effectual means of carrying any of their plans into effect. They were subject to eternal variations of opinion. They never advanced boldly to any object. "They lightly waddled to the end in view."—He did not mean to undervalue these offers of extended service, by his hesitation in voting for the bill. He denied that Ireland could spare that force, or that England stood in need of it, and therefore concluded with voting against the bill.

Mr. *Bastard* said, he thought the present measures were quite contrary to the constitution of the militia, on whom the country greatly relied for the expulsion of the enemy. Those regiments were limited to particular services, and it was proper they should continue so, because the nearer these regiments were to the place where they were raised, the more influence they would have, and the more service they would render. He hoped the militia would never again be exposed to the measures adopted during last war. He had heard rumours of a regiment of Irish militia having made offers of extended service to this country, without the consent of one single officer belonging to it. He knew that there were certain regiments who adopted such measures during last war, merely for the purpose of spiteing their officers. This bill gave rise to a system of deliberation in regiments, and so far from assisting the recruiting of the regular army, it injured it, by raising the competition.

Mr. *Pytches* thought the measure came rather prematurely, without any previous consideration of the situation of Ireland, or any danger of an immediate descent on this country. If there even were an apparent necessity, it was a measure of such a nature that the house ought to look askew at it. It was impossible to see where innovation would end, if a rash zeal was to be spoken of in terms of such exultation. This measure was, he knew, considered as the key-stone of a new system; but he was one of those who adhered to the original contract. This was considered as a kind of intermarriage; but without diminishing the gallantry of the Irish nation, when he considered their propensity to celibacy, and the character of the English ladies, he doubted whether one link would be added to the connubial chain. However he might approve the principle of returning the visit of the militia of this country, he condemned the Irish nation for giving way so much to bashfulness as to think that necessary. It was but yesterday that ministers wanted to brighten over this blooming act of the Irish nation, which they said did not want to be glossed over by any further operation. Now the offer was too fascinating to be rejected. He admired this generous tender of loyalty, but to make use of it, would be to admit that the constitution was vulnerable, and that it was necessary it should have an Hibernian pier to rest upon. But before any Irish militia was admitted into this country, he thought there should have been a message from his Majesty, declaring that all religious and political enmities in that country were at an end. If the invasion should come, the people of Ireland would call loudly for their militia. If the bill should pass the house, it would go to make an united, an amphibious militia. Considering the object for which this measure was brought forward, at this moment of unexampled danger, he saw it with infinite concern. Alarm had apparently seized the public mind, but it ought to be crushed without this measure. It would not be crushed, however, while we had an administration whose management of the forces of the country was to be estimated in the same manner as the use made of cyphers by the mathematicians, which being multiplied three or four fold, produced nothing.

Sir *R. Hill* said, that it was a subject upon which military men were the most competent to decide; and he begged leave to read, as part of his speech, a letter he had received from a nephew of his, who had seen considerable service in Toulon, Egypt, and in Ireland; and who, though a young man, had attained the rank of brigadier-general. Sir Richard then read part of the letter, which expressed a strong opinion of the advantages that would result from an interchange of the militia; and spoke in high terms of the Irish militia. There were no better troops than the Irish militia, and if they were under good officers, they may be depended upon for any service.

Colonel *Vereker* was gratified, even by the admission of the hon. baronet's correspondent, that the Irish militia may be depended upon if well officered. He was sure that all the Irish militia, and particularly the regiment he had the honour to command, would, if England were invaded, vie with each other who should be the foremost to come to her assistance. But when Ireland was equally threatened with England, and when there was a French fleet expressly destined to attack Ireland, he could not see the merit of the attachment, loyalty, and zeal, as they were called, of volunteering services to another part of the empire not more in danger. He was particularly adverse to the measure, as the Sec. of State admitted that the regiments were as highly disciplined as troops of the line, and, in fact, they did garrison duty, and other duty with troops of the line, and on the same footing. From the most vulnerable part of the British isles, as he contended Ireland was, this measure proposed to take 10,000 of the best disciplined of this admirable militia, and to replace it with 10,000 of the army of reserve, who, if they were such men as he saw in Ireland belonging to the army of reserve, were not worth 1000 of the men that composed the Irish militia. He contended that the service of the English militia to Ireland was returned by the vote of the Irish parliament, and the actual transfer of two regiments of the Irish militia to Guernsey and Jersey. If these 10,000 men were to be replaced by an equal number of English militia, he should have no objection; an interchange of this nature had been held out as one of the beneficial consequences of the union. If England were invaded, or if the Brest fleet were disabled from invading Ireland, and England were then threatened, he would be the first to volunteer in her defence; but while the danger was the same, if not greater, with respect to Ireland, he thought it his duty to defend his country first. The safety of his own country was dearer to him than that of all the world: the safety of England was next. The question was put, when

Mr. *Windham* rose. He supposed that as the right hon. gentlemen on the other side found they did not make much progress by argument, they meant to carry the question by some other means. It was true, that what had been urged against them this night was not new; but it was not possible to consider this or any other military measure, without reference to the whole of our military system. He should now confine what he had to say to the measure before the house, reserving what else he had to offer for the other measure, which was to be discussed tomorrow or some other day. He confessed he was one of those who was glad that there was to be an opportunity for gentlemen "exercising their lungs," as the right hon. secretary called it, he supposed in contradistinction to what on a former day he had termed "solid votes," on both measures separately. He contended that what took place in 1798, when the English militia volunteered to Ireland, was entirely distinct. The constitutional principle of holding the militia to limited service was not inflexible. There was no inconsistency in those who consented to give way in some circumstances, refusing to give way in others, and those who consented then, were not bound by that consent from future opposition. The other question, as to the vote in 1799, was *toto cœlò* different, for there was then a rebellion in Ireland, a foreign enemy was also in the country, and menacing it with a greater force. The proposition originated with the Irish parliament, and the circumstances of the present time were entirely different. As to the return of the visit, it would never end; visit would beget visit, and continued transition and intermixture would be established, except the thing rested upon the first return. It was probable that in 1799, while the rebellion still subsisted, the English militia were thought a safer description of force for Ireland. He at that time supported the sending English militia to Ireland, and the transfer of the services of a part of the Irish militia to another part of the empire. The experience gained by that proceeding was one reason for his opposition to the present measure. The effects which the precedent had on the character and discipline of the militia force, had been stated fully by the hon. gent. who went before him (Mr. Bastard). He first objected to the measure that it was a breach of good faith. The maxim of *volenti non fit injuria* could not be justly applied, as the men felt themselves in a disagreeable situation, and a sort of necessity was put upon them, when part of their corps offered, to follow the example. He instanced the situation of Lieut. Browne, mentioned in a sort of way in the papers, so as to admit of an invidious construction: this gent. had in reality shewn more manliness by refusing to volunteer. He recollected a similar instance where the member for Nottingham (Mr. Pierrepont), was the only man that refused to give his assent at a time when the act for enabling the English militia to serve in Ireland was passed, as it were, by acclamation. The effect on the discipline of the militia was most pernicious. One deliberation led to another; and if it even ended on the instant, was it not a degrading and pernicious thing that a commanding officer should be obliged, even for that once, to descend to a canvass and solicitation of his men. Let gentlemen take a lesson from experience. It was well known that the officers who had been obliged to take such a step, had never been able to recover their authority. The present high state of discipline in the militia, was owing to its long, regular, and unchanged establishment. If the system should be broke in upon, that cause of perfection would no longer remain. These two main objections lay to the plan as laid down. If parliament was called upon to vote the measure on trust that was intelligible. If ministers offered one set of reasons while they acted on another, how was parliament to decide? It was argued, that though the power was given, it was not meant to use it immediately. If any thing required immediate use and was unfit to keep, it was certainly an offer of voluntary service. It was more liable to spoil than mackarel itself. The circumstances would change, and the disposition of the men would change with them. It was certainly a great effort of ingenuity to create a disposable force by transferring from one island to another a force in its own nature not disposable; and it was extremely whimsical to think of creating a force for offensive operations, not by increasing the army, but by raising more militia. As to the recruiting service, it could not go on.

Gentlemen met themselves in their own market; the moment they went to Ireland to raise new regiments for general service they would find themselves there already raising 8 or 10,000 militia. The effect of the measure was to bring a force from a country where it was more wanted, to a country where it was less wanted; then, to replace it, a fresh militia is to be got at a higher price, and to run the same round. Gentlemen who were better acquainted with the character of the Irish militia than he, but not better than the hon. gent. who spoke last in opposition to the measure, may see reasons for accepting the offers which he did not see. He therefore voted against the motion.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, the right hon. gent. who just sat down, had weakened his charge by admitting, with all the ingenuity that he was known to possess, and the unexampled facility of giving an air of novelty to what had been often repeated, that he could add nothing new to the familiar arguments urged against the present measure. He did not think it right, after the able statement of his right hon. friend at the commencement of this debate, to go over the same ground at length; but as the charge of silence had been made, he begged leave merely to state the purpose of the measure. It was not an exchange of militia services, on any enlarged principle, that was in the contemplation of his Majesty's ministers. Though, if that measure could be effected without driving from the militia the gentlemen of property, it would render the militia the great bulwark of the empire. Looking upon that as one of the best measures that could be adopted, he was sure it would disgust the militia if it should now be prematurely pressed forward. The sentiments and disposition of the militia on this head, ought to be watched and followed up, not anticipated. He thought it right, therefore, to say, that his Majesty's ministers did not mean this even a beginning or introduction to such a system. They did not even mean to put the matter upon the footing of the year 1798, when a rebellion raged in Ireland, though he was sure if the same necessity existed, there would be but one feeling with respect to voluntary service, without limit of time or place. In his opinion, a high motive of policy was a good ground for accepting a service from the militia beyond what it was bound to by their original constitution. He deprecated the mode of arguing against granting the power, by assuming that it would be abused when it was granted. He contended that soldiers were frequently put in a deliberative capacity, particularly when called upon to volunteer in a storming party, or on a forlorn hope, or any other service of extraordinary danger. He was sure no person would be more ready than his hon. friend over the way (Col. Vereker), to volunteer services of danger for the safety of any part of the empire, but he could not approve of the idea of a local patriotism, prefering one part to all the rest. As to the mischief of bringing away the men of property and magistrates in the Irish militia, this would only apply if each regiment were kept in its own district. As it was now, and had always been the case in the Irish militia, to serve in counties distant from their own, he could see no difference between their serving in England, and in a remote part of Ireland. As to the next objection, that the raising of an additional militia force would cripple the recruiting, experience had proved it would not. As to the argument that fencibles ought to be raised, he conceived it would be sufficient to reflect, that the men would be raised more speedily, more cheaply, and more rapidly by being incorporated with militia regiments already highly disciplined. Besides, there was no source from which experienced officers could be found for fencible regiments. It was the opinion of the best officers, that with eight new regiments, and ten new battalions, with the existing disposable force more at liberty by the present measure, we should be in a condition to undertake offensive operations. It was not the object of the present measure to lessen the defence of Ireland. If that was the object the removal of the regular troops would more naturally be thought of. He disclaimed the idea of bringing the Irish militia to this country from any motive of suspicion. He knew the difficulties men had to contend with in their own country; but he had seen the Irish militia tried in the year 1798 by plans of seduction beyond any thing that the ingenuity or wickedness of men would for its own sake ever practise again; and though a few had fallen victims, the great mass had proved inaccessible.

Mr. *Thomas Grenville* remarked an inconsistency among the speakers on the opposite side. The right hon. secretary adduced the transactions of 1798 and 1799, as precedents to sanction the present proceedings, while the noble lord disclaimed making such a use of them. He denied that there was any analogy between the circumstances of the voluntary offer in 1798, and a cold cabinet measure like the present. The noble lord disclaimed, for his Majesty's ministers, any idea of making this measure even the foundation of an interchange of militia; but he doubted, whether the manner in which his lordship spoke, would have the effect of quieting the apprehension which some of his hearers might entertain on that subject. There were many modes in a voluntary offer, that might be procured in a manner little short of actual violence. He noticed, as a great inconsistency, that while the paper on the table stated, the offer to come only from 6,000, the bill empowered the disposal of 10,000. With all respect for the Irish militia, and believing them to be as gallant men as any in the world, he did not think either English or Irish militia equal to regular troops, nor could he believe, that the removal of 10,000 Irish militia to this country would give a regular force of the same amount. It was a whimsical argument to say, that this was the quickest way of obtaining 10,000 men, while it was said, that the power, though given, was was not to be speedily used. True, the appeal to the volunteer spirit of the army for the formation of storming parties and forlorn hopes, was giving them a deliberative power, but it was a deliberation to be decided on the impulse of the moment, to which Britons would never be wanting. It was widely distinct from a cold deliberation like that of the present measure. He complained, that in matters which were so intimately connected with the regular army, the house was called upon to vote without any account of the regular army before them. Sometimes one minister and sometimes another took from their pockets papers, which they read as such accounts, and which they put in their pockets again. He thought it wrong that this measure was divided from that which was to replace the force to be taken away. Both should be connected, and gentlemen would thus have the opportunity of considering the whole together. At present, if this bill passed, there was no security that the force, the removal of which it would authorise, would be replaced.

The Hon. *C. H. Hutchinson*, in explanation, allowed that he had expressed himself decidedly against replacing the Irish militia by foreign troops; but he approved of their being replaced by English militia.

Lord *de Blaquiere* said, he was astonished to see the house so long deliberating upon the propriety of accepting the services of their loyal fellow subjects in Ireland, so gallantly, so disinterestedly, tendered by them at the present crisis. He contended, that the union of the two kingdoms was incomplete, till a general measure upon the grounds of mutual benefits and reciprocal assistance was established; but, as this was at the present moment impracticable, it was an unfair proceeding in the house to couple the two things together; one point, and one alone, could be considered, and that one was, whether we shall, at this moment of peril, condescend to avail ourselves of the volunteer services of our brethren in Ireland, or shall we contumeliously tell them, that even their services are beneath our consideration.—Upon what principle it was that this occasion had been taken to reprobate the system of volunteer services in the army, he could not understand.—No man was a greater enemy to the deliberation of soldiers in arms than himself, but, without volunteer services, great achievements had never been performed, nor did he see the wisdom in questioning the use of volunteer exertions at a moment when almost the entire defence of the country depended upon the volunteers. It was against the true spirit of the union he contended, that these difficulties were made—that measure which was to strengthen the empire, and increase its consequence, what was its proposed operation, what must foreign nations say, when for the first time it is brought into consideration, they shall learn, that a doubt arose whether the two kingdoms should mutually assist each other, and that this point was gravely debated in the parliament of the empire?—And shall nothing be said on the part of the people of Ireland, are they to have no feeling for your contumely?—A kingdom, he said, as independent as your own, whose independence you was forced to acknowledge, or we would not have treated with you, a people, who have sacrificed that independence, who have cashiered their parliament, who have given up their consequence as a nation, to coalesce with you as friends, is it meant that this people should be told that their present situation, is so abject, that even their services are not worth your acceptance. Gentlemen cannot be in earnest? it is impossible.

The question being loudly called for, the house divided on the motion that the speaker do leave the chair, when there appeared,

Ayes - -	124
Noes - -	54
Majority -	—70

The bill was accordingly committed, and the report ordered to be received on Thursday.

List of the Minority.

Adair, Robert
Bankes, Henry
Barclay, Sir Robert
Bastard, John Pollexfen
Bouverie, Hon. Edw.
Canning, Rt. Hon. Geo.
Cavendish, Ld Geo. A. H.
Cooke, Bryan
Creevey, Thomas
Cust, Hon. John
Dickinson, Wm. jun.
Dillon, Hon. H. Augustus
Dundas, Hon. Chas. L.
Dundas, Hon. Geo. H. L.
Elford, Sir William
Euston, Earl of
Fellowes, Hon. Newton
Folkestone, Viscount
Fellowes, Wm. Henry
Foster, Rt. Hon. John
Fox, Hon. Chas. Jas.
Francis, Philip
Gower, Ld G. Levison
Gregor, Francis
Grenville, Rt. Hon. T.
Gunning, Geo. Wm.
Hamilton, Ld. Arch.
Holland, Henry, jun.
Howard, Henry
Kensington, Lord
Lawrence, French
Lemon, Sir William
Maddox, Wm. Augustus
Marsham, Viscount
Milner, Sir William
Moore, George Peter
Morpeth, Viscount
North, Dudley
Ord, William
Ossulston, Lord
Petty, Lord Henry
Porchester, Lord
Pytches, John
Russel, Lord William
Smith William
Stanhope, Walter Spencer
Thornton, Henry
Vereker, Charles
Walpole, Hon. George
Ward, Hon. John, Wm.
Windham, Rt. Hon. Wm.
Wrottesley, Sir John
Wynne, Sir Watkin Wm.
Young, Sir William

Calcraft, John } Tellers.
Elliot, William }

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, April, 11, 1804.

[Minutes.] In the appeal from the court of sessions in Scotland Abercrombie *v.* Elphinstone, Mr. Clarke was heard for the respondent. The further consideration was deferred until Friday. The several bills on the table were passed in their respective stages.

[Defence of the Country.] The Earl of *Suffolk* rose for the purpose of correcting an error which found its way into some of the public prints, respecting what he had said when he had the honour of addressing their lordships on the day before. It was imputed to him, that in speaking of the manner in which the commands of two vacant regiments had been lately disposed of, that he should have said, that his noble friend had been passed over, while the regiments had been bestowed on persons who had performed no service to their country, or words to that effect. He begged leave to disclaim ever having made use of any such expression. With one of those officers, (he meant to allude to him who had succeeded to the late Sir Wm. Fawcett's regiment), he was well acquainted. He knew him to be a deserving and meritorious officer, who had seen much service in various parts of the world. With the other gallant general he had not the honour of being acquainted, but he understood that he was an able and experienced officer also. He thought it his duty to correct a mis-statement, which he was far from supposing to be intentional, and he did not intend to make any motion on the subject. He would, notwithstanding, take the liberty of offering a suggestion to the house; and that was, whether a little extension of the acquiescence in a practice that had lately prevailed, would not be desirable? and whether, for the purpose of preventing inaccuracies in the reports of their lordships' proceedings, it would not be proper to give some better accommodation to those who—(here his lordship was called to order, and immediately sat down).

[Volunteer Consolidation Bill.]—The house having gone into a committee on the bill, several alterations, merely verbal, were made. On the clause being read, which empowers commanding officers to take any man misbehaving himself in the ranks, and place him under arrest during the time the corps is exercising, Lord Grenville moved, that the clause be omitted altogether. The noble lord objected to the clause, on the ground that it went to provide for nothing more than what was already provided for, as he might in case of riotous behaviour be given in charge of a constable. On this motion the house divided, Contents 22. Non-contents 7. Majority for the clause 15.—Lord Grenville said, he should not object to the prerogative clause in the bill, as it would be recollected, he had, on a former evening, given notice of his intention to make it the subject of a distinct motion.—The house divided on the clause for allowing the marching guinea. Lord Grenville suggested, as an amendment, to allow the guinea to them instead of purchasing clothes. The numbers were, Contents 24. Non-contents 14. Majority against the amendment 10.—Another division took place on a verbal amendment. Contents 22. Non-contents 11.—After discussing several other clauses, in which no alterations were made, the chairman was directed to report progress, and ask leave to sit again to-morrow. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, April, 11, 1804.

[Minutes.]—Mr. Vansittart moved, that there be laid before the house an estimate of the sum which may be wanted for his Majesty's foreign and secret services for the year 1804. Ordered.—Sir John Newport postponed his motion respecting the Ilchester election till Friday next.—Mr. Foster moved, that there be laid before the house an account of the quantity of corn, meal, malt, and grain, imported into, and exported from

Ireland, together with the bounties and duties paid thereon from the 1st Jan. 1800, to the 1st Jan. 1804, distinguishing the quantity for each year. Ordered.—Also, that there be laid before the house an account of the average price of English, Welch, and Scotch grain, from the 15th Feb. 1802. Ordered.—Also, that there be laid before the house an account of the duties paid on exports of linen from Ireland, since the commencement of that trade, the amount of the number of yards exported, and of the duties paid thereon. Ordered.—Mr. Windham moved for an account of the number of men raised in Great-Britain and Ireland for the army of reserve, pursuant to the act for that purpose, distinguishing the number of the same engaged for general service, &c. Ordered.

[IRISH MILITIA AUGMENTATION BILL.] Mr. Secretary *Yorke* moved, that the order of the day should be read for the committal of this bill; but, previously to his moving that the speaker do leave the chair, he took the opportunity of mentioning, that by inadvertency a clause had been introduced into the bill which would appear to throw the expense that would attend this measure altogether upon Ireland; this certainly would be unjust, and it was far from the intention of govt.; he therefore intended to remedy this, when the bill should go into a committee, if such was the pleasure of the house. He then moved, that the speaker should quit the chair.

Colonel *Craufurd* said, that the bill upon the table bore so near a relation to that which had been under discussion last night, and both of them had so close a connexion with others which his Majesty's ministers had in contemplation, that they must be considered not as separate measures each complete in itself, but as component parts of one general plan.——Indeed, the right hon. Sec. of State in opening this business to the house, after a statement (on which he should presently make a few remarks) of the actual amount of the force which had been provided for the defence of the empire, had proceeded very properly to bring under one view the whole of the measures by which it was proposed to procure a disposable force for future offensive operations: and, although the several parts of this plan were now brought successively before the house in separate bills, yet no one of them could, with propriety, be discussed or decided upon, without reference to the others.——He should therefore think it necessary to say a very few words upon the bill for empowering his Majesty to accept the voluntary offers of the Irish militia, before he proceeded to comment upon that which provided for the augmentation of that force. With respect to the former, he said, that he had last night come down to the house with a determination to give it his support, but that the only grounds upon which he should have done so had been so distinctly disavowed by His Majesty's ministers, that he was greatly embarrassed what course to pursue. The principle of the measure had been combated by arguments so strong in themselves, so forcibly stated, and so completely unanswered, that had he come to a decision in consequence of what he heard in the debate, he must, in opposition to his original intention, have voted against the bill. Still however his objections to having a large body of Irish militia acting in Ireland were so strong, that notwithstanding the force of the arguments urged by the opposers of the measure and the weakness of those by which it was defended, he would have adhered to his resolution of giving it his support, had it not been for the very explicit declaration made towards the close of the debate by a noble lord (Castlereagh), which left him little reason to hope that the object which he had in view would be accomplished. Under these circumstances, approving of the measure as an abstract question, but despairing of its being so made use of as to produce the effects for the sake of which alone he did approve of it, he had really been so much at a loss which way to vote, that he had left the house without voting at all.——But although he had experienced this difficulty and embarrassment upon the former bill, he felt not the smallest hesitation in giving his decided negative to the present one. He disapproved of the augmentation of the Irish militia, not only from considerations peculiar to Ireland, but also upon the more general principle of the impolicy of increasing, in either part of the United Kingdom, that local force, whose services, if the general defence of the state required their being employed in the other, must be accepted as a favour, and could not be required as a duty. The inconveniencies resulting from this state of things, were, in his opinion, perfectly sufficient reasons against any increase of the militia either in Great-Britain or Ireland; and instead of giving his consent to such an augmentation, he must, on the contrary, express his wish that we had no embodied militia at all. He did not mean to say we ought not to have any militia in Great-Britain, but that it ought not to form any part of our *embodied* force. In considering the situation of Ireland, he said, that whatever delicacy other gentlemen might feel, he for one had no scruple in declaring openly that he did not think it good policy to employ, in that country, a large body of regiments composed entirely of Irishmen. But in saying this he must beg it to be distinctly understood, that he did not mean to cast the smallest reflection upon the Irish militia, nor to insinuate that there was any reason whatever to suspect them of disloyalty. In the year 1798 they had conducted themselves in a manner that did them the highest honour; and their allegiance and loyalty had triumphed over all the efforts that were made to seduce them. He trusted too that those of the present day were as faithful and as warmly attached to his Majesty as any other part of his forces. Those who had made the voluntary offers to come to Great-Britain had certainly given the most convincing proofs of such a disposition; and he had no reason to doubt of the others being equally well disposed. Still however he must contend that it would be more wise to employ the Irish soldiers any where else than in their own country, in which, if we look back at the events of the last five or six years, we shall find too much reason to believe that great disaffection must still prevail.——He was convinced that he did not exaggerate when he said, that the conspiracy, which existed in the year 1798, comprized nearly three-fourths of the people of that country. The insurrection or civil war which was the consequence of the conspiracy had been preceded by many atrocities on the part of the disaffected, but it had also been attended in its progress, as all civil wars are, with acts of great violence on both sides; and although the insurgents had been defeated and subdued; yet, after all that passed during the contest, it was not natural to suppose that the animosity and hostile spirit which induced them to take arms against us, should have been assuaged by the defects which they experienced, and the punishments which had been inflicted.——Force and severity, however necessary to suppress rebellion, could not possibly conciliate the affections of the people; and he should be glad to know what step had since been taken for the purpose of removing the causes of discontent, and of making the Irish satisfied with their situation and attached to the government. What had been done which could entitle us to suppose that we now possessed the good will of those, who so few years ago were our inveterate enemies?—The union was the only great change or remarkable feature, in our conduct towards Ireland since the rebellion; and it was impossible to think of the union, without feeling the deepest regret, that that great measure, which might have been made the means of conciliating the affections of the Irish people, and consolidating the strength of the empire, had not been allowed to produce any of those consequences which the best and sincerest friends of the King, of the Monarchy, and of the two countries, had expected to result from it. Hitherto the union had been productive of no advantage whatever to the Irish; and so far from having been made, as it might have been, a means of conciliating their affection, it was natural for us to suppose, that the contrary must have been the case, when we considered that the great object which they hoped to obtain by it, that which they expected to be the first consequence of the union, and which they considered as the price of their acquiescence in it, had been positively withheld. Considering therefore, that from the suppression of the rebellion in 1798 to this time, no material change had taken place in the situation of Ireland, or in our conduct towards that country, except the union, in which all their hopes had been disappointed, he could not conceive upon what grounds it was that some gentlemen seemed to indulge the idea that they were now so well affected to the govt., as to make it wholly improbable that that country should again become the scene of insurrection and civil war.——He remembered that in the last session, when some gentlemen were giving us fine accounts of the general loyalty of the Irish people, he had ventured to express his doubts of the possibility of so great a change having been so soon effected, without any apparent cause. His doubts had not been very well received; but unfortunately, in less than three weeks afterwards, an insurrection had broken out in the city of Dublin, sufficiently serious to induce govt. and parliament to grant to the lord lieut. the power of declaring martial law. In the present session, this measure had been renewed; and it was impossible for ministers to justify their having proposed it to the house upon any other ground than that of Ireland being still in such a state, as to give cause for apprehending fresh insurrections. Under these circumstances, he thought that nothing but necessity could justify your keeping in Ireland a large body of Irish militia, taken, as they are, from amongst that class of people of whom there is reason to believe that so large a proportion is disaffected. Nothing but necessity could justify your placing them in a situation where their allegiance would probably be put to a test so severe, that though he did not say that they would not stand it, (for he knew that in the last war their loyalty had resisted every attack, and triumphed over every other feeling) yet it was a trial to which he would not *wantonly* and *unnecessarily* expose them. It was not consistent with prudence, with wisdom, with common sense, or even with humanity, wantonly to place brave men in a situation where the best and strongest feelings of human nature, the ties of consanguinity, the affections of a son, a brother, or a father, may come in competition with the allegiance of the soldier. This was a trial to which he, for one, would not consent to expose them, without absolute necessity. — He therefore regretted that any Irish militia had been raised, and should object to its augmentation; believing, as he did, that it was just as easy in that country to procure a force of a different description. Ministers themselves seemed, indeed, to acknowledge that this addition of 10,000 men to the militia establishment of Ireland, was become advisable *only* in consequence of the voluntary offers which a part of them had made to come to Great Britain: but it was impossible to deny, that there was much inconvenience in being dependent for this extension of their services upon their own voluntary offers; and that it would be much better that the terms of their engagement should be such as to enable his Majesty to *command* their service in any part of the empire. He therefore could not conceive why, if they could not procure troops of the line, they did not, on the present occasion, have recourse to raising fencible regiments in preference to militia; and he was convinced that the former might be got as easily as the latter, if you extended to them the advantages, now exclusively enjoyed by the militia, of having their families provided for, an advantage which, as well as every other, was surely as fairly due to fencibles and troops of the line, as to that branch of the public force, whose service is most limited. —A noble lord had assigned as one reason in favour of this militia augmentation, that a certain number of men added to an established regiment, would be sooner disciplined and fit for service than if formed into entire new corps. He perfectly agreed with the noble lord as to the general principle, which he himself had strongly insisted upon when he recommended engrafting the army of reserve on the old regiments of the line; but he could not approve of the application of this principle in the present instance, because he objected to any increase whatever of the militia force. If there should be any difficulty of procuring proper officers for the fencibles, a considerable number might be taken fron the sixteen reserve battalions, which were so inefficient in the number and the quality of their men, that he considered a very great portion of their officers as being, in their present situation, lost to the service. —With respect to the statement of the effective strength of the forces now actually on foot, which had been made by the right hon. sec. of state, in the speech with which he had introduced these measures to the house, he should at present make only two or three short observations upon it, reserving to himself the right of entering more fully into that subject on a future occasion. In the first place, he must observe, that this statement did, upon the face of it, bear some marks of inaccuracy, and that it would therefore be much more satisfactory if the right hon. gent. would lay before the house the actual returns, of which he professed to give them an abstract: and, secondly, he must observe, that from the manner in which this statement was made, many members of the house would be led to suppose our regular infantry to be much stronger than it really was; in attempting to prove which he could be guilty of no impropriety, because he had access to no documents but what every man in the country might procure as well as himself.—The right hon. sec. had began his statement by saying, that the effective strength of the regulars and militia in Great-Britain, Ireland, and the islands in the Channel, amounted to 199,000 men. When he afterwards proceeded to describe the different species of troops of which this force consisted, he had said nothing of the cavalry; but he had stated, that the regular infantry amounted to 90,000, and the militia to 99,000. The infantry and militia would therefore, according to this statement, amount to 189,000, which being deducted from the total number of 199,000, would leave only 10,000 men for the cavalry; whereas the establishment of cavalry for home service, as voted by parliament, was 25,019. So that admitting the other parts of the right hon. secretary's statement to be accurate, there would be a deficiency of 15,000 men in the cavalry, which appeared to him to be impossible; and he should rather be inclined to suppose, that taking the whole force at 199,000, and the militia at 99,000, the remaining 100,000 must consist of nearly 20,000 cavalry, and not much above 80,000 infantry. But even supposing the infantry to be 90,000, still it was evident, that great deductions must be made from this gross number, in order to ascertain the real effective strength fit for field service. In the first place must be deducted between 5 and 6000 men for the seven garrison or invalid battalions: in the second place, the right hon. sec. had included officers, serjeants and drummers; whereas in talking of the effective strength of regiments, it was the custom of the service to state the numbers of rank and file only: and in the third place it must be observed, that the 16 reserve battalions, which were also included in the 90,000, were composed of the refuse of the men raised under the reserve act; men, whom the regiments of the army, and even the second battalions, had refused to take, and of whom he believed he might say without exaggeration, that 7 or 8,000 were unfit for field service. After making all these deductions, he believed that the 90,000 would be reduced to about 66,000 rank and file; of whom between 5 and 6000 were in Jersey and Guernsey, leaving about 60,000 in Great Britain and Ireland; of which, it would appear, that nearly 25,000 rank and file were in the latter country, and 35,000 in this. But his Majesty's ministers had said, that the Irish militia, whom it is intended to bring to England, would be replaced by an equivalent number of the regiments of the line, or second battalions from hence; so that supposing 6000 men of this description to be sent to Ireland, the whole of the regular infantry (including second battalions) remaining in Great-Britain would be 29,000 rank and file. It must however be remembered, that this computation was founded on the supposition that the gross number of infantry, including officers, serjeants and drummers, and also including garrison and reserve battalions, amounted to 90,000; but he had before observed, that upon the face of the right hon. secretary's own statement, there appeared reason to believe, that this was a mistake. He had already remarked, that the establishment of cavalry voted by parliament for home service being 25,000, it was not presumable that their effective strength could be much below 20,000; particularly as an augmentation of the establishment from 22 to 25,000 had lately been voted; that therefore the whole force being 199,000, and the militia 99,000, the remaining 100,000 probably consisted of about 20,000 cavalry, and about 80,000 infantry. He had also shewn, that taking the gross amount of infantry in Great-Britain, Ireland, and the islands in the Channel to be 90,009, the effective rank and file in Great-Britain would be only 35,000; and therefore, if the former number was a mistake, and ought to have been stated at 80,000, the latter would, of course, be reduced to 25,000:—and in that case, after sending a part of this force to replace the Irish militia, we should not have more than 20,000 infantry fit for field-service in Great-Britain.—He concluded by saying, that being convinced of the necessity of a great and immediate augmentation of our regular infantry, he should at the proper stage of the measures now in progress, take an opportunity of submitting to the house his opinions of the most effectual way of accomplishing it. In the mean-time he thought it his duty to endeavour to shew, what was the real state of that part of our force, as well as such imperfect documents as he had access to, could enable him to ascertain it; and there could be no impropriety in his entering into these details, because they were grounded only upon such information as was open to every man as well as to himself. If, howevever, it should appear, that from want of better information he had underrated our force, it would be easy for his Majesty's ministers to convince the house and himself of his error, by laying upon the table the actual returns of the army, from which their own statements were taken. He was well aware, that there might sometimes be sufficient reasons for not making public the real effective strength of the force existing in the country; but after his Majesty's ministers had volunteered coming forward with a statement of the actual amount of each branch of that force, there could be no impropriety in his asking for the official documents upon which that statement was founded; nor could they, under such circumstances, urge any consideration of prudence or of necessary secrecy, as an objection to the production of them.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* said, he did not feel it necessary to follow the hon. officer minutely through the whole detail of his arguments, but merely to apply himself to a few points that he thought should not pass unnoticed: and first, with respect to the subject of the Union, which the hon. officer seemed to think so barren of the good consequences it was expected to produce. He believed it never could have been rationally expected, or feasibly promised by any man, that all the good effects to be hoped from that measure, were to be realized in the short period that has elapsed since it was effected. Those benefits must, in the ordinary course of things, be of gradual growth. What portion of them had hitherto obtain-d, he would leave it for those hon. gents., epresentatives of that country, whom he aw around him, to declare, which they vere competent to do, from their local knowedge and observation. With respect to he bill now before the house, he begged to bserve, that it was not in fact for any exraordinary augmentation of the militia of reland, to which branch of the service the hon. officer so much objected, but to fill up that vacancy which would be created in hat militia, if it should be thought expedient by his Majesty to transfer 10,000 of them to this country; and, even if hey should not be so transferred, the present bill would do no more than raise the militia force of Ireland to the numbers at which they stood during the last war. With respect to the nature of the militia force, he only felt it necessary to say, that, as a matter of opinion he differed from the hon. officer; and he thought he was well warranted in so differing from that opinion, by the gallant conduct of that militia in the time of the rebellion, and the efficient bravery they had shewn, not only in repelling a domestic, but a foreign enemy, aided, certainly, by another body of their brave and loyal countrymen, of whom he never could speak without the highest and most honourable commendation, the Yeomanry of Ireland. With respect to the general strength of the United Kingdom, upon which so many invidious comments were so frequently made, he considered it really so formidable as to leave very little apprehensions of any inconvenience that could result from the scrutinies of the hon. officer, even upon the minutest details of the public force. For looking around him to the gallantry, the heroism, and the prowess, perpetually displayed by British troops in every quarter of the globe; contemplating the achievements recently effected by a mere handful of British troops in India, over the most formidable and numerous armies of the native powers; viewing a few detachments of British cavalry and infantry, annihilating whole armies of 40 or 50,000 men, storming their fortresses, and capturing their artillery; he had no apprehensions for alarm when he looked at home, and viewed such a bulwark for our defence, as an army of 160.000 such troops presented to the foe When he saw 10,000 such cavalry as the handful that cut to pieces the 20,000 chosen men of Scindia's army; when he viewed a train of 700 pieces of artillery, manned by 7,000 well trained Britions to give them effect, he felt none of that alarm which seemed to affect the hon. gent.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* opposed the present bill, not merely as a distinct and detached measure, but as coupled with the bill of last night, to which he also strongly objected as part of a system towards Ireland, which he totally disapproved, and which was designed and calculated to undermine the constitutional principle of a national militia, evinced, first by encouraging the militia to volunteer into the army of the line, next, by admitting as officers of militia, persons who were rather strangers, and possessed no qualification in the respective counties into whose regiments they were admitted; and now, by recruiting men for the militia by bounties, and not by ballot. The noble lord, in the course of his speech, made some allusions to the letters lately written by a noble law lord in Ireland, in which it was asserted, that the lower classes of the people of Ireland were incapable of being rendered loyal subjects to a protestant govt.; a declaration, not only falsified by the whole tenor of historical facts, but coming from such authority, admirably calculated to insult national feeling, and to excite disaffection even where it never existed before.

Mr. *Whitshed Keene* said, he was one of those who had voted for the measure of Union, which had been alluded to, and who was convinced it was the sentiment of the enlightened people of Ireland, that it was a measure fraught with the happiest consequences to that country; and, though it was not to be expected that, in so short a time, the measure could have produced any thing like its full effects. yet it certainly had produced one thing that laid the foundation for those good effects which he doubted not would rapidly follow. It removed that most objectionable of all political principles, the separate existence of two co-ordinate and independent legislatures in the same state, which constantly exposed the tranquillity of the Empire to dangers arising from discord and mutual strife, which ambitious or designing men might promote by the agitation of irritating questions. Though he was a native of Ireland, he had spent 40 years of his life in this country, 37 of which he had had the honour to be a member of that house, and therefore he must be supposed free from national prejudice. He would declare his own conviction, founded upon the sentiments of other gents. most conversant in the local state of that country, that of the whole mass of the lower orders of the community there, more especially in the Southern provinces, one-third, at least, were of a description that in every war which involved the empire, were rather to be considered dangerous than friendly to the state; men of dissolute and riotous dispositions, easily moulded to the mischievous designs of seditious demagogues: of this description of men it was desirable to get as many as possible out of the country; because thus they would be removed out of the way of temptation, and have their minds improved, by seeing the manners of other countries, and acquire new habits of industry. Removed from home, and forming part of those armies that carried the glory of British arms to the farthest parts of the globe, there were no men on earth more distinguished for their bravery and loyalty; in the various walks of industry, none more distinguished for their perseverance. But, if there ever was a measure more eminently calculated than all others to promote the true ends of the union, it was that of the bill for bringing into this country 10,000 of the Irish militia, because it would transfer men from their home; when heated by whiskey, and prejudiced by local ignorance and bad connexions, they would have an opportunityof witnessing, in this country, the happy effects of sobriety, industry, and subordination to the laws; and they would carry back with them to their own country, new ideas, and new habits, tending more than any thing else to promote the intercourse and the attachment so desirable between the countries, and ultimately to render the inhabitants of both as one people.

Sir *John Wrottesley* opposed the bill, principally on the same ground with the hon. Col. (Craufurd), whose observations upon the state of the public force he fully adopted, and from which he argued, that the present force of the country, in infantry of the line, did not exceed 20,000 men; and notwithstanding the exultation of the right hon. gent. of the formidable state of our public force, he charged his Majesty's ministers with the grossest inattention towards our foreign possessions. For, loudly as the right hon. gent. had exulted in the successes of our arms in India, he seemed to forget, that the almost defenceless state of our West-India possessions, rendered our security in that important quarter extremely problematical; while, by the grossest inattention to our concerns in Africa, and notwithstanding the boasted possession of 1800 ships for our general defence, the enemy had been suffered to wrest from us our most important possession in that quarter of the globe. Towards our possessions in Ceylon, their negligence had been equally reprehensible; nor was it at all certain that the island remained at this hour in our possession; and, with reference to our recent successes in India, which had been so much the subject of exultation, it was yet to be considered, whether those successes were really grounds for triumph. At all events, they were purchased at an expense of blood and of brave men, which created the necessity of recruiting our forces in that country by new drains upon the population of this; and which, the more our territories were extended, the greater would be that necessity at a time when our situation at home rendered it the more embarrassing; while, the more extensive our new acquisitions, the more difficult their defence, and consequently the more uncertain must be the permanence of our tenure. The hon. baronet then, adverting to the situation of our home affairs, observed, that through the incompetence of his Majesty's ministers, we were reduced to a dilemma unparalleled in the history of any nation. We were driven by his Majesty's ministers out of a peace which they made, and did not know how to keep, but which they acknowledged to be untenable, into a war, which they knew not how to conduct, in which we were left without an ally in the world. We were carrying on that war by the most ruinous and inefficacious system on earth, that of a blockade; in which we were wearing out our navy, and exhausting the spirits, the patience, the vigour of our men, and the treasure of our country; and now, finding the raising of even the militia by ballot no longer practicable, it was proposed to resort to bounties upon a reduced scale, which, even at double the rate, had been found ineffectual. Such a system he considered as inevitably ruinous to all means of defence, and thought it absolutely necessary to proceed immediately to some active operation, and to strike some blow which might at once give activity to the native gallantry of our troops and seamen, instead of exhausting their hopes and sinking their spirits in a tardy and inactive vigilance upon the preparatory operations of the enemy. He wished to press on his Majesty's ministers a broad view of what ought to be done. It was not enough if our defence was amply provided for, which he doubted; he wished them to think of a more becoming exertion, to rouse them from the lethargy, the dream in which they were plunged. He would address to them the words of the antient Roman—“ *si dormis, expergiscere: si expergisceris, sta; si stas, ingredere; si ingrederis, curre; si curris, advola.*”

Sir *William Erskine* observed, that while gentlemen maintained nothing had been done for the defence and security of the country, he should be glad to hear from those who entertained that opinion, what wiser and more effectual plan they themselves had in view for the same desirable end. As to the force which was at that moment in activity, he was convinced it was as large and efficient as any that could have been provided; and he had every just ground to believe, that not a single man more could have been raised to render the disposable force more numerous. When gentlemen conceived themselves so very strongly founded in their opinions, was he not, he should ask, as strongly justified in calling for proofs in support of these assertions?

Sir *John Newport* said, he had voted for the measure under consideration last night, but he considered the present as a totally separate measure. He, therefore, conceived there would be no inconsistency in voting for that, and against this. The motive of his vote last night was, an opinion that the measure then under consideration went to perfect the union between Great-Britain and Ireland; for without some measure of this nature, a legislative act was insufficient to produce a complete union. He was sorry, however, to find that motives of local convenience were stated in objection to it. The militia having been formed here subsequent to the union with Scotland, its services were, of course, applicable to the whole extent of Great-Britain; since an union had taken place between Great-Britain and Ireland, he saw no reason why the militia of either should not be mutually applicable to the service of the other. He supported the union on the principle of a community of defence, and he should not have supported it if he had not had such a confidence. He confessed, that his hopes on this head were much weakened when he became acquainted with the resolutions of the meeting of lords lieutenants of counties and members of parliament holding commissions in the militia, at the Thatched-house tavern, held yesterday, in opposition to such a measure. When resolutions of that kind came from persons deeply interested in the well-being of Ireland, from possessing property in that country, and, from the same cause, likely to be acquainted with the value of that part of the empire, he was surprised that such persons should not have thought it their duty to sacrifice motives of personal convenience to the common defence. He hoped, however, the time would soon come, when the interchange would be carried into effect, as the meeting he had alluded to, assumed that such a measure was already before the legislature. He trusted, at least, that 10,000 highly disciplined Irish militia would not be replaced by new levies. He wished to have British militia substituted; at any rate, he hoped it would not be by a force not capable of being trained in less than eighteen months, neither could he think of the army of reserve as an equivalent, after it had been picked of every good man to fill up the regiments of the line. He had always doubted whether a militia was the best force for Ireland; he had now a particular objection to this augmentation. It was intended to augment the regular army, and the augmentation of the militia would create a ruinous competition in the country, which was absolutely the best market. He thought it better to raise men in the first instance for general service, or at least for service in the whole extent of the empire, than to raise them for a service from which it was necessary to bring them, by a variety of volunteer offers, to a state in which they would be more generally available. He dissented from the present measure. Had he been aware of the resolutions of the meeting he adverted to, he doubted whether he should have given the vote that he did give, on the measure under consideration last night. If he continued of his present opinion, and more particularly if he saw any thing to confirm it, he did not know that he should not give a contrary vote on the report of that measure to-morrow. It seemed to him that the honour of his country was compromised by the disposition which had been shewn to make light of the offers.

General *Maitland* thought that a great deal had been said about the inefficiency of our regular army; for his own part he perfectly agreed with an hon. baronet who had spoken lately (Sir W. Erskine), that those who were so loud in their objections against the ministers, for not raising the army beyond what it now was, were bound in consistency to point out some plan by which these deficiencies might be supplied. Till they did submit such a plan, he really could not see what right they had to infer that ministers had not made every possible exertion for this purpoſe. When gentlemen talked so much of the small number of our disposable force, they ought to keep in view the means by wich any administration, with the most strenuous exertions, were able to increase its numbers and efficiency. It was to be considered, that the proportion of the population of the country at this moment amenable to actual service was not considerable; that there were circumstances in our general situation which were hostile to the augmentation of our regular regiments; that the progress of wealth and the application of productive labour must indispose the lower orders from entering into a military life. This was an argument which it was very fair to urge, with respect to any supposed deficiencies in our regular force, at the present moment. But it was nothing more than just to look at what had been done in former times, and under former administrations, to increase the regular force of the country. In taking this review, he had no intention to criminate former ministers for any improper want of vigilance and exertion. But he must beg leave to declare, that comparing the exertions made by the late administration, at the commencement of the late war, when the augmentation of a disposable force was the great object in view, with what had been done by his Majesty's present servants, he had no hesitation in saying, that the objections urged against the present deficiency of our disposable force were altogether unsatisfactory and inconclusive. In making this observation, he begged leave to say that he alluded not merely to the number of additional men procured, but the quality and component parts of our regular army. It would not be denied that, in many of the regiments composing the army of reserve, the quality of the men was not so good as could be desired; but at the same time he could not by any means coincide in the general censure passed on the army of reserve by his hon. friend who opened the discussion. If he had inquired a little more accurately into the subject, he would have found that the inferiority of the present regiments of the army of reserve arose out of arrangements which did H. R. H. the commander in chief the highest honour and credit. The fact was, that his Royal Highness had selected out of the general aggregate of the men raised for the army of reserve about 22,000 men, to be incorporated with second battalions of old regiments. Of the men so selected, he wished the hon. officer and the house at large to understand, that a finer body of men never was incorporated with the regular army either of this or any other country in modern Europe. It was true that there were 16 regiments of the army of reserve, the troops of which were of an inferior quality. But the whole number of such troops, according to the latest returns, was not much above 6,000 men. It was to be considered also, that such inconveniences could not be avoided by any possible arrangement for the management of the recruiting service. He could state several instances of a similar deficiency under former administrations; and while he adverted to them, he meant no charge of criminal negligence. His only view in referring to them was, to shew that the existence of deficiencies was no proof of want of vigilance, or activity; during the late war the nominal amount of regiments of the line was 160, but the positive amount of our regular force did not exceed 94,000. In consequence of the existence of this deficiency, H. R. H. the commander in chief determined on a consolidation of the regiments particularly deficient in their complement of numbers. The mode in which this arrangement was to be carried into effect, consisted in the consolidation of no less than 53 regiments, so that the whole number of regiments was reduced to 106. What was the consequence of this consolidation? Out of the 53 regiments consolidated, which ought to have amounted to 33,000 men, the whole efficient numbers were not greater than 7,500 men. In stating these facts, he did not mean to blame the government, but only to shew that, if out of so great a proportion of regiments, the trash and dross bore so large a proportion, it was neither fair nor just to attach blame to ministers for their conduct in the military supplies of the country. It would not be denied, that the augmentation of our disposable force was an object highly desirable. But he really had not heard of any such plan, nor could he conceive the adoption of any plan at all consistent with the circumstances of a great, commercial, and flourishing empire. The only plan which at all seemed to him to come up to the idea of many of those gentlemen, who were most decided in their opposition to ministers, would be a plan founded in the utter annihilation of the trade, of the wealth, of the industry of the empire. These observations he had thought it his duty to adduce generally, as to the objections advanced against the present establishment of our military system. Adverting more particularly to the measure immediately before the house, he had to state, that many of the objections against the acceptance of the offers of the Irish militia regiments, and the augmentation of that species of national force, proceeded on a complete misapprehension. It was urged against the acceptance of these offers, that deliberative powers were inconsistent with the establishment of a regular army. The general truth of the position he did not mean to deny, but he certainly felt it his duty to controvert the application which had been attached to it. It was true in the theory of an army, that deliberative powers were excluded. The officers and men were theoretically excluded from the right either of acting, or thinking in their military capacity, beyond what the commander in chief thought proper to allow. In particular circumstances of practice, this theory was never attempted to be carried into effect. He might instance many a case where this was the practice of the army, but one or two striking examples would be amply sufficient for his argument. It was in the moment of the most imminent danger, that the theoretical part of the constitution of a regular army was necessarily suspended. When it was determined that a particular place should be carried by storm, it was theoretically above all things necessary, that all deliberative powers in an army should cease. But this was the very crisis when, according to the practice of all regular armies, the power of voluntary determination was allowed. The same thing took place as to the body of the army to be employed in the works at a siege.—The hon. general proceeded to allude next to some arguments calculated to shew the deficiency of our military establishment in the West and East-Indies. As to the present situation of St. Domingo, he took on himself to assert, that the number of British troops to be kept up in the West-Indies, ought to be less than at any former period. He could hardly conceive it possible to argue, that with relation to other objects in the West-Indies, our force was at all inadequate to the accomplishment of every British purpose. The house were aware of the advantages gained in that quarter of the world since the commencement of the war, and he would put it fairly to the candour of any hon. member, whether advantages of so important a nature had ever been gained within the same period. An hon. baronet (Sir J. Wrottesley) had taken notice of the capture of a small settlement on the coast of Africa. He was willing to admit on the authority of the hon. baronet, for he knew nothing of the matter from any other quarter, that such an advantage had been gained by the enemy; but what did this at all prove as to the general means of our defence both with respect to this country and our foreign possessions? Nothing was more easy than to account for this partial advantage of the enemy. It arose solely from this plain circumstance, which was common in every war, that our settlements on the coast of Africa were the least valuable of our possessions, and occupying the smallest degree of attention, were the most likely to fall into the hands of the enemy, however inconsiderable the force by which they were attacked.—He was utterly at a loss to conceive on what possible ground a charge of the insufficiency of our force in India could be brought forward. He needed not to enlarge on the brilliant and important victories obtained by the gallantry of our forces in that quarter of the world. When, however, he stated what a small proportion of European troops were engaged in these services, the house must see that the noble lord at the head of our Eastern dominions had taken no step which could at all endanger their security. He had to state then, according to the most recent accounts which had reached him, that in all the brilliant engagements which had taken place on the continent of India, not more than 5,000 out of 22,000 European troops in our pay had, in any instance, been engaged. He appealed to the house whether there could be a more conclusive proof that any objection against the state of our military defence and state of preparation in India was totally unfounded.

Mr. *Fox* said, he did not think it would have been necessary for him to address the house this day, but he thought it right to offer some observations in reply to the opinions that had been expressed by his hon. friend (gen. Maitland) and by some others, while the impression made by those opinions was still recent. And first, as to what fell from an hon. gent. near him (Mr. Keene), and which had been restated in a more invidious manner by the hon. bart. behind him (Sir J. Newport), as to the resolutions of the lords lieut. and militia colonels. The hon. bart. said that those noble and respectable persons should have sacrificed their convenience to the common defence. Was that the motive of the resolution? it was impossible to believe it; and when the chief principal officers of the militia were stated to be unworthy to have their horses and their hounds, he hoped that such a motive for their conduct would not be considered to be made out. Was it impossible to find out a constitutional objection? When the resolution was adopted by men whom he would not name, but whose connection with Ireland, and whose interest in that country was well known, could it be supposed that the resolution originated in any slackness with respect to the defence of Ireland, when that should be proper? It was not any attachment to horses or hounds, nor yet to convenience, not even a wish to spare one drop of blood that might be necessary to that defence which dictated the resolution. It was a conviction that the interchange was contrary to the constitution of the militia, to the spirit of the union, to the express stipulations of the treaty of union by which the militia of each country was reserved for that country. If however, such an interchange was intended, should it not have been announced to the house by a message from his Majesty, and not surreptitiously, as was attempted to be done in the present instance. The hon. gents. opposite supposed themselves possessed of great cleverness in this sort of management, and therefore it was, that when any of their tricks were charged upon them, they met the charge with exultation. There were many gents. who voted for the measure on the ground of the reciprocity which he condemned, but even they had reason to complain that the question was not fairly brought forward, and those who were most in favour of the reciprocity, had reason to be ashamed of the manner in which it was now submitted to their sanction. He would not here go into the romantic scheme proposed by some gents. of bringing the whole people of Ireland to this country, to be better schooled and better taught. It was known that whenever the measure of the union was discussed, he had always been its enemy, and now, when he heard of the benefits Ireland derived from it, he was compelled to say, he knew of no such benefits, except it could be called a benefit to have got rid of its legislature. Whether that was a benefit he knew not. Some of the acts of that legislature gave some ground to say it was a benefit. He would however say, that the union had not had its fair trial. Those who had brought about that measure, had allowed that it would not be complete unless it were followed up by other measures, no one of which had yet been carried into effect. He wished that a fair trial was given by the execution of these measures, though he confessed he doubted whether even then there could be a complete union of countries too distant for local convenience to permit a community of representation. He looked upon it as absolutely impossible that Ireland should ever be fairly represented in that house.—With respect to any general assimilation or improvement of manners, there had yet been no such effect; and, therefore, when that was mentioned, he confessed he gave his tribute of thanks to those gents. who had the boldness and sincerity to state, that while the present govt. of Ireland lasted, it was impossible to expect any such event. While there was a Chancellor of Ireland, who told the people of Ireland, that they could not be good subjects while they continued faithful to the religion they professed, and the ideas which they had of what they owed to the God whom they adored, it was decidedly impossible that country could be governed by any other means than by force, and as it was governed now, by martial law, and by suspension of the habeas corpus act.—His hon. friend who had just sat down, found an inconsistency in the hon. officer's (col. Craufurd) preferring fencibles to militia, when both were to consist of the same men. It was owned both were to consist of the same men, but these men were to be used in a very different manner. The Irish militia would constitutionally be confined to Ireland, but fencibles could be brought here. But it was then urged, that when the Irish militia were brought here, they might be picked, cajoled, and sent out on general service. What did terms signify; it was said, the object most desirable may be obtained, though under other names; that it was the cheapest (a point on which there was much stress) and best way to have the men first militia, then fencibles, and in the end regulars. To say to a set of men, will you or will you not volunteer? when it was previously understood that their officers had volunteered, was placing them in so delicate a situation, that it was evident there was an obvious indelicacy in mentioning the name of an officer who had refused to volunteer. An allusion had been made to the volunteering to storm a fort. The case to be sure, was very similar. It was submitted in that case to a set of men, every one of whom there was a right to command, who would offer himself for a service of danger which required only a few. The men were in that instance taken by the point of honour, when then the men of this or that particular regiment were invited to offer themselves to the danger and the glory. This to be sure, was very like the case of putting it to the Irish militia, whether they were willing to take the danger of coming to England. He hoped that there was no greater danger in coming to England than in remaining in Ireland. He wished that any one would give a good reason for the measure. One point in the most brilliant part of the most brilliant speech made last night on the other side of the house (Mr. Canning's), he looked upon as a complete answer to all that had been said of this measure liberating so much disposable force. The foundation of the argument in that speech was not, that in every moment, or in all circumstances, it was a proper time to increase the disposable force; but that when this disposable force was not in due proportion, that disproportion ought not to be remedied by adding to that description of force of which we had already too much, instead of that which was better, and in which we were more deficient. His hon. friend (gen. Maitland), asked in what year, at the commencement of any former war, so much had been taken from the enemy? He would state what he looked upon as a most unfortunate year, and he believed many gents. would agree with him, the first year of the American war, when this country took measures, of which what it suffered now was part of the consequences. In the first year of the Dutch war, in 1780, we had gained more than in the most brilliant war of former times, because we attacked where our opponents were weakest, and took St. Eustatia, Demerary, and other places in the West Indies. But what were the consequences of these captures, and the peace to which they led was well known. Then, as to India, his hon. friend (gen. Maitland) was so enraptured with the splendor of the victories, and splendid he allowed they were, that he did not hear the whole of the hon. baronet's argument, or did not give himself time to understand its force. With regard to the advantage we might derive from the destruction of the Mahratta power, he was not prepared to give any opinion; all he would say at present was, that he must hear more on the subject before he could believe that it was likely to be of any advantage at all. His hon. friend was surprised at the hon. baronet's adverting to India, and could not conceive the object of that allusion. He understood the hon. baronet to have adverted to India for this purpose, whether he was right, it was for the hon. baronet to determine. He understood the hon. baronet's object to be, to shew whether our forces were adequate in every quarter. Had we forces enough here, had we enough in the West-Indies, in Goree, in the East-Indies? Why did the hon. baronet ask these questions? Because, if there was a deficiency any where abroad, a draught would be made on us at home, to supply it. Was it a sufficient answer to this to state that there were 20,000 Europeans in India, and that only 5000 had been engaged in the late battles? But if those of this 5000 who fell were to be replaced; but if the war was to be continued, and an extraordinary drain was to be made on this country, where it had already produced the most pernicious effects, the force of this country must be diminished to supply this drain, and the West-Indies and our other possessions were reciprocally subject to the argument. He looked upon the measure now before the house as generally unconstitutional, and as a direct violation of the articles of union. It was said that the constitutional principle should yield not only to necessity, but to strong motives of policy. It remained, in this instance, to shew the policy. He knew of no policy in it, unless it were policy to add to the militia. It was a whimsical way to separate the two measures and the order in which they were put was still more whimsical. Why was not the first thing done to raise a force to supply the vacancy? Because the hon. gentlemen were great lovers of pretences; and if that was done, they would want a pretence for giving this power to his Majesty, while they said his Majesty was not to use it.—Ought not the substitutes to be provided before those whom they were to replace were removed?—Now it was to be shewn what was the policy of the measure. No man would say that 10,000 men were to be taken from Ireland without providing substitutes; let the hon. gentlemen wait till the substitutes were provided, and then let his Majesty be enabled to accept the offers. Supposing the force for the invasion of Ireland to be discomfited, and this country to be thus in a state of comparatively greater danger, he allowed there must be a strong ground of policy in the measure, though even then there would be a constitutional objection. He had respect for the character and opinions of the officers of the militia, and he was not surprised that, at the present moment, at least, they had a constitutional objection. It was said there were 30,000 regulars in Ireland. If Ireland was in a condition to spare a part of them, and it were wanted here, let it be brought over, but he saw no reason for recurring to a legislative measure to provide for a case not likely to occur, when there was a better remedy completely open. If this measure was resorted to for the purpose of laying a foundation by hypotheses for a measure which might possibly please the hon. baronet behind him (Sir J. Newport) and some others, though it would not please him, at least let it be fairly put to the house, let it not be put as a new question; it was one already considered, and the articles of union spoke on it precisely. If the union was complete, a community of militia would certainly be proper. The difficulties of the empire might have increased so as to render it necessary now; if so, let it be fairly proposed, though certainly the fairest time for proposing it would have been at the union. If it was necessary, let it be brought under consideration with a full attendance of Irish members; let there be a call of the house, if that attendance could not be obtained otherwise. He, perhaps, should not be much in favour of the measure; but he would admit it was a great measure, and deserving a full and fair consideration. There was reason to believe, that some inducement had been held out for making the offers; and what added to the suspicion was, that some had been made 3 months back, some 4 months, and some even so long since as 8 months. It appeared, that ministers considered they had been a long time doing nothing, and therefore, they brought forward these three bills together, to have the appearance of doing something.—Of the suspension of the army of reserve bill, he would say nothing, as it was not now before the house, except that it came pleasently recommended. For when an administration came forward to recommend the repeal of its own act, there could be no doubt of the propriety of that repeal. Before they entered into the war, ministers should have considered the means of putting an end to it. It was certainly a satisfactory thing to be able to defend ourselves, but that was not sufficient. The hon. baronet over the way (Sir W. Erskine), asked, why did not the gentlemen on this side propose measures better calculated to this end? The hon. baronet had not long been a member of that house, but did he ever hear of such a thing, or did he think that any plans could be offered in that manner? Certainly no plans could originate with him (Mr. Fox); but it was not natural to expect that any would be brought forward by any man except those who would be concerned in the execution of them. The difficulties in the way of increasing the army were said to be great in the present moment. We had entered into war for a cause that debarred us from all hope of the co-operation of Europe. When therefore ministers spoke of the difficulties of the country, it should be recollected that they were difficulties which they foresaw, and into which they brought the country without preparing any means to deliver it from them. It was certainly very curious, that in stating these difficulties, they should defy others to produce the means of overcoming them, that they should seem to triumph in them, and say, "let you devise a remedy if you can." What a situation had they brought the country into, when the wisest man in the house, could not devise the means of extricating it! The hon. gentlemen appeared angry when they were charged with want of energy. This was certainly, in one sense, without foundation. They had plenty of energy to do mischief. He was not one of those who arraigned them of want of abilities; but he observed they were very sore upon such charges. Their situation appeared to him to resemble that of Grildrig, at the Court of Brobdignag who, finding himself sore from the sensible want of the powers possessed by those about him, and wishing to make it appear that he possessed some powers, set about vaunting of his powers to do mischief? "I assure you," said he to the King, "that in our own country we possess the means of destroying whole cities, and wasting and depopulating whole kingdoms." "Then," said the King, "if I am to believe what thou sayest of thyself, assuredly Grildrig, thou art the most mischievous little animal on the face of the earth."

Mr. *W. Keene* explained, as did Sir J. Newport, both of whom professed the highest respect for the individuals of whom the meeting alluded to by the hon. member consisted.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer.*—Sir; I shall not detain the house at any length, for although the hon. gent. opposite to me has entered into a great variety of discussions, yet he has scarcely touched upon the question immediately before the house, with the exception of that part of his speech, which went to shew that we were not taking measures to increase that part of our force which is most wanted. But let me ask the hon. gent., was not the proposition accompanied by one to increase the regular force by an addition of 18,000 men. The Union, we have been told, has been attended with no one good effect but that of destroying the legislature of Ireland, and the hon. gent. says, that it has produced no practical benefit. I am confident I am speaking the sentiments of those most competent to form an opinion in this respect, when I say, that the state of Ireland has been most materially improved by the Union; and in point of fact, it is historically true, that since the junction of the representatives of Great Britain and Ireland, the great body of people of Ireland have shewn more attachment to the common cause, and evinced more loyalty than before. [Here Mr. Fox exclaimed, "yes, martial law, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act!"] The hon. gent. says, "martial law, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act," but he should also add, that these measures were sanctioned by the house; and I will freely say, that they were caused more by the peculiar circumstances of the moment, than by any want of attachment and loyalty in the great mass of the people of Ireland. It has been said, that every principle of the constitution requires that the measure should not be resorted to, excepting under circumstances of the most pressing necessity, I readily admit this position, but hon. gents. will recollect, it is not a mere novelty, an absolute innovation unexampled in the history of the two countries. Two instances may be adduced, when both the parliament of England and of Ireland acceded to it. This necessity was considered sufficient in the year 1799, even when an honourable termination of a long war was considered in prospect, and a bill was passed, empowering his Majesty to appoint the regiments of Irish militia to serve in this country. The hon. gent. says also, there exists no maxim of policy upon which the expedient can be justified, and that it is an indispensable consequence of resorting to it, that the defence of Ireland will be weakened by it. It is not a part of the measure that the defence of Ireland should be debilitated, but it might be the result, under peculiar circumstances. Such, however, is by no means the intention of his Majesty's servants; and I contend that the present measure, combined with what was proposed last night, may effectually conduce to the security of both countries, for such an expedient would enable his Majesty to replace those who, by this expedient, were drawn from their homes to protect another portion of the Kingdom. On this reasoning I contend that the proposal is founded on the most obvious ground of state policy; but the true motive was very correctly stated by my right hon. friend last night, when he said, this resource would set at liberty a certain portion of the regular troops, which would be ready, on the spur of the moment, to be destined to any service the exigencies of the state might recommend. What has been the uniform subject of complaint, from the benches on the other side, but that, since the commencement of hostility, we have never sufficiently provided for the internal security, and that we have wholly neglected the means of increasing the disposable force; yet most unfortunate it is, that whatever plans are suggested for those purposes, they have to encounter opposition from the same quarter. Such was the case when the bills for the army of reserve, for the national defence, and for the volunteer system, were produced. Whatever may be the sentiments of others, it is the firm persuasion of his Majesty's servants, that the effect of this measure will be to provide, with economy and expedition, an accession of force to the extent of 10,000 men, by which a large proportion of the regular force will be at the disposal of his Majesty, to act in any direction; and that it would be an act of the most egregious impolicy to neglect so favourable an opportunity of enlarging the sphere of our military operations. The hon. gent. confidently stated, that nothing had been done by his Majesty's ministers to promote a cessation of hostilities, and he in consequence charged the continuation of the war on those who had committed this neglect. I do not, Sir, think it proper at this time to controvert this assertion, because the verdict of the people has been pronounced, and ministers have been acquitted of the charge. They have shewn they consider the present war as one of indispensable necessity; they have not thought the forbearance of his Majesty's ministers, before the commencement of hostilities, had any other object than the preservation of tranquillity, and they have vindicated the subsequent proceeding by the universal zeal and animation which prevails for the prosecution of the war. If the opinion of the people of England were to be determined by poll on this great question, and the hon. gent. with all the weight of his authority, and with all the charms of his eloquence, were to canvass the country, he would find himself, if not single and unsupported, at least countenanced by one of the smallest minorities to which the national interests could be submitted. What! has nothing been done to bring the war to a conclusion? The designs of France have been made known, not only by the most explicit avowal, but by those acts which render deception impossible. These designs are the total subversion of the govt. of this nation. What, in this predicament, were the most effectual means to terminate the war? It was by shewing the enemy his views must be disappointed; by providing those powerful and extensive means of public defence, to convince him that any attempt to carry his mighty project into execution, would involve him in confusion and disgrace; to place him in a situation, that whether he pursue or abandon his schemes of aggrandisement by the attack on this land, he could not escape the mortification which must ever attend disappointed ambition. These, Sir, were not the only means to which his Majesty's servants had recourse. I may fairly assert, that the first year of no preceding war has been distinguished by such a series of important successes as we have witnessed in that short period on the present occasion. But they contend these are bloodless triumphs, and they would estimate the value of these triumphs by the quantity of British blood that has stained the field of victory.

I should be happy indeed, if this were correctly stated: it would shew that ministers anticipated the dangers to which our gallant armies would be exposed, and by the promptitude of their measures prevented the necessity of the sacrifice of the most valuable lives in the state. I have no hesitation in declaring, that this was in some instances the fact, but I mention it not as a source of grief, but of satisfaction. During the negociation on the eve of the war, orders were sent out to the commanders in the West-Indies to take measures to proceed against the enemy. Do gentlemen intend to deny this? Yes, they had orders, not only to act on the earliest notice, but to intercept all supplies that were proceeding to the territory of the enemy. To this precaution we were indebted for the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago. Yet the hon. baronet has thought it correct to say, that no event had happened in the course of this new war which redounded to the glory of the British asms. If any thing were deficient, that has been supplied by that public spirit which has so amply provided for the internal defence. Was there no energy displayed in the contest for St. Lucia? and are we to object from our observation the recent victories in the Eastern world, under those able and gallant leaders Generals Wellesley and Lake, who have made British courage revered and dreaded, in the remotest regions of the earth? Far be it from me to arrogate to ministers the glory of these expeditions; let the laurel decorate the brows of these brave warriors, and ever flourish fresh and green around their temples; but let it not be said that no triumphs have been obtained, that no honours have rewarded British valour. The obstructions we have had to surmount have been accurately detailed by my right hon. friend near me. I will not weaken by repetition what he has so strongly enforced. We have had the greatest military empire to oppose recorded in the annals of mankind, and we were forced to increase our regular force, in order to be enabled to contend with it. We did so to the utmost extent the population and circumstances of the state admitted. This was not sufficient, it was not yet expedient to avail ourselves of the military spirit of the people. Such a resource has not been neglected, and I boldly affirm that we have a greater number of soldiers at this time than France, or any other country of the world. I state this without fear of contradiction, for I know its truth. But let not gentlemen, imagine, that whatever may be my respect for the volunteers, I deem them equal to those veterans who have encountered the dangers and fatigues of a military duty in a protracted war. I admit it was a part of the policy of the late govt. to augment the internal disposable force; I admit the voluntary zeal of the people has essentially contributed to this grand object, and all the credit I presume to claim is, for having directed this powerful torrent of patriotism into its proper channel, so that instead of producing confusion, it has materially promoted the public advantage. A few facts will support the positions I have assumed. The effective force, including the militia in Great-Britain and Ireland, is 184,000 men; the volunteers compose a body of 400,000, all of whom are armed with firelocks, excepting about 15,000 or 20,000 men. Thus there are 580,000 ready for the defence of the two islands. Let any candid man say, if it were probable a superior force could be collected, whether the regular or irregular armies be considered. I rejoice that parliament, on this weighty point, coincided with the opinion of the friend with whom I have acted; I recollect with the warmest pleasure, that by the prudent measure of preserving double or treble the ordinary peace establishment, those means were taken which were most conducive to the national security under the event of war: the result has fully justified the system of policy adopted, and we have now to congratulate the country on its success. An hon. officer had stated the cavalry at 10,000. I have the satisfaction to assure him, that on the 1st of Feb. last the number in Great-Britain and Ireland was 17,000. If I advert to former measures, it is not with a view to any invidious comparisons, but to shew how ineffectual very often are the most prudent schemes, and the most diligent exertions when difficulties interpose. It will be recollected some time since three schemes were resorted to for augmenting the public force; 1st, the provisional cavalry; this attempt was so far unsuccessful that it did not produce one-twelfth of the number calculated: 2d, the increase of the militia at the same period equally disappointed the wishes of the right honourable gentleman. This we have been enabled to carry to a very great extent. The third was not attempted during his administration. I mean the expedient of bartering rank for recruits. In this endeavour out of 47 battalions, only 7500 men could be obtained; and had it not been for the sagacious policy of his Royal Highness at the head of the army, an enormous charge would have been perpetrated for this unproductive establishment. Such have been the measures adopted, and such has been the event. It is not surely unreasonable to expect that those who brought forward measures thus abortive and nugatory, should make some allowance for the extraordinary difficulties with which we have had to contend, especially when they learn that the military force now existing is within 14,000 men of its number, as it stood at the highest estimate during the last war. You have drawn for the army and navy during these recent exertions 200,000 men, and if you will compare the amount of the regular army this year, with its state in the late war, you will find a difference of 40,000 individuals in favour of the present activity, and chiefly owing to the plan of the army of reserve, so often reprobated in this house. The measure now under consideration, has for its object to increase the disposable force. I do not pretend it is wholly free from objection, but I aver it is the best, that, under the existing circumstances, can be devised. Concurring therefore, with the rest of his Majesty's servants, I give my most cordial concurrence with the measure.

Mr. *Fox* rose to explain, not what he had said this night, but what he had been represented by the right hon. gent. to have said about a year and a half ago. His observations on that occasion had been founded on the prospect of the continuance of the peace, and, if he had not been over-reached by the statements of the right hon. gent. to that effect, he certainly should have pursued a different course on the occasion.

Mr. *Francis*.—I rise, Sir, for the single purpose of not suffering to pass without notice a declaration made by his Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer, the most extraordinary, the most unadvised on his part, considering his station and authority in this house, and the least applicable to the subject in debate, that I ever was witness to in the many years in which I have sat in parliament. The general question between him and those who differ from him this night, is, 1st, whether the measures of govt. in preparing for a war with France which they ought to have foreseen, were such as intitled them to expect success in the prosecution of it; and then, whether the plan, the direction, and the operations of the war have been such as, by shewing that we possessed the force and the means of attacking the enemy with success, might raise our military reputation to a level with the efforts made by the country to furnish ministers with a power sufficient for any enterprize, and thereby accelerate the termination of the war by a safe and honourable peace? On these questions, the right hon. gent assumes the affirmative. But how does he prove it? Why, Sir, when he ought to tell us in what manner he has prepared to attack France, how he proposes to conduct the war in Europe, what rational prospect he has of reducing a most formidable enemy, who threatens us with a contest for our existence, to reasonable terms, or of bringing the war to an early and a safe conclusion; instead of answering these obvious questions, he carries us to the other side of the globe, that is, as far as he can from the home question; and assures us that, by the latest advices from India many brilliant and splendid victories have been obtained over the Mahrattas. Be it so. What connexion is there between those events and the present war in Europe? Can any thing be conceived more extravagant and absurd than, when the question is, by what means you can attack or repel the most formidable military power that ever existed in Europe, to answer it by saying that a British army has completely defeated an India army in the neighbourhood of Delhi? But perhaps the right hon. gent. has some personal share in these transactions, and a right to some part of the merit and the honour of the success. Then he must have given the orders which produced the war. In that case the war against the Mahrattas must have originated in England No such thing. He knows literally nothing of it, but what he has been able to pick up from a few straggling gazettes, printed at Madras, and copied from others printed at Calcutta, which by mere accident have found their way to England, and a letter from Bombay. From the fountain head he has heard nothing. From lord Wellesley, whose conduct he extols, he never has received a single line of information on the subject. I have said that such declarations, without knowledge, particularly in a person in his station, are very unadvised, and liable to serious objections. While the very question of the wisdom, the policy, the right and the justice of this war is depending, about all which his Majesty's ministers are just as much in the dark as I am; while parliament is waiting with anxiety for the very materials, by which alone their judgment on the whole merits of the war can be determined, and when perhaps this house, upon receiving that compleat information, if ever it should come, which we ought to have received long ago, may be obliged to condemn the whole transaction, the right hon. gent. invades and prejudges that question, which ought to have been left untouched, as I have always most studiously and cautiously left it, and open to the free and unbiassed examination of parliament. To that examination, sooner or later, it must be submitted. But the right hon.

gent., if I understand him right, professes to expect that these successes in India will have some favourable effect upon our military or political operations in Europe, and possibly contribute to accelerate the termination of the war. If he does *not* think so, his mention of those events is nothing to the present purpose. Now, sir, I am of opinion that, if they have any effect at all, which I very much doubt, it will be to our disadvantage, I mean as to war and peace in Europe; because it will furnish Buonaparte with an argument, which the neutral powers in all appearance will be ready enough to listen to. They have hitherto shewn no sign of a disposition to take part with us against France, or even to assist us with their mediation. But when we ourselves tell them, in a triumphant tone, that our armies have obtained victories in India, from which we expect to become masters of that empire, what will they conclude, but that the English are governed by the same spirit of insatiable avarice and ambition with which we reproach Buonaparté; that they have no interest in our quarrel but to see it continued; and that the rest of the world has no chance of peace, of happiness, or of safety, but in the weakness to which the dangerous power both of France and England may finally be reduced by the continuance of the present war?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* explained. He only had alluded to the late affairs in India as splendid military exploits, and had not made any such deductions from them as the hon. member supposed.

Dr. *Laurence* entered into a review of the arguments of the right hon. gent. opposite, and of the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, both before and since the commencement of hostilities. He vindicated the parliamentary conduct of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), and insisted that the wisdom of his observations was fully established by the conduct of his Majesty's ministers in adopting them, though they were not disposed to acknowledge the obligation at the same time that they took the benefit of them. The learned gentleman contended, that the militia of Ireland were sworn particularly for the defence of that country, and could not, without a violation of faith, be brought from it.—He then adverted to the capture of the French islands, insisting that there had been no display of gallantry on the occasion, except in the trifling operation at St. Lucia, because there had been no force there capable of resistance. — The learned gent. then adverted to the inutility of such conquests, which would be given up at the conclusion of a peace, as had been done in the case of Demerara, Essequibo, &c. after many millions of English capital should be expended in improving them. In taking this view of the case, the hon. and learned gent. was proceeding to comment on some observations that had fallen on a former occasion from an hon. general opposite (Maitland), respecting the policy of taking possession of the enemy's colonial territories at the commencement of a war, though it should be only to keep possession of them pending hostilities, when he was called to order by

General *Maitland,* who appealed to the candour and feelings of the House, whether it was regular to advert to what had fallen from a member on a former occasion, when that member would be, by the forms of the House, precluded from replying?

Dr. *Laurence* continued, and insisted that no benefit was to be derived from the possessions of the islands, if after much British capital should be expended on them they were to be given up in the end. The learned gent. observed, upon the different constitutions of the militia force of Ireland and of Great-Britain, and concluded by justifying the resolutions to which the hon. baronet (Sir J. Newport) had alluded, and assuring the hon. member that any hopes of reciprocal service which he might have conceived from the last resolution, were not well founded.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer,* in explanation, stated, that provisional orders had been send out to the West Indies in the early part of March, founded on information that the enemy meant to reinforce one or two islands, to prevent the landing of troops in those islands, and that the orders for the actual commencement of hostilities had been sent out on the 16th of May, the day of his Majesty's message, communicating the result of the negociation.

Mr. Serjeant *Best* justified the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the reasoning he had applied to the successes in the West Indies; and he attributed these to the vigour and promptitude with which ministers had acted at the commencement of the negociation which terminated in hostility. Honourable gentlemen had doubted the promptitude declared, but this uncertainty arose from a misunderstanding. There were two descriptions of papers, the one containing directions to the public officers before the war, the other on the event taking place, and he clearly understood it was principally in the former that this vigour and precaution had been evinced. It had been said, that the time when this measure is brought forward is unseasonable. Honourable gentlemen seem to forget it is not intended to fix any particular period, but to leave it at the discretion of his Majesty when he shall deem it expedient to avail himself of the offer of the Irish soldiery.—The militia, under its present institution, was raised to defend not particular counties, but any portion of the kingdom: and when Ireland, by the Union, became a part of the British Empire, the measure proposed seemed a natural and necessary regulation. What was referable to the Irish militia was equally so to the militia in the other part of the United Kingdom, and it might be prudent to resort to some method to render the services of the national militia capable of being resorted to in every part of these national domains. It was meeting the ardor of the Irish people with frigidity the most repulsive, to enter into long debates on the propriety of accepting the loyal offer of their protection. On this account he should not detain the House with further explanations, but would give his hearty support to a measure so immediately calculated to increase the security of the country.

Mr. *Johnstone* denied that the war was approved of by the country at large. The unanimity that prevailed arose from very different circumstances. The moment the war was declared, we were threatened with invasion, which united the whole country independently of any consideration of the necessity or expediency of the war. It was a war, he maintained, that could end only in a peace such as was made at Amiens. Could any acquisitions, he asked, we had made in the West-Indies, contribute in the smallest degree to force the French to a peace? The gentlemen on the opposite bench, however, had taken merit to themselves for sending orders to the West-Indies, by which we had gained some distant and temporary advantages there. But if this was so much calculated to do them credit, why did they not issue similar orders to the East-Indies, and thus prevent the expedition of Admiral Linois, which certainly would have been of much more importance to this country? The hon. gent. concluded by giving his negative to the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke*, in explanation, denied that he entertained any contempt for the enemy. He had intended only to put the case, that if little more than 300 men, as had happened lately in India, had defeated so many thousands, what might we not expect from British valour at home?

The Hon. Mr. *Kinnaird* rose to take notice of what had fallen from an hon. member who had said, that if we gained no glory in the war we should shame the French. He did not exactly understand this principle. His object, in this war, was to bring it to a speedy and effectual termination; not to remain in a miserable state of siege, and be daily putting new fetters on our exertions. This measure was to be accompanied with another, to increase the army by 18,000 men. But how? To be raised here, and in Ireland; and yet by this measure ministers set up a new competition in the raising this new militia.

Colonel *Vereker* thought it unfair to take away the Irish militia for English service, and then oblige Ireland to raise so many more to make up the deficiency; the expense of them being defrayed by the bounties paid by the counties in Ireland, might thus be amazingly increased.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that it was the intention of govt. to introduce a clause to charge the expenses of the bounty on the United Kingdom.

Colonel *Vereker* adverted then to the observations that had been made with respect to the beneficial effects of the Union in Ireland. Since that measure had passed, a special commission had been sent down to the county of Limerick, and many people had been hanged there; a special commission had been sent to Tipperary; a rebellion had broke out in the capital of the kingdom, where a special commission had also been issued; since that measure had passed, martial law had been established, and the habeas corpus act suspended; and if these were arguments of the good effects of the union, they surpassed his comprehension. (Here there was a general cry of question! question!)

The Hon. *C. H. Hutchinson* expressed his satisfaction at the resolutions of the lords lieutenants, &c. on the subject of the militia, as they did not go to preclude any new system of arrangement. He should support the bill, because he wished to support the executive power at the present moment. He hoped for a bill to allow the interchange of the militia of both countries. In England, from the palace to the cottage, there was a greater ignorance of the true state of Ireland, than of any other country with which we professed to be acquainted, upon the face of the globe. He hoped to see the English gentry and persons of other classes mixing with the people of Ireland, and then they would return here advocates for the cause of Ireland, so that no ministers would be able to resist the voice of truth. English members would then be induced to pay more attention to Irish questions than at present they are able to do, from ignorance of the state of the country. He allowed this measure to be founded on a violation of the militia principle, but he took into consideration the attendant circumstances. Ministers had, however, much depressed his feelings, when they appeared desirous of withdrawing from the original grounds on which they supported the measure. Here was a bill to bring over 10,000 men from Ireland, but he was astonished to hear that they had no idea of an interchange. They would then take away the country gentlemen of Ireland, and make no kind of return for it. He was sorry to see the great object thus weakened. But let it not be thought that Ireland, because she exhibits this instance of her patriotism, is really satisfied with what has been done since the union. The Irish thought they had the authority of the King, by his royal message originating the union, and indeed that of parliament too, for expecting some further measures. After the solemn pledges they had received, he would ask what had been done for them? But while the Irish felt and expressed their dissatisfaction, they would stand by England to the last. They would never submit to a foreign force, or yield to the haughty despot now hovering on our coasts. They would die with England if necessary, or share her laurels. But let not this be confounded with an idea of their being satisfied with their condition.

Lord *De Blaquiere* observed, that the question was not now, whether Ireland was an aggrieved country, disturbed it certainly was, but whether the militia proposed to be brought to this country thence, ought to be replaced? He had voted for the measure yesterday, but should oppose the present. The militia was a species of force least wanted; and as the men were to be raised by a bounty, he thought the suggestion of several law gentlemen, that their services ought to be taken, under a new covenant, and to a greater extent ought to be acted upon.

Mr. *Alexander* replied to some of the observations of the hon. colonel who spoke last but one, and censured the impropriety of adverting in irritating language to the union. He afterwards dwelt on the conduct of two other right hon. gentlemen (Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham), and their strange connexion in opposition to his Majesty's ministers. He heard continual outcries of the incapacity of ministers; but those gentlemen's wisdom seemed to consist in a perfect change, and their integrity in a mutual forgiveness, accompanied by a confession of having been in the wrong before. As to what had been said about the union, gentlemen who supported it had feelings of honour as high as any others, and nothing but disunion could be the consequence to the country, whose cause we ought to support, by the provocation of such subjects. He, therefore, condemned the introduction unnecessarily of such topics in discussion.

Mr. *Windham* said, he should not trespass on the house at that late hour. He rejoiced that his noble friend (Lord De Blaquiere) concurred with him on the present occasion, for it was not without concern, he observed, they had voted on different sides last night, as he should ever be concerned to differ with that noble lord on any subject. His own objection to the measure which had been discussed last night arose principally from the present measure, for he considered both as forming part of the same system. The opinion of his noble friend would have as much weight with him as that of any member in the house. It was not expedient for many obvious considerations, which might be adverted to without delicacy, to augment the Irish militia beyond a certain proportion. As to what had fallen from an hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Alexander), he could not reply to him, for, he confessed he did not for the most part understand him. He heard, however, a great deal about character, imbecility, and so forth; but ministers appeared to be so sore and so conscious of weakness, that they heard nothing but the sound of imbecility and weakness, whatever the words might be, and whatever the subject.—Though the debate had been continued to a late hour, he thought it was not yet exhausted; and he should consider himself at liberty, in some future stage of the measure, to deliver his sentiments on some points which had not, in his opinion, been sufficiently pressed.—The house then divided for the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Ayes - -	94
Noes - -	37
Majority -	57

List of the Minority.

Adair, Robert
Bankes, Henry
Barclay, Sir Robert
Bouverie, Hon. Edw.
Calcraft, John
Cavendish, Ld Geo. A. H.
Codrington, Christopher
Craufurd, Robert
Creevey, Thomas
Cust, Hon. John
De Blaquiere, Lord
Elford, Sir William
Elliot, William
Folkestone, Viscount
Fox, Hon. Chas. Jas.
Francis, Philip
Grenville, Rt. Hon. T.
Hamilton, Ld. Arch.
Harrison, John
Johnstone, George
Kensington, Lord
Kinnaird, Hon. Charles

Kirkwall, Lord
Laurence French
Marsham, Viscount
Morpeth, Viscount
North Dudley
Ord, William
Petty, Lord Henry
Porchester, Lord
Pytches, John
Russel, Lord William
Spencer, Lord Robert
Stanhope, Walter Spencer
Newport, Sir John
Walpole, Hon. George
Windham, Rt. Hon. Wm.
Wynne, Sir Watkin Wm.
Wrottesley, Sir John

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, April 12, 1804.

[WAR IN INDIA.] The Earl of *Suffolk* rose to call the attention of the house to a subject which at present occupied a great deal of the public consideration. He did not wish to press his Majesty's ministers to enter upon it immediately, by proposing a motion to their lordships, but he was perfectly prepared to proceed now, in case it was the desire of his Majesty's ministers that he should do so. The subject to which he alluded there was no occasion to conceal, it was the war in which we were engaged with the Mahrattas in India. This war was undertaken directly in opposition to the spirit of an act of parliament, and it was incumbent upon the govt. to justify itself as far as regarded this point. No less than three wars were carried on without the authority of this legislature. These wars were certainly now not of a very recent commencement, and yet no document had arrived on the subject, at least as far as he was informed. He had read, indeed, many brilliant details of the victories of our troops in the Indies, but there was great reason to believe that they had not been gained without considerable loss on our side. At any rate, both on this account, and on account of their being undertaken in the teeth of an act of parliament, these wars deserved the serious consideration of their lordships. He was prepared to proceed immediately; but, in case his Majesty's ministers should think it an accommodation to them, he had no objection to postpone his motion till to-morrow.

Lord *Hawkesbury* observed, that as his lordship intended to bring forward this subject in so solemn a manner, he submitted whether even to-morrow was not too early a period, in the present circumstances, when the attention of the house was occupied in a business of so much importance as the volunteer consolidation bill. He hoped that for this and for other reasons, the noble lord would postpone the subject for a short time.

Lord *Hobart* observed, that the motion would be premature on another ground, which was, that govt. was not prepared to enter on the subject at present, because no official documents had yet arrived from India relating to the war, to which the noble lord had adverted.

The Earl of *Suffolk* replied, that this was the very reason why he wished to call the attention of the house to the subject. The act of parliament provided that no war should be entered upon in India without communicating the grounds of it to the legislature. But here was a war carried on for a long time, without a single official document having even been sent to the executive govt of this country. He agreed to postpone the motion, but promised to bring it forward soon, without fixing any particular day.

[VOLUNTEER CONSOLIDATION BILL.] The order of the day being read, their lordships went into a committee on the volunteer bill.

Lord *Hawkesbury* proposed an amendment, by which it was provided, that no corps of yeomanry or volunteers should be subject to the mutiny act, during any period under fourteen days, when they might choose to assemble for the purpose of improvement in their exercise.

The Duke of *Montrose* opposed the amendment, upon the grounds that the officers even on these occasions, ought to have a control over the men.

Lord *Grenville* supported the amendment, and expressed his satisfaction that the noble secretary had turned his attention to this subject, and had thought proper to propose this provision, as it was certainly improper to put so great a share of the population of the country under martial law, in any case, except that of invasion.

The Duke of *Montrose* wished that the noble lords could agree as well on points of higher importance.

Earl *Spencer* proposed an amendment in the clause relating to the payment of volunteers, the object of which was, that the payment should be made by the receiver-general, in the old way, and not at the secretary at war's office.

Lord *Grenville* supported the amendment, and contended that the office in question went to make the commanders of volunteer corps public accountants.—The house then divided on lord Spencer's amendment,

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Lord *Grenville* then proposed an amendment, which he had formerly suggested, the object of which was, to exempt those from punishment who did not join their corps in case of an invasion, from their being employed on other military service. Agreed to.—

His lordship also proposed an amendment, which had for its object the preventing of deliberative power in the hands of armed bodies. This was agreed to be taken into consideration against the time of the report; after some other verbal amendments in the schedule, the bill passed the committee. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Thursday, April 12, 1804.

[MINUTES] Mr Irwing, from the inspector general's office, presented an account of the produce of the permanent taxes for the year ending the 5th Jan. 1804. Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed for the use of the members.—The accounts moved for by Mr. Foster, relative to the importation and exportation of all flour, corn, grain, &c. into and from Great-Britain, since the 1st of Jan. 1800, to the 1st of Jan. 1804; and respecting the amount of the duty received on the exportation of linen from Ireland to Great-Britain, since the commencement thereof, were presented, and ordered to lie on the table.—A message from the lords communicated their lordship's agreement to the bank indemnity, the Irish militia families provision, and the Scotch bank capital augmentation bills, without any amendment.—Mr. Vansittart moved, that there be laid before the house, an account of the grants of public money made to the Veterinary College and the Board of Agriculture, with an account of the expenditure thereof. Ordered.

[COTTON MANUFACTURERS' PETITION.] Mr. *Hiley Addington* moved the order of the day, for taking into consideration the report of the committee on the petition of the cotton workmen and manufacturers. The order being read, the right hon. gent. moved, that the resolutions of the committee be read, which being done, he proceeded to observe, that before he moved that the resolutions be read a second time, it was proper he should open the nature of the subject now before the house; but he was glad that in doing so, it was not necessary for him to enter much into its detail. He should call the attention of the house to the circumstances upon which the matter now stood, and then, in a few words, state for what reasons the committee passed these resolutions, and why he thought it his duty to ask the house to agree to them. Gentlemen would recollect, that about 4 years ago, for it was early in the year 1800, a very considerable and a very unpleasant disagreement took place between the masters and workmen engaged in the cotton manufactory, in consequence of which petitions were presented to the house by a very large body, praying for legislative interference to redress their grievances. That was a period of great difficulty in the country, especially in the manufacturing part of it, arising from the stagnation of trade in the arduous contest in which we were then engaged; and also from the scarcity and high price of provisions, which, to a great extent, affected all classes of his Majesty's subjects, and more particularly the working part of them. He did think it extremely possible, perhaps probable, that if it had not been for the irritation arising from distress, thus produced from a combination of causes, these petitions would never have been presented. They were, however, presented, and the subject matter of them had been referred to a committee, which (passing over one of its members, of whom it did not become him to say any thing) consisted of very intelligent and enlightened members of that house, who considered the subject, reported upon it, and an act of parliament past to alter the law as it then stood, with respect to the mode of appealing to magistrates, to appoint referees to decide on matters in dispute between masters and workmen in the cotton trade. Whether that was a proper measure, or not, would be improper in him to doubt; he deferred to the sense of the perfectly respectable members of that committee, and imperious and weighty reasons pressed upon their minds at the time, which induced them to make their report, and to form an opinion which was peculiar to the circumstances under which they made it.—The committee had endeavoured on the one hand to form an impartial tribunal to decide on matters of dispute, to afford speedy redress to those who had just grounds of complaint, at as limited an expense as possible; and on the other, they had endeavoured to avoid any restriction or regulation which might be considered by the manufacturers as fettering the trade, in the prosperity of which, the interests of all the workmen, as well as the masters, were materially involved. In giving the petitioners all they asked, the legislature might give them that which afterwards they might repent of asking. The committee could have no possible object, but to do justice to both parties, and they were, perhaps, better judges of the interest of the petitioners, than the petitioners themselves. His motion should be, that the house do agree to the resolutions of this committee; and if it should be the pleasure of the house to do so, then he should move for an act of parliament to carry these resolutions into effect; after which, upon reflection, he hoped the cotton weavers themselves would be satisfied, and that they would be convinced they had all which could with propriety be granted, and that the manufacturers also, would, in their turn, be satisfied that care had been taken that no injury was done to them, so that neither the one, nor the other, should hereafter think it necessary to apply to parliament. He then moved that these resolutions be now read a second time.

Admiral *Berkeley* wished to know, whether this measure was brought on by govt., or originated with the manufacturers themselves? He thought that a measure similar to this, ought to be adopted, with reference to the woollen trade. He wished to know, whether any steps were likely to be taken, in consequences of a memorial which had been presented on the subject of the woollen trade?

Mr. *Hiley Addington* said, that business had been already partly brought forward by a right hon. relation of his, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. *Francis* said, he understood that the manufacturers were at liberty to apply to be heard by counsel against any bills that might be brought in pursuant to these resolutions, if they thought fit.—The resolutions were then read and agreed to; after which, Mr. H. Addington moved, that a bill be brought in pursuant to the three last resolutions.

Sir *Robert Buxton* said, he was not going to oppose the bringing in the bill now moved for, but he wished it to be understood as his opinion, that the greatest difficulties which had been felt on this subject, had arisen chiefly from our departing from the constitutional mode of adjusting differences between master and servant; he meant that of an appeal to the magistrate.—The question was then put, and leave was given to bring in the bill.

[Irish Coin.]—Mr. *Corry* rose, and stated that he felt himself under the necessity of still farther postponing the motion respecting the circulating coin in Ireland, of which he had given notice for this day. It being the wish of his Majesty's govt. that this subject should be fully investigated and the most ample information obtained, dispatches were hourly looked for from Ireland, which were deemed necessary upon this point, and until they should arrive, he would decline to bring forward his promised motion. If the intelligence should be received by to-morrow he would take occasion to submit the business to the consideration of the house, but if not, he hoped he should stand excused for postponing it to another day.

Mr. *John Latouche* expressed his regret that, under the severe pressure of the evil, which now bore on the people of Ireland, and particularly on the inhabitants of the metropolis, that the right hon. gent. should think it proper to put off for a moment the proposition of some remedy. The hon. member was proceeding, when

The *Speaker* observed, that it was the established custom of the house not to suffer a speech to be made on such an occasion as the present; it was not allowed by the rules of the house, that there should be any argumentative notice. If the hon. member intended to conclude with a motion, it was competent to him to proceed, but not otherwise.

[Payment of Irish civil officers at par.]—Lord *Archibald Hamilton* called the attention of the house to the subject of the payment of the salaries of the ministers of Ireland, who occasionally resided in this country, he meant the mode in which that payment was made, for they were paid at par. It was now six weeks or nearly two months since he first mentioned the subject in the house, and he thought it incumbent on him to bring the matter forward for the consideration of the house; he gave notice that he should this day do so, and he now proposed to fulfil that promise.—The subject was that of payment of salaries of the ministers of that part of his Majesty's govt. which related to Ireland, who occasionally resided in England, which payment was made at par. When this circumstance was first mentioned to the house, which it was by him, it appeared to every body who heard it, to be an extraordinary fact, when it was admitted to be a fact, and he must be allowed to remind the right hon gent. (Mr. Corry) who admitted it, with what reluctance he brought the matter forward; but, however, he was impelled to it by a sense of public duty, and for the same reason he was bound to pursue it; and here he must premise what he had to say, with observing, that there was no part of the duty of that house more imperative than that of watching over every part of the expenditure of the public money. There generally did exist, and always ought to exist in that house, a jealousy concerning all money transactions, and it ought to be exercised with vigilance on the present occasion, and he was glad to say, that the question which he should lay before the house for its consideration, would lie within a narrow compass, for the chief part of it was neither more nor less than what was to be considered as the meaning of the plain letter of an act of parliament. The amount of the sums out of which this arose, was indeed small, but it was the principle which constituted the importance of the subject. Here he proceeded to read the acts of parliament of the 30th of the King, for regulating the payment of the salaries of all the servants of the crown in the civil departments of the state; and then contended, that the commissioners of the treasury in Ireland, had no right to interfere with the payment of the salaries of the officers of govt., nor with any sums of money whatever, while it was *in transitu*; for it was not only repugnant to the law he had just quoted, but contrary also to precedent. He contended that the order which had been issued by the commissioners of the treasury in Ireland, for the payment at par of the civil officers of the govt. of the country, occasionally resident in this, was not warranted, and was therefore an excess of their authority. He would ask, what were the salaries of these officers of govt.? Were they not charges upon the public revenue of the country? If so, by what authority was any alteration made in them? He said, that payment to any person out of the public revenue of the country of more than was allowed by law, was irregular, and quite unwarrantable; and if the right hon. gent. opposite to him (Mr. Corry), was allowed to proceed in this manner, where were we to stop? He contended, therefore, that this was an unwarrantable act. He did not charge ministers with a deliberate design to over-rule the law; but he said, that these irregular and unwarrantable acts would have that effect, unless checked by the house. It was admitted that the half pay officers of Ireland were not paid at par, while they might be occasional residents in this country. Now, upon what ground the civil officers of govt. claimed to be paid at par, when no such advantage was allowed to the half-pay officers, he was at a loss to conceive. He knew many reasons why the half-pay officers, who had devoted the whole of their time, and often risked their lives in defence and for the service of their country, should have more advantages in the mode of receiving their little pay, but not one reason why they should have less than the civil officers of the govt. There was therefore no principle on which this mode of payment could be supported; because, if it was upon principle, the thing should be adopted generally to all whose services belonged to the govt. of Ireland, and who were occasionally resident in this country. But by this practice of paying officers of the Irish govt. at par, if they should happen to come over here for 6 weeks, they had an advantage of 10 per cent. on the course of exchange. He knew not why many of the civil officers of the Irish govt. came into this country. The Lord Chancellor of Ireland, for instance, what reason was there why he should be in England at all, otherwise than as a member of parliament, in which character he had no salary? The same observation might be made on the case of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Corry); there was no occasion for his residence in England, otherwise than as a member of parliament, in which character he was entitled to no salary. The same might be said of the inspector-general of the imports and exports, who was not of necessity here. The same of the officers of the customs of the port of Dublin, and many others; yet they were all here, and had the advantage of receiving their salaries at par. These multiplied instances of this advantage given to the civil officers of the executive govt. of Ireland, confirmed him in the conviction of the impropriety of the practice. Here the noble lord read passages from pages 11 and 12 of the account which was laid on the table (see Vol. I. p. 1163) of the money paid to different officers for their salaries at par, from which he argued, there were abuses in this system, and observed, that the more he considered the subject, the more he was convinced of the impropriety of the practice. He then insisted on the particular inexpediency of the practice at the present moment, under all the present circumstances of that country, and that the more remarkably, on account of the deplorable state of the currency of that country, which had for a long time past been felt as a very great evil. He maintained, that without imputing any improper motives, it looked unfavourably, that the commissioners of the revenue should benefit themselves by an order which they made contrary to law, and should themselves claim, by their own order, a benefit which they did not allow to others, who, if the measure was right, had a better claim to it. He observed also, that this matter remained a secret for awhile, and until he brought it forward in the house: if he was right, why was it concealed at all? this was a matter which had also an unfavourable appearance. He contended, that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Corry) could not, of his own individual authority, do any act for the raising any money not allowed by law, for any body; still less proper did it seem to be when that money went partly to himself; such money not being in the exchequer, and, therefore, not subject to his cognizance. These were two points on which his objection to this practice rested. The 3d point was, that the principle on which the practice was defended, had compleatly failed, for it was not general in its application, the half-pay officers deriving no advantage from it, and before it could deserve the name of a principle, the application of it must be general. Lastly, the only persons who were made to benefit by the practice, were the last from whom it ought to be expected, namely, the commissioners of the treasury of Ireland, who issued the order; nor was there any excuse for this having happened by inadvertency, or any thing of that sort, for there was no account made out on the subject of the revenue of Ireland, in which the course of exchange did not appear, therefore they had the subject constantly before their eyes. He should have thought that their being in a situation of trust, would have prevented them from converting it, for they had converted it, into their own emolument; he must be allowed to deliver his opinion upon these matters, without softening his language, and to use such as were applicable to the facts, as they appeared in proof. He said, he was warranted in saying, that they had turned their situation of trust to their own private emolument. He then read the resolutions which he proposed to submit to the house, viz.; "Resolved, that it appears to this house, that payments have been made in London, of salaries charged on the Irish establishment, out of money to be remitted to the Irish treasury, thereby preventing the profits of the exchange thereof, from being of credit to the public, as is done in other cases.—Resolved, that they have been made without sufficient authority.—Resolved, that such practice is unwarrantable, and ought to be discontinued."

Lord *Castlereagh* observed, that the noble lord, in the statement he had been pleased to make upon this occasion, had travelled more into general propositions than was necessary. The main question was a very simple one, namely, whether money in possession of the agent in England belonging to the Irish treasury, was or was not subject to the order of the commissioners of the Irish treasury? Then, supposing that to be decided in the affirmative, the next question would be, whether the application that was made of that money under that order, was a fit and proper application, under all the circumstances of the case? In other words, whether the order of the commissioners of the Irish treasury proceeded from a competent or legal authority, or not? And he apprehended the noble lord had taken the matter too widely, when he considered that the money transferred from the treasurer of that country to the Irish agent in this must be considered as money *in transitu* to the Irish exchequer, in the situation of all money *in transitu*, it was, as he apprehended, subject to the order of the lords of the treasury there, they being in that case, as they were in every other, responsible for the exercise of their authority in the application of that money; for as the money was issued under the authority and by the direction of three of the lords of the treasury, the order was a legal order in itself, and as such binding on the Irish agent; and he agreed entirely with the noble lord, that the officers of the treasury were responsible to parliament for every thing in execution of their trust, and that they should draw every thing to the advantage of the public, in the best manner circumstances would permit; and that if the course of exchange between this country could be applied to the benefit of Ireland, in the issue of any orders or otherwise, it was a part of their duty to make it applicable to the interest of the public as much as possible, unless some particular circumstances of some particular case, called for a relaxation from the general principle, which he apprehended to be the case now under consideration. The noble lord seemed to argue this matter as if there was an actual increase of salary to these officers, by the mode of payment which had been adopted in this case; if so, he should agree with the noble lord in the conclusion that the mode was improper; for it was beyond the competency of the Irish treasury to increase the salaries of these officers, the amount of which was specified by law. The act of parliament had said, what the salaries of these officers should be; but that was while they exercised their functions in Ireland, and when they were to be paid there; but in the case now before the house, the officers of govt., whose salaries were thus paid, had been taken from the natural sphere of action in which they had been usually called upon to move, and brought, for special purposes, to exercise their functions in this country. It was true, that application might be made to parliament, if any alteration was necessary, in the course of the payment of these salaries; at the same time the noble lord would see, that the whole of the question arose, not from the amount of the salaries of these officers, but from the mode of paying them, in consequence of their functions being altered and extended beyond their ordinary sphere of action; and the question was merely, whether an officer coming from Ireland to England to do his duty, shall be paid in England in English or in Irish currency; he would see, that it would be straining the statement to go beyond this, or to say that it was any thing like an increase of salary. The question was, whether as an officer did his duty in England, he should not be paid in English currency? If, indeed, he discharged the functions of his office in Ireland, it would be an advantage to him that he should be paid in English currency, and an advantage to which he would not be intitled; but if he was obliged to come here to perform that office, a country in which certainly he could not live cheaper than in Ireland, nor could he do his duty in it with more satisfaction or convenience to himself than in Ireland; he would put it to the house whether it was fair to call on such an officer to perform his duty with a diminution of salary; for that would be the case if he were to be paid here in Irish currency. This mode of payment was not, in fact, an increase of salary, but a mere relief from a tax to which these officers would be liable if this mode of payment was not adopted. The propriety of affording this relief from a tax in such a case, he maintained to be consonant to the spirit of the act of union, as well as to the general principles of justice. He maintained, that in some cases it had been allowed to those who were not compelled, as these officers were, to come from Ireland to this country.—As to what had been said about the particular individuals, who took what was called the benefit of this mode of payment, (which, by the way, was no benefit, for it was only an exemption from a tax, which could not justly be imposed on them,) he could say of them that they were actuated by no motives but such as would do them no dishonour; neither was there any attempt to keep this matter a secret, no secrecy could attend it. He compared this mode of payment to that which was uniformly adopted in paying our troops abroad. The course of exchange was often such as to make it a matter of some expense to transmit the pay of officers and men, yet they had their whole pay, as if there was no such expense, and the public were always called upon to defray it; and, therefore, in his opinion, the question was, whether the commissioners of the treasury of Ireland were not called upon to consider of the propriety of relieving these officers from the operation of a tax, which would, unless they were relieved, attach upon them when they came to perform their duty in this country, and which would not attach on them if they performed it in Ireland? The noble lord said, the principle on which this mode of payment was adopted, ought to be general, or not adopted at all, and therefore the half-pay officers of Ireland, who were in this country, ought to be paid at par as well as the civil officers of the Irish govt., but there was a distinction between the two services. The half-pay officers of Ireland had their option, whether they would come here or remain in Ireland; but the civil officers were compelled to come here. He applied this to all these officers who came here, and he could not help thinking, that the house would be of opinion with him, that those officers had no more than justice done to them upon this occasion. On the whole matter he did not see any blame imputable to the commissioners of the Irish treasury upon this occasion, and as these resolutions were intended to be followed up by some other resolutions of disapprobation of what had been done, for which disapprobation there was no reason, therefore he moved the order of the day.

Lord *Folkestone* expressed his astonishment, after the statement which had been made by the noble lord who proposed the resolutions, that any member of that house could be found to stand so boldly forward to justify the practice to which those resolutions referred, and least of all did he expect such attempt at justification from the noble lord who had just sat down. How the noble lord could reconcile his doctrine on a former occasion, that there was no depreciation of the Irish currency, with his assertion of this evening, that the payment of the Irish civil officers resident in this country at par, was a relief from a tax, he was at a loss to conceive. There was, in the accounts laid before the house, sufficient ground for warranting the resolutions, without entering into any other causes. It appeared from these accounts, that the total of the sum paid at par, was 25,000*l.*, while the total of the sums paid only in salaries did not exceed 12,000*l.* A difference so very material certainly called for explanation, and he hoped to hear some satisfactory reasons for the excess.

Mr. *Fox* declared, that of all the questions which had for a long time come before the house, he thought the present one would prove the most difficult to be defended, and he was not disappointed in the sentiments which he previously entertained. The noble lord had, in fact, shewn the weakness of the cause he had to support by the weakness of the arguments which he had used. It had been said, and certainly no small stress had been laid upon the assertion, that a man's salary was not increased because he was relieved from the operation of a tax. He could not, for his own part, understand the difference between an increase of salary and an exemption from the payment of a tax. His Majesty might as well exempt a man of landed property from the payment of the land-tax, and what was that in fact but an increase of salary? The noble lord spoke of persons who were called here by order of their superiors; but when he examined the list of those who received payments at par, he was at a loss to discover who they were. He could not agree that the right hon. gent. on the opposite bench (Mr. Corry) had been called here by his superiors, and he wished to know, supposing that right hon. gent. not to be a member of parliament, what was the necessity which compelled him to reside in this country? With respect to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the noble lord gave up the matter at once, and said, he could not assign any cause for his coming. Was a judge, whose residence was in reality in Ireland, and who came to this country, to be allowed to plead in his justification, that he was called by his superiors? He could not admit there existed a greater duty to attend parliament, in those persons who were in office, than in those who were out of office, for that would be to admit, that the country gentlemen were to be taxed, and that his Majesty's servants were to be paid for their attendance in parliament. There existed no necessity whatever, with regard to the Lord Chancellor; for who had the right of ordering him to come to this country? Certainly none but the King, and even then there might be doubts upon that subject, as his Majesty had his own chancellor here. As to the question of remuneration, he could not avoid saying, that if the Irish officers were sent out of their country to discharge the duties of their respective offices, and it was deemed just to reward them for extraordinary services, they should have been rewarded, not in the manner which had been adopted, but in a fair, open, and constitutional way. The noble lord had stated, by comparison, the case of the payment of the troops serving abroad; but then he did not take into his consideration what was absolutely material, that the deficiencies occasioned by the difference of exchange were made good to the officers and men by parliament, while, in the present case, they were made good by the lords of the Irish treasury. The noble lord had drawn a distinct line between the claims of the half-pay officers, and those who were paid at par; yet the noble lord was not, at that moment, aware, that the late chancellor of Ireland possessed no better claim than those very half-pay officers, who have suffered so much in consequence of the state of the exchange. The chancellor was, in fact, a half-pay officer; for he had 4 or 5000*l.* a year for having formerly done the duty of Speaker of the House of Lords; yet his claims were freely allowed, and he received his salary at par. If remuneration appeared a just and equitable measure, he was desirous to have the proofs fairly brought forward, and the services of the officers of the Irish govt. resident in this country, properly rewarded, but he could not consent to make any exceptions in their favour, unless upon principles altogether constitutional. It was undeniable that their salaries had been clearly fixed, and at the same time made liable to all the taxes, deductions, and chances, as those to which other officers under the Irish govt., resident in Ireland, might eventually be subject. He wished to know on what principle it was that one officer, resident in Dublin, should receive only 90*l.* and another in London should be paid the whole 100*l.* When he considered the duties to be performed by those whose names appeared upon the list, he felt that they did not appear *prima facie* to be called over to London for the purpose of performing the functions of their respective offices. Could the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the counsel for the commissioners of the revenue, or the customer of the port of Dublin, with several more, be considered in that point of view? It was, he readily admitted, not altogether impossible that they might be called away for that purpose, but as the house was ignorant of the circumstances, he thought all the information which could be obtained on the subject should be laid before parliament. He should, therefore, vote against the order of the day.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he thought this was a question upon which there could not be much difference of opinion. The honourable gentleman did not appear to him to be quite accurate in his statement of the facts of the case; if it was really an increase of salary, he should think that the conduct of the Irish treasury was not to be justified, but it was no such thing. The officers employed under the Irish government, who would have received 100 *l.* Irish if they had remained in Ireland, did not receive 100 *l.* British; they only received 92 *l.* British, which was equal to 100 *l.* Irish; and he begged it to be remembered that those officers and those salaries were all established before the Union, when it could not be in contemplation that it would be necessary to bring them over to England. If these officers were, in addition to the inconvenience they suffered by being brought over to England, to lose by the exchange, instead of receiving 92 *l.* they would, in fact, only receive 82 *l*, which, he was sure, could never be intended. The honourable gentleman seemed to suppose that these officers received the whole of their salaries in this country; that was not the case; they only received that part of it which became due during their residence in England. The honourable gent. seemed to think that the officers, called over here upon public business, ought to have an allowance; the fact was, they only had their travelling expenses allowed to them, and that was only granted to those in inferior situations. The whole question resolved itself into this, whether officers who were brought here to discharge a public duty, ought or ought not to receive the same salary they would have received if they had remained in Ireland? It appeared to him that no doubt could be entertained upon the subject, and therefore he should vote for the motion of his noble friend.

Mr. *John Latouche* supported the original motion, upon the ground that this, which he considered as an increase of their salaries, was entirely defrayed by Ireland, whereas, as it was a part of the joint expenditure of the empire, England ought to defray the proportion stipulated by the Union.

The *Master of the Rolls* observed, that the noble lord had laid down a proposition in his motion, which was of a general nature: but that all the other gentlemen, who had followed on that side, had departed from the general principle, he had stated, and made particular distinctions. He should not enter into the necessity arising from any particular instance. He could see nothing in the removal of any gentleman from Ireland to England on the business of his office, that ought to operate to the diminution of his salary. When he was called here he had his duties to discharge, and he ought to have the full amount of his salary, the same as if he had remained in Ireland. Upon the principle attempted to be established, persons concerned in East-India affairs might be sent to Calcutta to receive their salaries. So that if a person were ordered to go to York, and could not get his salary from London, but at a great expense attending the transfer, he was to be a sufferer. But what was exchange but the expense attending the transfer of money; and why should the civil officer sustain that expense, if he did not voluntary shift his residence? The learned member then proceeded to shew that the case of half pay officers did not apply in the present instance. Augmentation of salary, he admitted, would be unjustifiable, but that was vastly different from the mere payment of the same identical salary, only on a different spot.

Dr. *Laurence* observed, that what had fallen from the last learned member, though very ingenious, did not strictly apply to the point in debate. The salary of an individual must be paid from the establishment whence it should be drawn. He should wish to know whether, as this was a matter which might operate in various ways, that, if actually a profit were to be drawn from a change of situation of this sort, it was to be understood that a deduction to that amount was to be made? After the Union it must have been seen, that such circumstances were fairly to be anticipated, though they might appear to some in the light of casual evils. But, whatever they were, this was not the form and mode in which remuneration, be it ever so necessary, was to be given. It did not appear to him, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer actually knew the true state of the case on which they had been debating. He had said, it was only a power of issuing to certain persons part of their salaries during their residence here. If it could be shewn that they had received no more than their fair proportion, still on the face of the order for Mr. Wickham, it did appear an unlimited one, for it gave credit at the rate of 4,360 *l.* per ann., and the payments were to be charged to the treasury accounts. Here then was a general credit for that gentleman to draw upon. Now when a certain important debate occurred respecting Ireland, he was not here, but, as it appeared, in Yorkshire; yet, according to this order, he had liberty to draw if he chose. Here was the power. Was this any kind of check on the mode of transacting public business? And Colonel Loftus, a commissioner of the treasury, was actually here a whole year. Did he attend here as commissioner of the treasury? Let ministers bring the question fairly before the house, and arrange the system. He could have wished to hear something from the learned gentleman concerning the power of giving orders before the money was in the exchequer. One thing he certainly did hope and expect from the present administration; and that was, an adherence to the strict forms of the house, and a restoration of such as had, from circumstances, been trenched upon; but he was sorry to observe, that he could not recollect the time when they were so much neglected.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that had the learned gentleman, in adverting to what he said, examined the case of Mr. Wickham, he would have found that the very terms shewed they did not warrant his comments. In page 12 he would have found that the credit was to be given at the *rate* of 4 360 *l.* and that at page 5 he would have seen that his predecessor drew only the smaller sum of 4,029 *l.* stated as paid in 1803, but that included the total of 2 years; not, however brought forward in 1803. He did not believe that Mr. Wickham was a person likely to depart, in that respect, from his predecessor's example.

Lord *Henry Petty* rose, only to advert to what had fallen from a learned gentleman opposite (the Master of the Rolls). With the general principle which that learned gentleman had laid down, he was ready in some measure to give his concurrence; and had this general principle been the question now before the house, he would in all probability, have given it his vote. But because such a principle had not been before the house, and because it was not warranted by any legislative authority, he would therefore oppose the present practice, and vote for the original motion.

Mr. *Francis* said, that among many weighty arguments, which determined him to vote for the original motion, there were two, which he wished particularly to state and to insist on, because they were of a plain and obvious quality, and not liable to be perplexed and confounded by technical skill or sophistical distinctions. To these, Sir, I expect to hear a plain and rational answer, which hitherto has not been attempted. In the first place, Sir, I hold it to be a principle inseparable from the uses of all government, and from the duties of this government more than any other, that the personal interest of every individual trusted with power should, in all cases, be one and the same with the interest of the community. If a general calamity should exist, or a general burden is to be endured, to the remedy or relief of which the labour, the industry and the skill of persons in high office ought to be unremittingly applied, it is not wise, it is not safe to exempt such persons from their share in the general pressure or suffering that falls upon all the rest. You take away a principal motive or *stimulus* to such persons to exert themselves in the public service, when you tell them, that, whether they neglect their duty or not, they are sure to be borne harmless in the receipt of their own income. Least of all, is it prudent or safe to suffer such parties to form the measure and to distribute the amount of their own relief? But, even if the contrary were true, if it could be maintained that persons in high and lucrative offices ought to be specially and exclusively exempted from any share in a public suffering, still the course which has been taken ought not to be endured. It is asserted that the payments in question have not been secret, have not been clandestine. My answer is, that they have been made not only without the authority, but without the knowledge of parliament. I, for one, never heard of the fact, until it was introduced by the noble lord on this side. If the thing be proper, it ought to be done by a vote of this house, or in some other regular parliamentary way. Whenever the general principle of reimbursing individuals for losses on exchange of salaries comes to be considered, you will have other cases infinitely more pressing to provide for. I shall state only one, which I think could hardly be resisted, and which has frequently occurred. I mean that of an English regiment disbanded in Ireland, and of which the officers, all English, are compelled by their situation, circumstances, and connexions to reside in England on their Irish half-pay. Out of that pittance they lose ten per cent. on the remittance from Ireland. Would you refuse to indemnify such persons, while the principal officers of govt. are permitted to reimburse themselves out of the public purse? Now, Sir, I ask for information on a point of parliamentary construction, in which I think the honour, because I am sure the duty of this house, is essentially concerned. Supposing the motion of the noble lord should be set aside, with such facts brought into the view of the house, and so immediately connected with our first duty as guardians of the public purse, and that this should be done by an expedient so disgraceful, and I believe in such a case so unprecedented, in the proceedings of parliament, as that of moving the order of the day, in what state will this business be left? Will it not be concluded that the house renounces its duty, and abdicates its jurisdiction over a money question? Will it, or will it not be taken, by the parties who have hitherto acted in their own behalf, by their own authority, for an acknowledgment of the power they have so assumed? What is to check or to limit them in the future exercise of that discretion, when parliament, with the case before them, refuses to inquire into the past, or even to lay down any rule for the future? Certainly the gentlemen who have taken good care of themselves, may act with more reserve, and less indulgence to the claims of others full as good as their own. Or they may choose and select the objects of their favour. I ask, is it fit that such a question should be left undecided? In fact, I fear it will amount to a decision in favour of the abuse, and furnish a pretence for other practices of the same nature. When a house of commons refuses to inquire into an unauthorised application of public money, and when the fact is not denied, it gives an approbation to the thing done, and makes it a precedent for greater abuses.

Mr. *Henry Thornton* conceived the objections much magnified. More than law allowed, he thought, had not been done. Ministers might have paid the Irish salaries in cash, which would have still been more valuable. It would be better to apply the time of the house in devising a remedy for the radical evil, the present rate of exchange between this country and Ireland.

Mr. *Barham*, upon the principle that 100,000*l.* received in this country and sent to Ireland would be worth 110,000*l.* opposed the system that was now acted on, as giving an additional income to those that were so paid, while others must necessarily labour under a deficiency to the same amount. He argued, that whenever either civil or military officers should be on their duty, there was no question but they were to be paid by the treasury of the country by which they were employed.

Mr. *Foster* had often observed in the course of his parliamentary life, that when gent. had no good grounds to rest upon, they ran to general principles, which seemed to be the case to night with the hon. member opposite. But if it was fashionable to recur to general principles, he should beg to mention one, namely, that no money shall be issued without coming to parliament for it. It had been proved, that this money had not been legally issued. The papers shewed, that one commissioner had ordered the issue, and that it had been paid accordingly. Every sum subtracted from the public purse was in fact so much expense incurred. The noble lord had said, the Irish treasury was in London; but did any body who had read the act of parliament remain ignorant that it was necessary to have the King's sign manual, or an act of parliament to authorise an issue? Was there any sort of authority for this transaction? The noble lord had said, that an act of parliament was an operose transaction, that is to say, that to act legally was an operose transaction, whereas to act illegally, made a short cut, and so the noble lord chose to run post haste to the treasury in London. All the revenues of Ireland were, since the Union, applicable, in the first instance, to the payment of the national debt, and, secondly, to the general purposes of that country. If ministers could thus pay officers, it would never appear how Ireland was subjected to expenses; whereas, if the thing was done legally, fifteen-seventeenths of the money would be paid by England. He called upon ministers to treat this question like men, in a manly manner; to confess they had done an illegal act. Let them go into a committee, but not blink the question. If otherwise, let them now have their majority if they could, but let them depend upon it, that this question would come before them in so many shapes, that they must meet it at last.

Lord *Castlereagh* rose to explain, and was proceeding to reply to some observations of the last speaker, when he was called to order by

Lord *Folkestone*, who insisted that the noble lord was not speaking to order, but in reply.

Mr. *Foster* begged to adduce an instance which came within his own knowledge. When he was connected with the revenue of Ireland, the counsellor for the commissioners had only 100*l.* a year, whereas in the papers now before the house, he perceived, that that hon. gent. had received 900*l.* in the course of three years. If this additional sum was considered as a compensation, he saw no reason why such genlemen should also avail themselves of the profits derived from the present rate of exchange.

Mr. *Ormsby*, from having been so particularly alluded to, found himself under the necessity of rising. It was true, he said, that he had received the sum mentioned, during the three years alluded to; but at the same time he had spent in England more than twice that sum, drawn from other funds, which were subject to all the inconveniencies of the present rate of exchange. He contended, that the Irish officers who resided either from choice, or from the calls of public duty, spent in general much more in London than their salaries amounted to. He objected in the strongest terms to the original motion as unnecessary and unjust.

Sir *Laurence Parsons* declined entering at any length into a discussion of the question before the house, but stated, in a few words, that he believed that ministers had acted fairly and conscientiously, and, from the whole of what he had heard that night, or knew before, he could not see that there was any ground for the house entering into the inquiry.

Mr. *T. Grenville* referred to several observations which had been made by different hon. members on the other side of the house, and said, that the arguments which the noble lord on the same side of the house with himself, had advanced with so much ability, were so completely unanswered, that he should not presume to do away the impression they had made upon the house by any attempt on his part to repeat them. One hon. gent. indeed had appealed to the prudence and discretion of the house, and then asked if it was necessary for the house to enter into the merits of the case? He had concluded with inviting the house rather to blink the question. What! when the house is told that there has been an illegal issue of the public money, should parliament be told, that instead of looking into the case, they should not exercise that right which the people have committed to their charge, but rather be inclined to blink the question? An assertion had been made in the course of the debate, that the lords of the Treasury had a legal authority for the issuing of public money. No doubt they had. But could that be supposed to be any argument against the resolutions which had been submitted to the house? Neither his noble friend, nor any other person who spoke in the course of the debate, had denied the existence of such an authority. They only objected to what appeared to them to be an illegal exercise of that authority, in the paying away the money of the public in a manner for which they had no vote or authority from that house.

The *Attorney General* complained, that it was unfair for one gent. to say that there was fallacy in an argument, and another gent. to say that no argument had been advanced. No one person had pretended to say that there was a great sum of money sunk, squandered, or applied to improper uses, and that therefore it was evident that his Majesty's servants had acted from a corrupt and dirty motive. He had no doubt, that if the principle was admitted, and that it was stated that one or two persons had, by mistake been included in the payment who were not entitled to it—he had no doubt that then the noble lord opposite to him, who had spoken with so much ability, would be satisfied as to the propriety of the conduct of ministers. The Irish nation had funds in this country in consequence of the intimacy which subsisted between the two islands; and would any one say that, when they had a public officer on business here, the money should not be paid here to that officer, but be sent back to the Treasury of Ireland, to do that mighty piece of justice of putting money in the public purse at the expense of the individual? As no case of inquiry appeared to him to be made out, he should vote for the order of the day, as the most parliamentary and reasonable course of proceeding.

Sir *J. Newport* declared, that his main objection was to the money not being left at the disposal of parliament. No matter what the sum was, the principle was the same to parliament, and he was surprised to hear a right hon. and learned gent. opposite to him (the Attorney General) say, that the most parliamentary way of acting was, for the house to proceed to the order of the day.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* said, the expressions of some hon. members had been objected to. But the house would recollect, that he had asserted that the act in itself was not legal; no person had controverted that. An observation had been made, that a servant should be paid his travelling expenses, but there was no argument in that, as no person gave in such an estimate as travelling expenses to parliament, and, if that was to be urged against inquiry, no one could say but that travelling expenses had been paid beside. As to the supposition of sending money to Ireland for the purpose of reducing the amount, there was a fallacy in it as an argument. It indeed would be a work of supererogation to do so; but why not pay the officers of the public to the same amount here, as their Irish money would come to if it was paid in Ireland where it was due?—As an hon. bart. (Sir J. Newport) had observed, it was an unwarrantable distribution of the public money.

The question being then put on Lord Castlereagh's motion for the order of the day, the house divided, when there appeared

For the order of the day -	82
Against it - - -	44
Majority - - -	38

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, April 13, 1804.

Counsel were heard in continuation, relative to the Scotch cross appeal, Abercromby *v.* Elphinston Fleming. To proceed again on Monday.—Three private bills were brought up from the commons, by Sir J. W. Anderson and other gentlemen.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their several stages.

[Priests' Orders Bill.]—The order of the day being read for going into a committee on the priests' and deacons' bill, Lord Walsingham accordingly took the chair.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph*, pursuant to his intimation on a former evening, made a variety of observations upon the subject. After referring to the leading provisioner of the bill, he proceeded to observe, that the sacerdotal character in itself could not be done away by the secular power; the *sacerdotum catholicum* was that which no secular power could either give or take away; it was derived from a higher source. He agreed that it was necessary and proper, that some exact and defined limits should be put to the age at which persons should be admissible into the sacred orders of deacon and priest. In describing to the committee the history of the subject, the learned prelate referred to various ecclesiastical authorities, whereby it appeared, that some variations had obtained with respect to the age at which persons were admissible into the orders in question. In the earlier ages of the church, deacons were required to be of the age of 25 years, and priests of that of 30: this was about the fourth century. In some time after, by a decree of the council of Trent, persons of the age of 25, were admissible into priests' orders.—After contending for the indelibility of the sacred character, the right rev. prelate observed, that in cases where a radical, or original defect in the ordination existed, as in the case of marriages improperly solemnized, &c. the legislature may declare the nullity of such proceedings: and it was upon this principle chiefly that he agreed to the relevant provision of the bill.

The Duke of *Norfolk* expressed his concurrence in the principle laid down by the reverend prelate, as to the indelibility of the sacerdotal character. Respecting this it was a maxim in the ancient Catholic church, *nec heresis, nec apostacia delit*; but with respect to the subject, there were one or two considerations which struck him as material. A person may innocently become subject to the enactment of the bill, as in the instance where he was, through misinformation, or other causes, led to suppose that he was either 23 or 24 years of age, when in fact it may not be so. There were cases also in which the bishop who ordained may not be wholly exempt from blame; and it may not be unworthy of consideration what degree of punishment should be incurred by a diocesan who should so infringe upon an act of parliament.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* explained: the case adverted to by the noble duke was one of those, he conceived, within the contemplation of the bill. With respect to the latter consideration, bishops were, as the law now stood, liable to be called to account should they act in violation of an act of parliament.

The leading provision of the bill which enacts that no person shall be admissible to the sacred orders of deacon and priest, unless he shall have completely attained the 23d or 24th year of his age respectively, &c. was then agreed to.—After some further observations on the part of the right rev. prelate and noble duke abovementioned, the remaining provisions of the bill, with a few verbal amendments, were agreed to.—A clause was inserted, on the motion of the Bishop of St. Asaph, for the consideration of the rights, with respect to this bill, of the metropolitans of the respective parts of the united kingdom. — The house then resumed, and ordered the bill to be reported on Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, April, 13, 1804.

[Minutes.]—Sir J. Newport moved to discharge the order for taking into consideration the Ilchester election petition, in order to fix it for a future day, which motion, after some conversation between Sir J. Graham, Mr. Baldwin, and Mr. Hiley Addington, was negatived.—Sir J. Graham presented a petition from certain voters of Chippenham, respecting the right of voting in that borough, which was ordered to be taken into consideration on the same day as the former petition.—Mr. Sec. Yorke, after referring to the order of the 28th of March, giving leave to bring in a bill to suspend the operation of the army of reserve act, observed, that it had been most convenient to bring in two bills, one for Great-Britain, and one for Ireland. He therefore moved to discharge the former order, and for leave to bring in a bill, or bills, respecting the same subject. Leave given. — Mr. Sec. Yorke afterwards brought in the bill for suspending the army of reserve act in Great-Britain, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Tuesday, and to be printed.—Mr. Johnstone gave notice that he would move on Monday next for certain papers respecting the transactions in Ceylon.—Mr. Corry, on account of no communication having been received this day from Ireland, moved the postponement of the order of the day for the consideration of the state of the coin circulation in

Ireland till Monday next, when the necessary communications might be certainly relied on.

[Militia Officers.]—Mr. Secretary *Yorke* moved for leave to bring in a bill to revive a bill which passed in the last session of parliament, for the better providing of officers for the militia, by enabling the lords lieutenants of counties to grant commissions to subaltern officers not qualified by local property in their respective counties.

Lord *Folkestone* observed, that as the bill of the last session had expired, he thought it would be necessary for the house to know how far it had been acted upon before it should be deemed proper to revive it. He should, therefore, feel it necessary to move for a return of the number of commissions issued by the several lords-lieutenants of counties respectively, under the authority of this act; for if it should appear there had been none, or only very few, it would be unnecessary, in his opinion, to revive the bill.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* hoped the noble lord would not impede the progress of the bill; or at least that the house would not consent to its delay on the ground stated; for as it was necessary, whether the number under the former bill was small or great, to secure a means of ensuring officers for the militia, and the return mentioned by the noble lord could not be obtained without considerable delay, he trusted the house would allow the bill to be brought in.—Leave was accordingly given.

[Committee of Supply.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day for resolving into a committee of supply, and that there be referred to the committee the estimates for making certain allowances to militia subalterns in time of peace; the estimates for the pay of the Irish and English militia pay and clothing for the service of the year, and for allowance to militia serjeant-majors; the estimates for an allowance to his Majesty of monies for foreign and other secret services for the year; also the estimates of allowance to the British Museum; which were ordered, and the house resolved into the committee accordingly, Mr. Alexander in the chair.—The right hon. gent. then moved, that provision be made accordingly under the said several heads, and in particular, a sum not exceeding 150,000l. for the secret services; a sum not exceeding 412,000l. to be paid without deduction, to the United States of America, awarded to them by a committee for compensation for prizes taken during the last war, and condemned in this country; and the sum necessary to pay off the outstanding balance of 11 millions upon exchequer bills issued under votes of the last session of parliament.—The house having resumed, the report was ordered to be received, and the committee to sit again on Monday.

[Irish Militia Augmentation Bill.]—Mr. *T. Grenville* observed, that several gentlemen had understood that both the bills were not to be read a third time on the same day, and as some who were not now present wished to speak upon the bill for augmenting the Irish militia, he therefore proposed, if the right hon. gent. (Mr. Sec. Yorke) had no objection, to postpone the third reading of that bill till some day next week.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* said, if there were any gentlemen who did not expect the bill to come on to-day, he had no objection to postpone the third reading till Monday.

Mr. *Sheridan* thought the priority ought to be given to the bill for augmenting the militia of Ireland, as they ought to augment first, before they drew away the existing militia, since it would be very preposterous if the bill for accepting the offers was to be agreed to, and then the bill for augmenting to be negatived.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* observed, that the address upon his Majesty's message only spoke of enabling his Majesty to accept the offers of the Irish militia, but took no notice of the augmentation; the former, therefore, of course had the priority.—The bill was then ordered to be read a third time on Monday.

[Mediation of Russia.] Mr. *Fox* rose, for the purpose of asking a question of his Majesty's ministers, upon their answer to which some trouble might be saved to them, to himself, and to the house. It related to a former question he had asked respecting what had passed in the last negotiation between this country and the court of Russia, on the subject of mediation with France. He had recently heard reports, on their authenticity he certainly could not rely, that an important negotiation was at this time pending between this country and Russia. He wished, therefore, to know, whether or not this was the fact; because, if it was, it would go a great way to prevent his bringing forward the motion of which he had formerly moved, for the production of papers on that subject, so soon as he otherwise should.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* answered, that when the hon. gent. first mentioned this subject to the house, he himself had promised that the whole of the papers on that subject should be laid before the house so soon as circumstances could, with propriety, admit. When the hon. gent., on a still more recent occasion, revived the subject, he had told him that reasons were still in existence, which rendered it ineligible for his Majesty's ministers to advise his Majesty to order the production of those papers at that time. One of the reasons in existence then was, that his Majesty's govt. had not at the time ascertained whether the whole of their communications had reached the Russian court. On this point they had been since satisfied; but still there were reasons in existence which would render it ineligible to comply with the wishes of the hon. gent., to whom he trusted for the present this answer would be satisfactory to convince him that he had been as explicit as was consistent with his official duty.

Mr. *Fox* declared himself satisfied with this answer, and therefore deferred further enquiry on this subject; but he would now take the opportunity of giving notice, that on this day se'nnight he should bring forward a motion respecting the state of the defence of this country, so far as related to what had already been done.

[Militia Officers.] Lord *Folkestone* observed, that the Secretary at War had given notice of his intention to move for bringing in a bill to enable the lords lieut. of counties to grant commissions in the militia to persons not duly qualified. He wished for some farther explanation of the right. hon. gent's. intentions upon this subject.

The *Secretary at War* replied, that the object of his intended motion was only to renew the act which had formerly passed upon this subject, and that the number of those so appointed might be ascertained.

[Irish Militia Offer Bill.] Mr. Secretary *Yorke* moved the third reading of the Irish militia offer bill.

Mr. *Kinnaird* said, he must view this, and the other measures of his Majesty's ministers for increasing the national force, with peculiar jealousy, because there were none of them but had undergone subsequent alterations. He objected to the present bill, viewing it as a violation of a constitutional principle, and breaking the public faith with the militia of the country. He doubted whether this measure would afford to the public the advantages of a disposable force, as it would be throwing impediments in the way of recruiting. He contended, that the unfortunate war in which we were engaged had been entered into from a want of energy on the part of ministers. It was a war in which the ministers had involved us, because they could not keep peace. He blamed also the general system of measures pursued by those gentlemen. The measures were all of a defensive nature, from which no glory was to be acquired. Could we blame the torpidity of the continent when we used no means to rouse or animate them, but, regardless of the interests of Europe, were busied only in raising a wall round ourselves for our own exclusive security? He did not wish, however, any connexion to be formed with the continent, founded on low intrigues, or schemes of assassination, from which the feelings of honour and humanity were banished. He wished us to carry the war in some measure out of the kingdom.

Mr. *Lee* thought that since the union had taken place between the two kingdoms, it would be more desirable and consistent that there should be but one military force, and he disrelished the idea of having a considerable military force locked up in Ireland. If both countries bore their respective proportions towards the expenses of their militia, each ought to have the benefits resulting from them. In like manner, as there were but one army and one navy, so he would have but one militia for both countries. He could see no sound constitutional policy in locking up 70,000 men in this country, if their services should be wanted in Ireland; as there was a reciprocity of interests, so should there be of services in each country. The principal objection which he had to this measure was, the impossibility of adopting it without, at the same time, allowing deliberating bodies amongst the military; but as he was in all other respects friendly to the object of the bill, he found it advisable, for the present, to wave this objection, and agree that the bill should pass. He hoped, however, that due caution would be used as to giving any encouragement to such deliberative military bodies. He said he could not help adverting, with some regret, to the partiality discovered by some very respectable characters, who seemed disposed to prejudge the question; and, referring to the late printed advertisement from a meeting of a number of lords lieutenants and English militia officers, he said, that he trusted their good sense would lay them open to conviction, and that they would not hesitate to give their assent to a measure productive of solid advantages to both countries. He granted that this measure might be considered as a deviation from the general principles on which the militia was founded; at the same time he could not help viewing it as an improvement. It must be recollected that the English militia was constituted at a time when there was none in Ireland or Scotland. It would then, indeed, have been hard to have requested the English militia to go over and defend Ireland; but circumstances were now, and particularly since the union of the two countries, materially altered. For his part, he could wish that this bill went to the full extent of admitting the whole of the Irish militia to volunteer their services. There was not a more gallant, loyal, or zealous body of men. They proved this, by putting down the unfortunate Irish rebellion, before a single English soldier went over to Ireland. He considered the present measure as one that naturally grew out of the articles of the Union. Ever since that time all national distinctions ought to be done away, but so long as two distinct militias continued, the two countries did not appear to him to be so much in unison as could be wished. The present military state of Ireland was truly respectable. There were in it 30,000 regular troops. It had a militia of 18,000 men, besides 84,000 yeomanry, all armed, and well trained and disciplined, and who must be considered as far better than volunteers, inasmuch as the former had been established eight years, and the latter only as many months. Military gentlemen, from this country, had been astonished to see to what a degree of discipline the Irish yeomanry had arrived, and had pronounced them similar to an efficient army.

Mr. *Bankes* said, he was willing to admit the general principle supported by the last speaker, but insisted that it was a principle not recognized by the framers and promoters of the bill. The reverse, indeed, was so much the case, that they had avowed that it was not their intention to make such an interchange as had been alluded to. The hon. gent. paid some high compliments to the Irish militia, and adduced some instances of the gallant services they had performed in the rebellion, and against the French during the last war, and particularly a small corps under the command of that gallant officer, Colonel Vereker. He opposed the measure.

Mr. *Windham* said, he should reserve his opinion on the general subject, until the bill, which had been postponed, should be brought forward. What he rose for in the present instance, was to throw out an idea, which he thought necessary for him to do on this occasion, lest he should be thought to acquiesce in sentiments from which he differed, although his general opinion was in unison with the hon. gent. who uttered them. What he meant applied to that which was commonly called the love of our country; by that he neither meant that which embraced the general interests of the world, as they might be viewed by some, nor that contracted policy which was adopted by others, although he admitted that some of the best principles that a man cherished in society, arose from local attachment for the country, as the particular spot that gave him birth; this attachment, although local and contracted, led to many generous acts, but still he would not have it pressed too far, such as to make a man attend to the particular interest of Sussex instead of Kent, or any thing of that nature; he wished for something more liberal, and that gent. should take a view of the true interests of the British Empire, not of England in contradistinction to Ireland, nor of Ireland as different from England, but of the general and united interests of both; not that he wished to be understood to bind himself to any broad general principle applicable to all cases of this nature, for he knew how many virtuous sentiments originated in what might properly be called local perjudices; for attachment to the spot which gave a man birth, or that in which his ancestors had made great achievements, or the like, were of that character, and in one sense was the love of one's country altogether, for that was to prefer its interest to that of the rest of mankind. He therefore wished, that in judging of the interests of the British Empire, gentlemen would consider, as much as they could, the case of England and of Ireland as one and the same thing.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* approved of every syllable of what was uttered to night by the right hon. gent. who had just sat down, upon the subject of the love of our country, and he deprecated the practice of endeavouring to set off one part of the Empire against the other in interest, for that was directly hostile to the true spirit of the Union, an event from which he expected as great benefits to arise, as we had felt from the Union between England and Scotland. He then proceeded to defend the bill now before the house, in the course of which he adverted to all the arguments which had been urged against it, and maintained the propriety of the measure altogether upon general principles.

Lord *Folkestone* objected to the general principles of the bill.

Sir *John Newport* said he had no intention of calling in question the purity of the motives of those gentlemen who had entered into certain resolutions on the subject of the militia volunteering to go out of their own country into another part of the Empire. He considered those noblemen and gentlemen as persons of pure honour and perfect integrity, who acted from the most unquestionably virtuous feelings, whether they were correct in judgment or not. He said he should give a vote to-night different from that which he gave on a former occasion, upon this bill, and that arose from an understanding, that no provision was at all intended to be made for an interchange of the militia of the two countries; and he trusted, at all events, if any part of the militia of Ireland was to be called out of that country, they would not be replaced by foreigners. He took occasion to observe upon the Union between this country and Ireland. He thought that measure had not been fairly treated, it had not yet had any thing like a fair trial. Those who planned it, and from whose talents and exertion both countries expected much for the general advantage of both parts of the Empire, had not hitherto been able to act, as could have been wished, and until some measures came from those eminent persons according to their sense of the utility of the Union, and the true spirit of it as a measure of general policy for the interest of the Empire, the Union could not be said to have been fairly tried. He must be allowed also to say it appeared to him to be impolitic to bring forward from day to day those measures which applied only to particular objects, and the provisions of which were of a local and temporary nature. He wished to see some broad, general and permanent system adopted, equally applicable to each part of the United Empire, so as to consolidate the interests, conciliate the hearts, and meet the wishes of both sides; but he could not help saying that a great deal of the advantages the Empire might have derived from the good wishes of leading men, had been done away by the firebrands of discord of late employed in Ireland.

Mr. *Fox* said, that his reason for rising now was, to take notice of what had just fell from an hon. member behind him (Sir J. Newport). He was glad he had now understood the hon. member as to what he had said on a former night, for he had thought he had cast reflections on those noblemen and gentlemen who signed the resolutions alluded to, relative to the militia going out of this country. They were characters of the highest class, and for whom he professed to have a very warm attachment, and, as he now understood the hon. member did not mean to express himself in the way he (Mr. Fox) then understood he had done, all he would say was, he was sorry he had misunderstood him, and he begged his pardon. As to the debate of to-night, it had, as on some other occasions, been fashionable to go into extraneous matter; but he should not follow the example, there were many points stated which he should not discuss; but, on the point of the love of his country, he must say that he was between the two extremes, neither desirous that local attachment should check general sentiment, nor that general sentiment should wholly destroy local attachment. It was true that parliament, as such, must consider the two countries, England and Ireland, united in interests as one individual country, but while they were legislating on a measure so local in its nature, as that of the militia was, they must consider what were the dispositions of the people of each country, and possibly particular spots in each country. So that the house was not, in this case, to consider the act of parliament upon general principles, without regard to local attachment; and here came a difference between the friends and the enemies of the Union; the one wished to diminish, the other to increase these local attachments, and the prejudices arising out of them; nor was it to be at once cured. It was true the act of Union declared the two countries to be joined as one, but it was not by acts of parliament, but by habits that men felt; it was not by the statute of the 6th of Ann, or the 40th of George, that men regulated their feelings; these were not the rules by which we distinguished between an Englishman and a Scotchman, or between either of them and an Irishman; nor could they change a man's preference for the county of Sussex to that of Kent. These things depended upon habits, which could not be hastily done away. But there was a part of this bill that appeared to him to require amendment. If we brought into England 10,000 Irish militia, we should have among them a great number of Catholics, they were all under the discipline of the mutiny bill, and chiefly if not wholly protestant officers. It was a part of military discipline to oblige men to go to church. One would not think that this power would be used for the purpose of oppression, and he hoped not, but he submitted that either a clause should be introduced into this bill, or else a new bill should be brought in, in which provision should be made, by which these Catholics should not be compelled to follow the protestant form of worship against their scruples of conscience.

Sir *Laurence Parsons* observed, there was nothing in the articles of war by which they were compelled to do this. He then proceeded to observe on the union of the two countries; gentlemen seemed to consider Ireland as if it were another and remote country beyond the Atlantic; whereas the true way to view that matter was to consider the channel between England and Ireland as a mere canal, by which a communication was to be constantly kept up between them. As to the measure now before the house, he was a friend to it, nor could he omit this opportunity of observing that Ireland was never better taken care of by sea or land than at the present time; which was not the case in every instance in the time of the late administration, the particulars of which, although he could, he would forbear to state.

Mr. *William Smith* observed, that Irish gentlemen appeared to him to accede to this measure under the idea that it was to be reciprocal, and that similar offers were to be made by the English militia. He wished the house to consider to what length that idea, if indulged, might go. He thought we should not try any thing of this kind without a general revision of the militia laws, and an alteration of a permanent nature for the future, but all the present militia must be allowed to remain as they are, for parliament could not, consistently with its honour, operate upon them by an *ex post facto* law. He thought this bill objectionable, on the ground that it would increase the price of substitutes, which was a tax, on account of men being unwilling to enter where the nature of the service was extended. But above all, considering the character of the govt. with which we had to contend, not only now, but the govt. which France might assume if they should be so happy as to part with its present head; and upon that idea he thought it was well worth the while of the house to consider, whether we should not adopt a different system for our defence in future, although hitherto we had been indeed happy in that system.

Lord *Proby* delivered his sentiments shortly against the bill.

Col. *Craufurd* entered into general observations on the bill, and proceeded to propose an amendment, the object of which he said was to put an end to that state of deliberation in which the present bill placed the militia. He was about to enter upon the detail of his amendment, when he was called to order by

Mr. Secretary *Yorke*, who observed, that if he opposed the bill for its not containing a certain provision, the proper mode was to give notice of his intention to move a clause to that effect.

Mr. *Pytches* expressed his regret, that this bill was likely to pass, as it went to take away an efficient force from Ireland, which was to be replaced by an undisciplined army of reserve.

General *Loftus*, in allusion to what fell from an hon. gent. (Mr. Fox), as to the obligation on soldiers to attend places of protestant worship, said, that the soldiers in Ireland, immediately on being dismissed from the parade, went to their respective places of worship, according to the religion they professed; without any restraint whatever being laid on them. And he was confident that the same thing would be done here. The present bill met his approbation; it would have the effect of making better soldiers of the Irish, who always became so when taken out of their own country. There was a great deal of good humour about them; they would submit to fatigues more readily than other men, and officers generally gave them the preference. He thought it would produce a beneficial effect on the Irish militia soldiers, if they were enabled to witness the happiness enjoyed by the people of this country from their industry and obedience to the laws.

Lord *Euston* said, that as one of those who had lately signed certain resolutions, he thought it proper to observe, that, although it might have been necessary to send militia regiments to Ireland in 1798, it did not follow but that it was improper to accept the offers of regiments now.

Mr. *Fox* said, that with respect to the obligation to attend religious worship, some arrangement ought to be made which should apply to regiments in all parts of the united kingdom.

The Hon. *C. H. Hutchinson* said, there was an instance, during the last war, of a commanding officer having had a man punished for not going to the Protestant church along with the rest of the men. And this circumstance gave rise to an ill-judged publication from a Catholic clergyman, who certainly was a very respectable man; and who was well known both in Ireland and in England. This fact he mentioned, to shew that the hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) was correct in his statement. But it was now understood in Ireland, that no soldiers were liable to be disturbed in the exercise of their religious worship. Taking the present measure in a political, and not in a military point of view, he would give it his support; because he knew it would have the effect of blending and joining together in heart and hand, the inhabitants of Ireland and England. The people of both countries might at length know each other; thus mutual prejudices might be done away, and the empire would be strengthened and secured. He wished for an interchange of the militias of both countries; and he was extremely anxious it should not go abroad that his Majesty's ministers were adverse to such a measure. They certainly did not state that there should be no such interchange. It might be productive of very unpleasant consequences in Ireland, if it was understood there that 10,000 men were to be taken away from the country, and none sent in their stead. He hoped then that nothing would go abroad, to damp the ardour with which his countrymen had made their voluntary offers to serve in Great-Britain.

Mr. *Whitbread* said he was extremely anxious that this bill should be followed by another which might make a provision in favour of those soldiers who were Catholics. According to the mutiny act, a commanding officer had the power of compelling a soldier to attend the protestant worship; and that was clearly proved by the fact which an hon. gent. had stated. He wished those religious distinctions, that had long prevailed in Ireland, might be completely done away; and that some wise and wholesome laws might be enacted to cure those radical defects which belonged to the peasantry of that country; who, it appeared from every account, were in a most wretched state. With regard to the present measure, there was no one reason in favour of it; it would not increase our public force, nor add to our security.

The *Secretary at War* did not think this to be a proper occasion for entering into a discussion, with regard to making a provision in favour of those soldiers who were not Protestants. Such a measure did not exclusively belong to the present bill, because it must take in the whole of the army and navy of the kingdom. Besides, it was a question of too much magnitude to be introduced into the present bill. He thought it necessary, however, to observe, that the mutiny act was the same in G. Britain as in Ireland; and that when Irish regiments of militia came over here, and were commanded by the same officers who commanded them in Ireland, no change whatever could take place with regard to their attendance on religious worship, different from what at present existed in Ireland. There did not now exist any grievance in Ireland on that subject; and why should it exist here, when there would be no change that could bring it about?—The house, after several calls for the question, divided; when there appeared

For the bill - - 100
Against it - - 42

Majority - 58

List of the Minority.

Adair, Robert
Barclay, Sir Robert
Benyon, Richard
Berkeley, Hon. G. Cran.
Binning, Lord
Bouverie, Hon. Edw.
Calcraft, John
Canning, Rt Hon. Geo.
Cooke, Bryan
Courtenay, John
Craufurd, Robert
Creevey, Thomas
Cust, Hon. John
Dundas, Hon. Chas. L.
Dundas, Hon. Geo. H. L.
Elliot, William
Fuston, Lord
Fellowes, Wm. Henry
Fitzharris, Viscount
Folkestone, Viscount
Fox, Hon. Chas. Jas.
Gower, Lord G. Levison
Grenville, Rt. Hon. T.
Harrison, John
Kinnaird, Hon. Charles
Lambton, Ralph John
Laurence, French
Milner, Sir William
Newport, Sir John
Ord, William
Porchester, Lord
Portman, Edw. Berkeley
Proby, Viscount
Pytches, John
Scott, Joseph
Sheridan, Rich. Brinsley
Smith, William
Spencer, Lord Robert
Thelluson, Peter Isaac
Walpole, Hon. George
Western, Charles Callis
Windham, Rt. Hon. Wm.

Bankes, Henry - - } Tellers.
Whitbread, Samuel - }

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* then observed, that it would be necessary to specify the periods for which the militia regiments volunteering their services should be liable to serve. He said that many of them had offered to serve during the war, and he had to state to the house, that besides the list of the regiments which was already on the table, the Roscommon, Cavan, Westmeath, and Kilkenny regiments had since offered their services. He then moved the following clause by way of rider: "that all voluntary offers coming from Irish regiments of militia, and accepted by his Majesty, should be binding on the parties so tendering their services during the continuance of the act."—This clause, after some observations from Colonel Craufurd, Lord De Blaquiere, Mr. Windham, and the Attorney-General, was agreed to.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* then moved as an amendment, that instead of the bill continuing only till the 1st of May, 1805, its continuance should extend to the 25th of March, 1806. This was also agreed to.—On the motion that the bill do pass,

Mr. *Elliot* wished to know whether some provision ought not to be made for trying officers belonging to the regiments that should come here, by officers taken from among themselves?

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* replied, that no provision of that kind was necessary. The Irish and English militia acts were the same: and if militia regiments of both countries happened to be near each other, their officers might be tried by officers taken from the regiments of either country.—The bill was then passed, and ordered to be carried to the lords by the Secretary at War.

[Corn Laws.] The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose pursuant to notice, to move for a committee to inquire into certain parts of the corn laws of this country. He should not now call in question the policy of those laws, nor enter into any discussion how far they were wise and good at the time when they were enacted. But he should propose to make it a subject of inquiry whether the principle of the act passed in 1791, for regulating the import and export of corn, had been carried completely into effect; and whether those prices that had been then fixed upon as the criterion for allowing the importation and the exportation of corn, were adequate to the present circumstances of the country; whether they were equal to the present rate of money, the price of labour, and of all the necessaries of life. By the act to which he alluded, the exportation of corn was permitted, when the price was at 46*s*, in order to give encouragement to agriculture. He was sorry to say, the principle of commercial policy had not been applied to this subject, and, on that account, the growers of corn were liable to many hardships. And it should be the object of the committee he meant to move for, to consider, whether the export and import prices fixed upon by the act of 1791, were calculated to answer the objects intended by that act; and whether, for the purpose of giving encouragement to agriculture, it might not be necessary to fix a higher price for the exportation of corn. It would be no part of the business of the committee to inquire into the corn trade carried on between Great Britain and Ireland. That was to be a subject for another consideration. There were several other objects referred to in petitions before the house, which should also be taken into consideration. Among those were the late duties laid upon malt, of which the petitioners seemed to complain. It was with extreme reluctance he had felt himself obliged to impose those duties, which pressed so heavily on a large class of people. But his conviction of the general propriety of that measure still remained unaltered. He understood, however, that the petitioners were for the present willing to wave the complaints they had made against the operation of this tax. And the gentlemen who were to compose the committee, would have to consider what were the best measures to adopt for encreasing the agriculture of the country; and in what manner the wishes of the several respectable persons who had presented petitions to the house might be best promoted. The right hon. gent. then moved, that the petitions lately presented to the house from several counties, praying for a revision of the corn laws, be read; which being done, he moved, "that a select committee be appointed to inquire into so much of the said petitions as related to the act passed in the year 1791, for regulating the exportation and importation of corn."—The committee was accordingly appointed.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, April 16.

Counsel were finally heard relative to the Scotch Cross appeal, Abercromby *v.* Elphinstone. After which, the lord Chancellor proposed, on account of the absence of a noble and learned lord, that the farther consideration of the case be postponed till to-morrow; which was ordered accordingly.—The various bills before the house were forwarded in their respective stages.—The bill for amending the acts relative to the improvement of the entrance of the City of London at Temple Bar, was read a second time, and ordered to be committed.—It was ordered, on the motion of lord Hawkesbury, the prints being on the table, that the report of the committee on the volunteer consolidation bill be taken into consideration to-morrow, and their lordships summoned thereupon. — Ferbeck's naturalization bill was referred to the consideration of a committee.—Mr. Alexander brought up from the commons the Irish militia offer bill, which was forthwith read a first time, and ordered to be printed.—Two private bills were presented by Mr. Langmead and Mr. Lascelles respectively, which being read a first time, their lordships adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, April 16.

[Minutes.] Sir J. Newport gave notice, that unless there was before Monday next returns made by the Treasurers of the counties in Ireland, of the monies levied for houses of industry, pursuant to the order of that house, he should on that day bring forward a specific motion to compel such returns to be made.—Mr. Adams brought up an account of the number of artificers now employed in his Majesty's dock-yards.—Sir R. Buxton said, that it was proper and necessary that parliament should be informed of the names of those who enjoyed the public bounty; he should therefore move, that an account should be laid before the house, stating the names of the persons now receiving pensions, together with the amount of all such pensions, specifying also the time when such pensions were granted. Ordered.—Lord Folkstone moved, that there be laid before the house, an Account of the number of commissions granted to officers in the militia, to persons not having the qualifications as required by act of parliament, specifying the names of the regiments in which such commissions have been granted. Ordered.—Mr. Secretary Yorke brought up the militia officers' completion bill, which, was read a first time, and ordered for a second reading to-morrow,—Mr. Dent deferred his motion relative to the loyalty loan till to-morrow se'nnight, when he proposed to move for a committee of the whole house on that subject, and to refer the loyalty loan act to that committee.—The second reading of the army of reserve suspension bill was put off from to-morrow to Wednesday.

[Silver Currency of Ireland.] Mr. *Corry* referred to a notice which he had given for this day of a motion respecting the state of rhe circulation in Ireland. That motion was connected with the nature of the dispatches which were expected from Ireland at the time he gave the notice. These dispatches had since arrived, and they were such as to render the measure he had in contemplation wholly unnecessary for the present; for the govt. or privy council had adopted the most effectual means for relieving the distress now felt in Ireland respecting the state of the circulation, and were preparing to provide such a remedy, and that with all possible expedition, as the exigency of the case seemed to require.

[Aylesbury Election.] On the motion, that the bill for extending the right of voting for the borough of Aylesbury should be read a second time,

The Marquis of *Titchfield* renewed his objections to this measure, on the ground that no case was made out to excuse, much less to justify, so gross a violation of the rights of an ancient corporation. He therefore moved that, instead of the word "now," the words "this day three months" should be inserted.

Sir *John Newport* opposed the motion, and supported the bill, which he thought would have the most beneficial tendency to establish a precedent which he hoped and trusted would be acted upon in every case where similar instances of bribery, should be found to prevail, in order thus to purify the system of our representation, and to disarm those who complain of its present state.

Mr. *Hurst* considered the bill to be quite unnecessary, the laws in existence being perfectly sufficient to punish those who appeared by the report of the committee which led to this measure to be guilty. The house should therefore pause before they consented, and particularly upon such grounds as those which were laid by the advocates of the bill, to alter the constitution of this borough. If such grounds, he observed, were admitted to justify the disfranchisement of any borough, there would be scarcely a borough in the empire secure from violation.

Lord *Ossulstone* said, that he was a member of the committee on the Aylesbury election, and could not feel that the malpractices which were exposed in the course of that investigation could sustain such a porceeding as that before the house. An hon. bart. had said, that such a measure as that under consideration would tend to bring about the consequences of a parliamentary reform. To that measure itself he had no objection, but he would never consent to have a question of so much importance determined upon in the way proposed by this bill.

Mr. *Francis* disapproved of this measure, as calculated to punish the virtuous for the acts of the guilty, who formed the minority of the electors of this borough, and whom, strange to tell, this bill did not propose to disqualify.

Mr. *Grenfell* stated, that it appeared in evidence that above 200 of the voters accepted bribes at the last election, and that the system of corruption which prevailed at this borough was flagrant, extensive and uniform.

Mr. *Peter Moore* said, he had opposed a bill last session, for preventing certain abuses at the election for Nottingham, on the ground, that the laws already in existence were sufficient to punish all offences that might be committed at elections. On the same ground, he would oppose the present bill. He could not consent to any new measure that went to alter the constitution of a borough. Persons charged with offences at the Aylesbury election were punished already; and actions were brought to the amount of near one million sterling, against various persons for being transgressors in this case. The house should take care that it was not about to convert Aylesbury into a close borough, which might be the case, if the right of voting was transferred to a class of men who did not wish for it, and who did not possess property which consituted the foundation of all right to vote.

The *Master of the Rolls* observed, that the preamble of the bill barely stated the existence of bribery and corruption at the late election for Aylesbury; but the house was entirely ignorant as to the extent of that corruption; and he would ask, whether it was meant to be contended, that if any bribery or corruption had at all been practised there, the constitution of the borough should on that account fall? Suppose the minority of the elections only had been guilty, was it fit that those who were innocent, should suffer by having their franchises taken from them, after having struggled to resist that corrupt minority? Even if a great majority had been guilty, it would be unjust to take their franchises from the remainder. Punish the individuals who were guilty; but do not deprive of their rights those electors who have not offended, and those who were yet unborn. The bill went to leave the guilty voters in the same way in which they had stood before; but the innocent voters were to have their rights infringed on by the introduction of a new mass of voters among them, and the guilty were to be thrown into the same scale with all these. This should rather be called a bill for the encouragement of bribery and corruption. Contrary to every principle of law, it separated a man's interest from his duty, because there was no distinction made between those who committed and those who resisted acts of corruption.

The *Secretary at War* said, that particular acts had been passed in cases of corruption practised at New Shoreham and Cricklade, and they were attended with very beneficial effects. He would therefore support the present bill.

Mr. Serjeant *Best* said, the cases quoted by the hon. gent. who spoke last, were different from the present. In the case of Shoreham, it had appeared, that a certain set of wicked persons, calling themselves the Christian Society, had been in the habit of selling seats in parliament for that borough. But here there was nothing but a common case of bribery, the same which had been practised at various other places. The house did not know to what extent it had been carried on. But when bribery had been practised at Durham, Ilchester, Windsor, and other places, no such act as this had been thought necessary. The present act was bad in its principle; and was brought forward at a most improper season, as actions in the courts of law were now pending against many of the parties to be affected by this bill,

Mr. *Fox* said, that most of what he should have offered on this question had been anticipated by what fell from two learned gentlemen. And he should now content himself with stating, that he did not think the case with regard to Aylesbury so strong a one as to except it from the general rule, as applied to common cases of bribery and corruption. The Shoreham case was very different. He should therefore oppose the bill.—A division then took place on the second reading,

For the bill	— —	68
Against it	— —	49
Majority	— —	19

[Permanent Taxes.]—Lord *Folkestone* desired to be informed, why the account of the net produce of the permanent taxes, imposed since the year 1793, usually laid before the house on the 25th of March, had not yet been presented. On inquiry, he found that the delay had originated in some difficulties arising out of the consolidation act of last session. As the day had been fixed for bringing forward the budget, it would be material to have that account, and an account of the produce of all the permanent taxes, on the table, as well as the account of the amount of the war taxes, up to the 5th of April.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* assured the noble lord, that the first account should be laid on the table in the couse of the week, that some of the others were already before the house, and that the rest should be produced with the greatest expedition.

[Mr. Drake's Correspondence.]—Lord *Morpeth* rose to say a few words on a subject deeply interesting to the feelings and honour of this country. It was with pain he was compelled to advert to so disagreeable a subject; but the transactions that had lately taken place in France relative to it, rendered it necessary to rescue the character of the govt. and of the country from the infamous charges made by the French govt. against one of our ministers at a Foreign court. To justify the act of violence which had been committed by the French govt., it had been urged, that instructions had been given by our govt. to that minister, to encourage and excite the subjects of France to the commission of the most abominable crimes. As long as the charge against this country had been confined to the vehicles of the rancour and malevolence of the French govt., the noble lord would have thought it wise to treat them with the scorn and silence such unfounded calumnies merited; but, in his opinion, the case was now altered. A publication had been circulated at Paris, purporting to be the correspondence between our minister resident at Munich, and a Frenchman resident in Paris. By this it appeared, that the Frenchman had betrayed his trust, and put the French govt. in possession of the correspondence. This publication had been communicated to all the Foreign ministers at Paris; and, from their replies, it would appear, that they had all, with the single exception of the Russian minister, prejudged the matter, on allegations unproved, and he trusted unproveable. He should not dwell upon the servility with which Europe bowed to the power of France, but he should wish to see that servility confined to the continent, and to have it proved to the world, that there was one country at least, which was neither to be awed by its menaces, nor aspersed by its calumnies. As to the charges which had in this instance been made, he thought he had a right to call on his Majesty's ministers to clear them up. He thought he had a right to call upon them in justice to themselves, in justice to the individual concerned (Mr. Drake), and above all, in justice to the character of the country, to refute the atrocious calumnies, to repel the iniquitous charges so unjustly made upon the honour of the country. He trusted he should be justified in calling on his Majesty's ministers to prove to the world that they had not armed the hand of the assassin, that they had not aimed the dagger in the dark, but on the contrary, that they had conducted their system of hostilities in that fair, open, and manly manner which belongs to legitimate warfare.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he felt obliged to the noble lord for having afforded him an opportunity of repelling one of the most false and unfounded charges that had ever been brought against the govt. of any civilised nation. He trusted the house would not expect from him, on this occasion, more than an expression of that indignation, in which, he was sure, every individual in the country participated, at the atrocious calumnies propagated by a tyrannical govt., for the purpose of covering acts of the most outrageous and despotic nature. The noble lord had expressed a hope, that no instructions had been given, or authority committed to any minister, inconsistent with the established practice of civilised nations, inconsistent with the established system of jurisprudence, by which the conduct of civilised nations is regulated. He could aver with the greatest truth, that no instructions or authority inconsistent with the rights of independent nations, or with the established laws by which civilised nations are bound, had been given to any minister, or to any individual, by his Majesty's govt. As to the construction that had been put upon the publication, he trusted the house would not expect him to enter into it; and, with respect to the correspondence so published, it was impossible to be particular, in as much as no communications had yet been received on the subject from the individual concerned. He should be as anxious as the noble lord, he should even be more anxious, on the part of his Majesty's govt., to take the most efficacious measures to vindicate the offended honour of his Majesty; for he could not but consider the honour of his Majesty, and of the country affected by so infamous a calumny on his govt. The right hon. gent. repeated his gratitude for the opportunity afforded him by the noble lord, and concluded by declaring himself ready to give the house every information and explanation on this most interesting subject.

[Irish Militia Augmentation Bill.] On the order of the day being moved for the third reading of the bill for augmenting the militia of Ireland.

Col. *Calcraft* rose to oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair. He defended the resolutions of the colonels of militia who had assembled at the Thatched-house, against the censure that he understood they had been exposed to. He thought they were drawn up so clearly and explicitly, that it was not possible to misunderstand them. It was stated in those resolutions, that deliberation by armed bodies was dangerous and unconstitutional; that was neither more nor less than the law of the land. He condemned the plan of the Secretary at War for the augmentation of the public force as impolitic and impracticable; and he principally objected to it as tending to raise that species of competition in the different branches of the recruiting service, as would render it impossible for us ever to acquire a considerable disposable force

Sir *Wm. Elford* opposed the bill, and principally that part of it which went to provide for the creation of this force, by a bounty to be paid out of the exchequers of the United Kingdom. He thought a fencible force much preferable to it, in as much as it was equally efficient, and was not liable to the constitutional objections that the bill before the house was subject to.

Mr. *Pitt* declared, that he was not one of those who objected, under all the circumstances of the country, to making an addition to the established force; on the contrary, he thought it one of the objects to which the govt. should have directed its attention at the commencement of the war; but he had entertained hopes, that ministers would have found means of promoting, at the same time, two measures, which, in his opinion, were not incompatible; first, the increase of the defensive force, and next, the augmentation of the efficient and disposable force. He did not see the advantages likely to result from the present measure, and he could not approve of seeing the militia carried beyond its due proportion, and thereby losing its characteristic benefits. That species of force, when properly managed, contained in itself the seeds of augmentation for the line, and this measure had no one advantage in point of promptitude or facility in effecting that augmentation. He condemned the instability of the different plans for augmenting the military force of the country. Ministers seemed to have abandoned the idea of the army of reserve, for no other reason that he could understand, but that they were disappointed in their expectations, because it did not fill as fast as their former calculations encouraged them to hope. He would take an opportunity on Wednesday when the suspension of the army of reserve act should be brought forward, to enter more fully upon the subject of our national defence. Against the present measure, as being a bad exchange for the country, and one of the most objectionable measures that could be, he should be under the necessity of voting, not upon the principle of opposing an augmentation of our military force, but that he was of opinion it would have been better to have promoted and adhered to the operation of the army of reserve.

Lord *Castlereagh* observed, that his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) attached more consequence to the suspension of the army of reserve act than it was entitled to. With respect to the recruiting in Ireland, he could assert, from experience and local knowledge, that the Irish people could not be induced to enter into regular regiments, at the same time that they would very readily agree to serve in militia regiments commanded by gentlemen belonging to the county in which they lived, and to whom they were frequently attached in the strongest manner; and when they were a little time in the militia service, and became used to a soldier's life, they would have no objection to extend their services.

Mr. *Bankes* argued against the bill. It was admitted on all hands, that what was now wanted was an augmentation of our disposable force, and he could not help considering it as a most extraordinary measure to propose the augmentation of that description of our force which was not even pretended to be disposable according to the terms of their original agreement. He saw nothing in the measure which could have the effect of facilitating the object in view; and looking at it in a military light, he could not give it his approbation.

Mr. *Windham* said, he did not think that the noble lord had been successful in combating his arguments. He would venture to object to the former bill, although it had had the ratification of that house; and he objected to the present one on account of its relation thereto. It had been said by those on the opposite bench, that he, and others in that house, were always complaining of the conduct of ministers, and, in short, that "though they piped to us, we would not dance; and though they mourned, we would not lament." He, however, would still observe, that he never went so far as to say, "disband the militia," he only wished that no augmentation of that system should take place. Ministers did not call this a disposable force, but they said that it gave them a greater command of their disposable force. That he denied; because the one was quite inconsistent with the other. The recruiting for the one would undoubtedly interfere with the other. Every one of the ministers on the opposite bench, seemed to be, as it were, his own antagonist. Every measure they adopted, they counteracted by the adoption of some other measure. In short, they were in the situation of a man who was haunted by his own spectre; the right hand was fighting with the left. Although they had already procured no less than 400,000 volunteers, 70,000 militia, and 36,000 men for the army of reserve, they seemed still to be wishing to increase that description of force destined for a limited service. Such measures were totally at variance with one another. He disapproved entirely of such a circuitous mode of attaining the object in view, as that of raising men for the militia, as a step towards increasing the regular army. The militia were now raised by bounty, and not by ballot; and why not give the force to be raised the appellation of fencibles? An ancient Grecian could never produce any thing from his harp but the strain of love, notwithstanding the great number of strings on his instrument; so, in his opinion, were the ministers always harping on the same string; they seemed to him to end always where they began. In the case of rebellion, it might be said, that it was proper to bring away the Irish militia from their own country to prevent a degree of party spirit, to prevent a regiment of orange-men fighting against catholics. No man would wish to augment the ferocity of such civil commotions as had occurred in that country. Were any troops to be substituted for the militia, he should think that foreigners were as fit for the purpose as any other to prevent Englishmen or Irishmen fighting against their own relations. Although, however, he might be induced to agree to the propriety of bringing Irishmen out of their own country on that account, yet by the measures adopted by the ministers, he found that other Irishmen were to be raised in their place. He doubted not that some gentlemen had been induced to vote for the bill which had lately passed, upon the principle of the Irish militia being thus always kept up at the same height. This put him in mind of a certain gent. who always loved to intoxicate his guests, and the method he adopted was, by keeping his punch-bowl constantly supplied by an apparatus under his table, so that those whom he entertained were induced to drink too much, by their perceiving that the quantity of liquor never decreased. Unless the deficiency was to be supplied by foreign or regular troops, he thought Ireland would be left in a defenceless state. He saw no prospect of that reciprocity which had been so often alluded to.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke*, was surprised how the hon. gent. could find such a deficiency in the regular army, when we had at present, after a war of ten months, a greater regular army than we had at the end of the last war, which had lasted ten years. He agreed that, in the present state of Europe, it was necessary for us to keep up a large regular army. A great impediment to this arose till within this few years, from reducing the army at the end of every war. It was the opinion of the ablest and wisest men, that by volunteers alone it was impossible to fill the regular army to any large amount. This ought to acquit the present and former govt. for not having done more on this head. It was necessary at this time to augment every description of force. The present measure, beside augmenting our defensive force, set a large portion of our disposable force at liberty. Ireland had not contributed its due proportion of men in the present war, having raised only 18,600 militia, whereas it had raised 28,000 in the last war. It had raised only 7,000 out of 10,000, which was its quota for the army of reserve. The militia system in Ireland rested on the basis of attachment to the gentlemen who commanded the different regiments; many followed these gentlemen from this motive, who would not enter into any other service.

Mr. *Fox* said, he had formerly given his opinion of the general plan of defence which had been adopted, and he had listened with attention to all that had been said by others upon that subject. If 10,000 men were actually proposed to be raised for a limited service he would ask, why should it be for the utmost possible limited service? We were placing ourselves in a very whimsical situation. Of 20,000 militia in Ireland, we were to bring 10,000 to this country, while, as to the other 10,000, we were making no provision or engagement at all. He wanted to know on what principle it was not also proposed to enter into a similar engagement with the new levies? It had been answered that they could not be raised so cheaply; then why not raise them as fencibles? The mode of raising this proposed augmentation was by making an addition of 30 men to each company. What was to become of the regiments which might chance to be in this country? Were their companies of 70 men to be increased to 100? and were the 30 additional men to be left in Ireland, or to join the others in England? They must, undoubtedly, be raised on some specific agreement, in order to procure their voluntary acquiescence. While it was said, that fencibles could not be procured to come to this country at a bounty of 4 guineas, how were we to get the militia to extend their services at that rate? Notwithstanding all the boast of voluntary services, ministers seemed afraid to broach the subject to the new levies, and appeared inclined to trust, that when men had been induced to enlist into a regiment which had extended its service, they also would not refuse an equal extension. The foundation of the plan seemed to be the proposed suspension of the army of reserve act; and while ministers thus took one system out of the market, so as not to interfere with the regular army, they immediately add 10,000 men by a mode which will interfere, more or less, with that very service, by preventing its rapid increase.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, observed, that the privates would most probably be disposed to join their comrades, and then the force would be so far augmented. It had been asked why fencibles were not raised instead of militia; but it should be recollected, that during the last war the fencibles were not raised for general service to all parts of the kingdom. The mode of raising the militia had a peculiar facility growing out of the natural influence possessed by gentlemen in their own vicinity, which was far greater than any other mode that could be adopted, and it had been particularly found so in Ireland. There was likewise a very considerable difficulty in procuring officers for fencible corps, which was by no means the case with the militia. The object of the bill was to provide a Militia equal to that provided during the last war; it created a force of 10,000 men, to be raised with far greater dispatch, and to be disciplined in a much quicker way than any other description of force. The hon. gent. had stated, that this measure would interfere with the recruiting of the regulars; so it might be thought upon general reasoning, but those gentlemen who were most conversant with Ireland were of opinion, that it would operate upon different dispositions and classes from those upon whom the recruiting system operated; and, by a comparison of the levies of different years, it would appear that no material variation was likely to take place.

Mr. *Canning* could not but admire the uniform inconsistency which appeared in every measure brought forward by the present ministers on the subject of the defence of the country. In the present case, he said, they must assume beforehand, that the 30 new men to be added to the militia companies would volunteer. If that is the case, he wished to know on what principle, or from what motive, it could fairly be supposed they would do so? If they should not volunteer their services, he wished to know how they were to be disciplined? If they were not to be attached to the companies of 70, were they to be trained as a distinct body? If it were so, it was impossible they could make that rapid progress in discipline that was so necessary, and so much the boast of the present measure.

Mr. *Alexander* observed, that in Ireland there were no poor laws; that the lower classes of people were dependent in a very great degree on their landlords for leases of small portions of land from 40s. to £5. a year; that they were also very much attached to their landlords, which gave the landed gentlemen in Ireland a power of raising rapidly a force of militia which they could not do in any other way; that the temptations to the lower classes operate more forcibly than they do here, from the far superior attachment of the people to their landlords; and, as he knew this to be the case, that he should give his cordial support to the present bill, as calculated to raise a very considerable force for the defence of the country in a more speedy manner, than any other.

Sir *John Newport* said, that the tenants in the north might, doubtless, be as much attached to their landlords as the hon. gent. had described; but the north was but a part of the country, though a very respectable one; and, in the other parts, the south and south-west of Ireland, he believed, that so far from its being the case, there were scarcely any regiments raised in the counties to which they belonged, but the men were enlisted from every quarter of the country.

Colonel *Vereker* said, he opposed the present bill on the same principles he had done the last, and which he could not but couple with it. It had, he said, fallen to his lot, in his capacity of governor of Limerick, to raise a great part of the army of reserve, in the doing which he met with infinite difficulties. At that time it so happened that his regiment was ordered to march from Limerick, which it did, when it was followed by upwards of 100 men, for several miles, who earnestly entreated him to attach them to his regiment.

Colonel *Bagwell* said, he knew from his own experience, that in many parts of Ireland, the militia regiments were raised without any difficulty in their own counties; and that in the city of Limerick and the county of Limerick, as well as several others, they had actually raised regiments of militia in their own counties in the short space of six weeks.

Colonel *Craufurd* said, he should vote against the bill, because he had not heard any reasons whatever, which he could call reasons, advanced in support of it.

Lord *De Blaquiere* paid a very high eulogium to the popularity and gallantry of the hon. officer who spoke near the chair (Col. Vereker), but thought his host of men who had wished to be attached to the regiment he commanded, with so much honour to himself and glory to his country, ought not to be quoted as an instance of the general bent and inclination of the country. He by no means approved of the present measure, and if he ever gave an honest vote in his life, he was sure it would be the one he was about to give against this bill. The question being loudly called for, a division took place, when there appeared

For the bill	-	128
Against it	-	107
Majority	-	21

List of the Minority.

Adair, Robert
Bankes, Henry
Binning, Lord
Bootle, E. W.
Buxton, Sir R.
Burroughs, Wm.
Berkeley, Admiral
Bruce, Lord
Bouverie, Edw.
Barclay, Sir Robert
Bradshaw, R. H.
Benyon, R.
Cartwright, W. R.
Canning, Geo.
Calcraft, John
Coke, Thomas
Cooke, Bryan
Courtenay, John
Creevey, Thomas
Cowper, E. S.
Craufurd, Col.
Chapman, C.
Dent, John
Dickinson, W.
Dickinson, Wm. jun.
Dundas, P.
Dundas, Hon. R.
Dundas, Rt. Hon. W.
Dundas, Hon. Chas. L.
Dundas, Hon. L.
Dundas, Hon. Geo. G. H.
Dillon, Geo. A.
De Blaquiere, Lord
Dupré, J.
Elford, Sir Wm.
Ellis, C. R.
Elliot, Rt. Hon. W.
Euston, Earl of
Ferguson, James
Fox, Hon. Chas. Jas.
Francis, Philip
Fitzharris, Viscount
Folkestone, Viscount
Fitzhugh, Wm.
Gower, Lord G. L.
Gregor, Francis
Grenville, Rt. Hon. T.
Harrison, John
Hamilton, Ld. Arch.
Hippisley, Sir John
Henderson, A.
Howard, Henry
Hill, Hon. W.
Johnstone, George
Kinnaird, C.
Kirkwall, Vis.
Kensington, Lord
Lambton, Ralph
Long, R. Hon. C.
Lowther, John
Lowther, James
Latouche, J.
Laurence, Dr.
Lemon, Sir W.
Morpeth, Lord
Madocks, Wm. A.
Milbank, Sir R.
Milner, Sir William
Morris, Edward
Marsham, Lord
Newport, Sir John
North, Dudley
Northey, Wm.
Osborne, John
Ord, William
Ossulstone, Lord
Petty, Lord H.
Pitt, Rt. Hon. W.
Porchester, Lord
Proby, Lord
Portman, J. B.
Pytches, John
Raine, J.
Russel, Lord William
Ryder, Richard
Sinclair, Sir John
Sloane, Col.
Smith, George
Smith, Hon. John
Smith, J. A.
Smith, William
St. John, Hon. St. A.
Spencer, Lord Robert
Stanley, Lord
Scott, J. (Worcester)
Thellusson, Peter Isaac
Temple, Earl
Villiers, Hon. J. C.
Ward, Hon. T. W.
Ward, Robert
Walpole, Hon. George
Wharton, John
Winnington, Sir E.
Whitbread, S.
Western, Charles Callis
Windham, Rt. Hon. Wm.
Wrottesley, Sir John
Wynne, Sir W.
Young, Sir William

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, April 17, 1804.

[Volunteer Consolidation Bill.]—The order of the day being read for taking the report of the committee on this bill into consideration, their lordships accordingly proceeded to dicuss the amendments made to the bill. The amendments made towards the beginning of the bill were agreed to without much discussion. Those made to the 2d clause in page 3 of the bill being come to,

Lord *Grenville* observed, that he felt the consideration press upon him so strongly, that he could not avoid urging the house to adopt the amendment he had unsuccessfully proposed in the committee. The clause enacts, "that every person enrolled, or to be enrolled, and serving as an effective member of any corps of yeomanry or volunteers in G. Britain, and who shall be duly returned or certified as such under this act, shall be exempt from being liable to serve personally, or to provide a substitute in the militia of G. Britain, or in any additional force to be raised for the defence of the realm and more vigorous prosecution of the war, under any act or acts of the last session of parliament." The object of his lordship's amendment was to extend the purview and operation of this part of the clause to the acts of future sessions of parliament, and he accordingly proposed to insert after the word 'parliament,' "or under any act or acts that shall be passed in any future session of parliament."

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he was not convinced by the arguments advanced by the noble lord, either on the present or on the former occasion. However, in order to obviate the possibility of any shadow of jealousy or doubt being entertained by the public upon the point, he should, in case the amendment was passed, not resist its insertion.—The amendment was agreed to. The other amendments were then gone through, and the bill was ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, April 17, 1804.

[Minutes.] —— Mr. Secretary Yorke brought up a list of the farther regiments and companies of the militia in Ireland that had volunteered their services to the United Kingdom.—Mr. Vansittart moved, that there be laid before the house the accounts of the charges on the consolidated fund. Ordered. — A person from the office of the chief Sec. of Ireland presented an account of the Treasury bills outstanding for Ireland, on the 1st of Jan. 1804.—Mr. Ormesby brought up the report of the Dublin police bill, which was ordered to be engrossed.—The Sec. at

War brought up the army estimates, which were ordered to lie on the table, and to be taken into consideration on Monday next.

[Militia Officers.]—Mr. Secretary *Yorke* moved the order of the day for the 2d reading of the militia officers' completion bill. On the question being put,

Lord *Folkestone* objected to the measure, on the ground that it was the revival of a former act from which no benefit had been experienced. If it could be shewn that more officers had been raised for the militia by the operation of that act in suspending the qualifications constitutionally required of officers entering the militia than previously to that act, he should have no objection to its renewal; but if otherwise, he thought it very improper upon slight grounds to depart from the constitutional principles of the militia system. He objected also to the bill as it contained no clause to indemnify those who have received commissions in the militia under the operation of the former act, and who being unqualified, are liable to fines since the 25th of March last, when the act expired.—The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, April 18, 1804.

[Volunteer Consolidation Bill.]—Previous to the third reading of the volunteer bill,

Lord *Grenville* again called the attention of the house to the clause sanctioning the existence and continuance of committees, by whom regulations for the internal conduct of the different corps were to be made. He deprecated, in strong terms, the idea of encouraging a deliberative body of armed men. He differed from noble lords on the other side on this head, in three several respects. In the 1st place, in a retrospective point of view, he thought it would tend materially to remove this grievance, which previous to the Christmas recess was so generally allowed to require a remedy, that all regulations originating in corps or committees should, within a certain period, after the passing of the act, be transmitted for the sanction of his Majesty, and according to his approbation or rejection. 2dly, prospectively, he thought that all such regulations should in future originate with the commanding officer, by whom, or by the lord lieutenant they ought to be transmitted to his Majesty for his sanction. And 3dly, he objected to the clause as holding out an implied approbation of this species of an armed deliberative force. He therefore moved, that the clause be omitted, after which he should propose another in its stead, which he hoped would effect the objects he had hinted at.

Lord *Auckland* objected to the omission of the clause, as the noble lord had proposed no other clause in its place which could answer the objects of the act.

Lord *Grenville* said, that in this stage of the bill he was not, by the rules of parliament, at liberty to propose any new clause, till the one which he objected to was disposed of. He had endeavoured to make their lordships comprehend the meaning of his alteration, which he again stated would be to this effect: to order, that within a month from the passing of this act, all regulations made by committees for the internal regulation of their corps, should be transmitted to the King for his approbation; and that all such regulations must in future originate with the commanding officer, by whom, or by the lord-lieut. they should, before they were acted upon, be transmitted to his Majesty and receive his approbation.

Lord *Hawkesbury* agreed with the noble lord in wishing that no committees had ever existed, but that any regulations for the management of corps had originated with the commanding officers, under the sanction of the lords lieutenants, and been then transmitted for his Majesty's approbation. The evil, however, the noble lord must allow, was not a new one, and he doubted the propriety of at once throwing so large a body, free from all restraints and regulations whatever.—The Duke of Montrose supported Lord Grenville's amendment, and Lord Hobart spoke in favour of the original clause, after which the house divided.—For the original clause,

Contents	- -	25
Non-contents	-	10
Majority	- -	15

Sevevral verbal amendments were then agreed to. After which the bill was read a third time, passed, and ordered to be sent back to the commons as amended.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, April 18, 1804.

[Minutes.]—Mr. Shaw, returned member for the city of Dublin, in the room of J. C. Beresford, Esq. took the usual oaths and his seat. Lord Marsham reported from the committee on the Middlesex election, that Benjamin Lee, a person duly summoned to give evidence before that committee, had disobeyed the summons; and moved, that he be committed to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms. Ordered.—Colonel Gordon presented certain accounts from the barrack department. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Elliot moved for a return of the particulars of the charges for incidents, allowances, pensions, and gratuities upon the department of the barrack board in Ireland, since Jan. 1801. Ordered.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved two resolutions, viz. that certain allowances made to adjutants and subaltern officers of militia, for the current year, be defrayed out of the land tax; and that the pay and clothing of the Irish militia be defrayed out of the consolidated fund for Ireland. Agreed to, and ordered to be reported tomorrow, and the committee to sit again on Friday.—Mr. Rose moved for a return of the amount of Exchequer bills issued from 5th April, 1798, to the same day in 1804, distinguishing each year, and the fund upon which they were chargeable. Ordered.

[ARMY OF RESERVE SUSPENSION BILL.]—Mr. Secretary *Yorke* moved the order of the day for the second reading of the army of reserve suspension bill.

Mr. *C. Long* stated, that a rt. hon. friend of his (Mr. Pitt) was prevented by indisposition from attending that day in his place in the house. He was authorised to urge his objection to the further progress of the bill, as it was in a material degree connected with the object of the motion, which his rt. hon. friend proposed bringing forward, at an early day next week. To-morrow, he thought, would be too early a day; Friday was already appointed for another important discussion; and he presumed Monday or Tuesday might be convenient.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* said, certainly it was his wish to accommodate the rt. hon. gent.; and, as he understood there was no objection to putting off till Monday the other discussion, the bill might proceed to the next stage on Friday.

Mr. *Adair*, on the part and in the absence of his rt. hon. friend, Mr. Fox, declared there would be no objection to postpone his motion till Monday.—After a few observations from Sir R. Buxton, the bill was read a second time, and ordered to be referred to a committee on Friday next.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that he expected on Tuesday next to receive dispatches from Ireland, on the subject of the negotiation of the loan in that part of the United Kingdom. It was, therefore, his wish to postpone the consideration of that branch of the public supply, till after the arrival of such information.—The budget was then postponed to Monday se'nnight.

[EXCHEQUER BILLS.] The house resolved itself into a committee of ways and means.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* declared, that it was at present his intention only to move that 11½ millions be raised by exchequer bills for the discharge of the bills which were now outstanding. He should submit to the house at a future period a motion for the raising of the remaining sum of 5 millions to complete the sum which he had already mentioned. The Bank had agreed to postpone the payment of the 1½ million which they had raised in 1798. He was in consequence enabled to propose to the committee that only the sum of 9½ millions be raised in the present instance. It was not the intention of govt. that any part of the debt should be funded, but that all the amount which he then moved for should be kept outstanding. This he purposed doing by two separate bills, the one for 8 millions and the other for 1½ million.

Mr. *Johnstone* observed, that the whole amount of exchequer bills would, if the committee acceded to these resolutions be 24,600,000*l.* If he allowed for the 1½ million payable to the Bank, which they had agreed to postpone the payment of, it would be evident that upwards of 23 millions would be then outstanding. It was not usual to have so large a sum in circulation at so early a period of the year. He believed that the deferring of such a measure would be very advantageous to the public, and thought that the right hon gent. would find, that at no period was there ever so large a sum as 23 millions in circulation so early as April.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the hon. gent. had fallen into error from the circumstance of his not having perused the accounts upon the table. It was there stated that provision had been made for the payment of 10,600,000*l.* There was therefore only the sum of 14 millions remaining of the amount which the hon gent. alluded to: 3 millions were locked up in the Bank for the renewal of their charter, which reduced the sum to 11 millions: and, when he stated that the Bank had agreed to with-hold their demand for the payment of 1½ million, the committee would then see that he was correct in stating that the sum of 9½ was all that would be wanting for the present issue of exchequer bills.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, April 19.

[MINUTES.]—Counsel were heard relative to the appeal from Chancery, Richardson *v.* the University of Oxford, viz. Mr. Plomer on the part of the appellant in continuation. The farther consideration of the case was adjourned till Wednesday next.—Lord Viscount Maynard was sworn, and took his seat.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.

[WAR IN INDIA.]—The Earl of *Carlisle* observed, he had to move for some necessary information, as preparatory to a subject of considerable importance, and which he thought particularly worthy the serious attention of that House; especially as rumours strongly prevailed, which induced a suspicion of the propriety of that conduct. He alluded to the commencement of hostilities in India. However, what in the present instance he should propose, he thought so obviously unobjectionable, as that no sort of resistance could be meditated against his motion; which was, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying his Majesty to give directions, that there be laid before the House an account of the date of instructions sent to the officer commanding the naval force in the East Indies, previous to his Majesty's message to Parliament, on the present rupture, with the date of their arrival in India; and also the date of instructions sent previous to the actual rupture, with the date of their arrival in India."—His Lordship said, the subject was of importance, nor was the information required by him of a nature that could produce any disadvantage to the public service. He should not, therefore, trouble their Lordships with any further observations, as he could not conceive any grounds on which these papers could be refused by his Majesty's government.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he had no objection to the production of the papers in question. In opposing the motion, which he rose to do, he proceeded on other grounds. There were two sorts of papers which might be called for in Parliament; one of that nature, that there need be no particular reason assigned for calling for them, it being plain, as a general rule, that no inconvenience could arise from their being produced. Of this kind were accounts relative to the revenue; and many others might be instanced. In all such cases, the onus probandi lay on the govt.; if they refused the papers, they must shew a particular reason applied to that particular case, because the business to which such accounts and papers referred, grew out of the proceedings of Parliament. But the 2d kind was very different: it respected proceedings growing out of the discretionary exercise of the executive power; and though it was competent to Parliament to call for papers of this kind, it was not the parliamentary custom for any noble Lord to make a motion to that effect, without assigning the reason which should induce the House to interpose its authority in that particular case. The motion of the noble Earl came distinctly under this last division; and he must oppose it, because he had heard no reason urged to prove its necessity or use. With respect to the papers moved for, he had no hesitation in saying, that instructions were forwarded to the East Indies, after the rupture was foreseen, with all possible expedition.

The Earl of *Carlisle* said, he had used no particular argument to induce the House to agree to the motion, because he could not have imagined it would be opposed by his Majesty's ministers. He would now, however, inform the noble Sec. of State, that this was a subject of no small moment, that there were very disagreeable rumours abroad, that the public opinion did not coincide with his Lordship's statement, and that the House had a right to know the facts from documents, and could not be justified in a matter of this consequence, in taking the mere assertion of one of his Majesty's ministers. He would tell the noble Lord, there was a report, on authority, perhaps as good as his Lordship's, that Admiral Rainier did not receive his instructions from govt. till 17 days after the rupture was announced in India by private letters from England; and that the French Admiral, Linois, had, in the interval, while the English Admiral was near him, cut his cables in the night, and withdrew his squadron in safety; no doubt, having received his instructions from his govt. He was informed, that when the dispatches were sent by govt. to India, they were sent by a frigate, which, so far from going directly, and with the utmost expedition, convoyed a fleet, and touched at Lisbon. He did not know how far this was true or not; he did not know what might be the exact foundation of the public opinion on this subject; it was his duty, and that of the House, to ascertain the truth, and to inquire if there had been any culpable neglect. If there had not, he gave govt. the opportunity to repel those aspersions.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he had heard no argument from the noble Earl to induce him to change his opinion. As to the statements of the noble Lord, he entirely denied them, with all possible civility certainly; but he meant to say the noble Earl was misinformed. Previous to his Majesty's message, instructions were sent to Admiral Rainier a second time, between that and the rupture; and again on that event. Instructions, in the first instance, had been sent as early as possible, and by the most speedy conveyance, and had arrived in an unusually short time.

Earl *Spencer* said, he came down without any previous knowledge of this motion; but, after he had heard what had been urged by the noble Earl, and the answer of the noble Sec. of State, he felt it his duty to support the motion. Without dissenting from the noble Lord opposite to him, as to the principle on which papers were granted or refused, he thought the noble Earl had laid a parliamentary and proper ground for demanding the information in question. He thought ministers could not refuse the papers, without acknowledging the charge advanced, not by the noble Earl, but by the public voice. The motion gave the govt. an opportunity to defend themselves from a very heavy charge. It was no light question, whether the earliest information and instructions had been conveyed to Admiral Rainier or not. Suppose the French in that quarter had been superior in force to us, instead of the contrary, what might have been the result of their receiving the intelligence of the rupture earlier than our Admiral? And, inferior as they were, what benefit may we not have lost by this tardiness in sending dispatches, if the fact be as the public feeling seems to declare? With respect to the degree of expedition which was used on the part of our govt., in forwarding dispatches of such importance, he would ask, did they arrive in India previously to the 12th of August? and farther, were they not sent in a frigate which was encumbered with convoy? and did not the vessel actually touch at Lisbon in her passage? A great deal of what was desired would appear from the production of the dates.

Lord *Hobart* maintained, that public rumour was not a parliamentary ground to justify the calling for papers. If that were admitted, every one of their Lordships, as they severally happened to be affected by the public tales of the day, might impede the executive govt. by calling for papers. His Lordship asserted, that every degree of possible expedition was used in forwarding the dispatches in question to India, and that they arrived at the different presidencies in an extraordinarily short interval. Information of an important nature had been received by Admiral Rainier, and at a period, if not earlier, as early as any intelligence received by the French Admiral, as, in point of fact, it was at the time of the British Admiral being actually deliberating upon the expediency of taking steps to secure the French squadron, that the latter slipped her cables, and got away.

The Earl of *Carnarvon* said, the noble Lord who had just sat down had stated, that Admiral Rainier received information of the state of affairs from some quarter: this might be, and yet govt. be no less culpable. It was the duty of Parliament to inquire, whether govt. had discharged its duty in this most important point? If our squadron had received timely instructions, there could be no doubt the French would now be the weaker by the loss of their squadron under Linois; and the mischief he had done in the E. Indies, and might still do with that squadron, would have been avoided. The strongest parliamentary ground was laid for the motion, and he should most heartily give it his vote.

Lord *Harrowby* expressed his opinion as to the principle which should regulate the conduct of Parliament upon such occasions as the present. Upon the first appearance of the present question, regarding such considerations in the light he did, he was rather inclined to oppose the motion; but, in consequence of what transpired in the conversation, he thought a case so far made out as to shew the propriety of acceding to it.—The House then divided on the Earl of Carlisle's motion, when their appeared,

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List of the Majority.

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Carlisle, Earl of
Carnarvon, Earl of
Cowper, Earl
Derby, Earl of
Darnley, Earl
Dundas, Lord
Essex, Earl of
Fitzwilliam, Earl
Fortescue, Earl
Grenville, Lord
Harrowby, Lord
Headfort, Marquis of
Kenyon, Lord
King, Lord
Lowther, Viscount
Minto, Lord
Montrose, Duke of
Ormond, Earl of
Romney, Earl of
Spencer, Earl
Stafford, Marquis of
Talbot, Earl
Upper Ossory, Earl of
And four Proxies.

[Irish militia offer bill.]—The order of the day for the second reading of the bill, for enabling his Majesty to accept of the voluntary offers of service of the Irish militia in G. Britain, being read,

Lord *Hobart* said, he should not trouble their Lordships at much length in behalf of this measure. Many of their Lordships, he believed most of them, would acknowledge its expediency, if not carried too far, as a general principle. He would not press the question of extending the principle, but merely contend for accepting the services of the Irish militia now, and to the extent named in the bill. Whether govt. would use this discretion, or to what extent, must be left to circumstances; but he thought no evil could arise from allowing govt. that discretion, thus limited. He pressed the measure as one standing by itself, and not calling for reciprocity of offers, from the English militia, of service in Ireland. It was not to be understood, that the English militia were to be pledged by this acceptance of the services of the Irish militia. They would be perfectly free, in this respect, as if the bill did not pass, without any imputation on their courage or loyalty, which could be questioned by no one. The utility of the measure, in adding 10,000 men, in fact, to our disposable force, was sufficiently obvious; and, in the view he had taken of it, he could not anticipate any objection. With respect to the other bill, although it might be considered as growing out of this, he would not consider it as necessarily following upon it, unless the House should be disposed so to do. He was rather willing to narrow the question merely to the present bill. His Lordship concluded by moving, "That this bill be now read a second time."

Lord *Borringdon* said, the bill must be defended, either upon the particular circumstances of the case, or on the general principle of a reciprocity of the services of the militias of the two countries. He had not heard a single circumstance from the noble Lord, to prove the necessity of the measure. But he believed, if the two countries, their positions relative to the enemy, and their respective strength, were fairly examined, it would be found, that none of these could sanction the removing so large a force from Ireland at this dangerous moment. It ought not to be forgotten, that twice during the last war, the enemy made an attempt upon Ireland, and once succeeded in landing a force there. It seemed a very extraordinary proposition, therefore, that Ireland, so much more exposed than this country, and weaker in herself, should send us 10,000 men at the very moment when danger most threatened her. There was something so monstrous in this, he could not argue it longer. But there were reasons, it should seem, in the nature of the Irish militia, which their Lordships would easily conceive from the state of the country, that might make it prudent to withdraw part of them from Ireland. He would not undertake to disprove that. But then he would ask, why augment the Irish militia? This was a dilemma which he should have no ingenuity to avoid, in the situation of the ministers. It was no matter whether the other bill was to be argued with this or not; ministers had made the augmentation part of the plan, had avowed the intention, and therefore he must throw them on the dilemma. With respect to the principle of the present measure, he detested and would resist it with the utmost of his power. It went, contrary to all the principles of civilized society, to tolerate deliberative armed bodies. This bill is introduced for the purpose of inviting the English militia to volunteer their services to Ireland. The intention of a reciprocity has been openly acknowledged, and made the subject of ardent hopes. How is it to be accomplished? by the regiments respectively considering the question of offering their services to the other country. Can any man, with a common knowledge of armed bodies, and of civil society, endure the idea? But the measure is also a violation of the constitution of this country, especially of the militia itself. It is an unprincipled, dangerous, inexcusable breach of good faith with them. It has no motive to recommend it, and every motive to induce the House and the nation to view it with repugnance. But there is a fond expectation in one quarter, that the "reciprocity" will consolidate the interests and affections of the two countries. He entreated their Lordships not to deceive themselves with the hope of seeing the interests and affections of the two countries consolidated, while a noble Lord of that House (Redesdale) continued to fill the highest station of the law in Ireland, after writing those letters to Lord Fingal, which mortified and wounded every man of feeling and sensibility in both countries, and while those letters were not expressly disavowed by the govt. He besought their Lordships not to deceive themselves with the expectation of the interests and affections of G. Britain and Ireland being consolidated, while that administration remained, the basis of whose power was, the rejection of that measure which alone can heal all differences and cordially unite the affections and interests of the two people.

Lord *Hobart* explained. He said he had not argued on the ground of reciprocity; on the contrary, he had kept that distinct from the present question.

The Duke of *Cumberland* rose, he said, to offer a very few words to their Lordships. He hoped this measure would be the beginning of that reciprocity he had before recommended. He hoped to see the two realms not united in name only, and by legal ties, but by a perfect communion of interests, and by mutual services.

The Marquis of *Headfort* urged the argument of his Royal Highness at great length. The times when the militia were first raised, were different from these. The Continent was not then at the foot of a Corsican assassin. It was the duty of the legislature to extend the services of the militia (a body of men on which he placed great reliance) to meet the dangers of the times. We must not stand upon small distinctions, but make all our force as disposeable as possible; or we shall be only the last to fall a prey to the relentless ambition of the Corsican murderer. He wished to see the union between G. Britain and Ireland strengthened by the reciprocity which had been so much condemned; and he hoped to see again that great man (Mr. Pitt) at the head of his Majesty's councils, who had effected that great measure, the Union.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* contended, that we had no need of the Irish militia, with the force we had in volunteers, militia, and regulars; and he considered the measure as an insult upon G. Britain. The reciprocity he considered as destructive of the principle on which the English militia was raised, and tending to annihilate the militia of both countries.

The Duke of *Norfolk* conceived the militia of the country the most essential, indeed the only constitutional force, and as such should be strictly kept to its original principles. This bill appeared to him to violate those principles; and therefore to be highly improper. He expressed the greatest approbation of the "Resolutions of the meeting of militia colonels and officers *," and regretted that he was not in a situation to attend the meeting, and add his name to the list of signatures. Disapproving of the present bill, as he certainly did, he yet could not think ministers so much to blame as they were represented; the example set them by their predecessors, some years ago, was among the legacies of violation to the constitution, which those former ministers had left them. He said, he was so far from agreeing with the noble Marquis, in wishing for the return to his Majesty's councils of the person alluded to, that he earnestly deprecated it. This measure was one that he had left, among others, to the injury of the country. He had loaded the nation with taxes it could scarcely bear, and had scarcely left one principle of the constitution untouched.

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* The following is a correct copy of the Resolutions alluded to by his Grace the Duke of Norfolk.

"At a Meeting of Lords Lieutenants of Counties, and Members of Parliament, holding commissions in the militia of G. Britain, held at the Thatched House Tavern, Tuesday, April 10, 1804, the following Resolutions, unanimously adopted, were directed to be published in the public papers:—1st. That the militia of G. Britain, as by law established, is a system well considered, safe, and efficient for the purpose for which it is provided; well considered, as bringing into the defence of the country all the orders of its inhabitants; safe, as placing the great permanent military force under the command of those whose interest in the preservation of the country and its constitution, affords the best possible pledge of zeal and fidelity; efficient, as furnishing at the shortest notice a body of well-trained soldiers, sufficient to meet a sudden emergency.—2dly. That the militia of G. Britain is bound to the country for one great and important purpose, distinctly specified. To vary the conditions of engagement, without the consent of the parties, would be a manifest breach of compact; and to deviate from them, even with their consent, will endanger the future existence of an establishment, recognized by parliament as essential to the constitution.—3dly. That it is dangerous to permit armed men to become deliberative bodies.—4thly. That under existing circumstances there appears no sufficient cause for any change in the system of the militia of G. Britain, and it is therefore prudent and expedient to maintain it on the wise and well-considered principles on which it was originally established, and to keep it restricted to the specific important purpose for which it stands now engaged.—5thly. That, even if it be wise and expedient to decide at this moment the question of reciprocal service between the militias of G. Britain and Ireland, the magnitude and importance of that question demands a separate and distinct consideration, and ought not to be introduced into discussion, collaterally and indirectly."

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM, Chairman.

Devonshire
Euston
Buckinghamshire
Fortescue
Romney
Folkestone
Marsham
T. Stanley
John Frederick
W Gore Langton
John Calfraft
W. H. Fellowes
B. Cooke
G. H. Cavendish
Lowther
Downe
John Cust
W. W. Wynne
G. H. Strutt
Cawdor.

The Earl of *Limerick* said, the debate had turned on the Union, rather than on the question before the House. He maintained the benefit that would result from the reciprocity so eagerly condemned. He instanced the Scotch militia, which was common to the Southern part of the island, and the English to the northern. He did not know why the Irish militia might not be deemed worthy of the same service; except their accent or their blunders were to be objected. He thought some great persons in this country were infected with the habit of blundering. A late meeting, so highly praised by a noble Duke, consisted of military men, assembled in their capacities of colonels of regiments, yet their principal resolution is, that it is unconstitutional and unsafe for military men to meet for the purpose of deliberating. After making some further comments on the resolutions, his Lordship advanced several arguments in favour of the present measure. He would support it on account of its being a prelude to the speedy interchange of the militias of G. Britain and Ireland. He also supported it, because he believed the bringing over Irish militiamen to this country would have the effect of making them better soldiers than they otherwise could be. It was observed by several able writers, and confirmed by history, that Irishmen never made such good soldiers in their own country, as out of it. It was with considerable pain he looked back to the conduct of some of them at Castlebar, in 1798. But any person who wished to know how they conducted themselves in other countries, need only refer to the history of the battle of Fontenoy, and the late victories in Egypt. He believed there were some noble Lords then present, who could bear testimony to the conduct of Irish soldiers on that memorable occasion. Another reason why he wished for this bill was, the advantage always derived from sending soldiers away a considerable distance from the places where they were raised; this had been constantly done in G. Britain, and he was confident that Irish soldiers would be very much benefited in every respect from residing in this country. Besides what he had already stated, there was a circumstance connected with the internal situation of Ireland, which it was extremely material to take notice of, in considering the present subject. The spirit of disaffection still existed in Ireland; and there was reason to fear that it would still be exercised with a view of corrupting the brave men who now constituted the militia regiments of that country. Therefore, although he had no reason to doubt their fidelity, he thought it would be better to remove as many of them as possible from a place where they were exposed to such a danger. Censure had been repeatedly thrown out against the conduct of the present Ministers. In his mind they were wholly unfounded; and he was confident nothing could be brought forward to prove that his Majesty's present government had in any respect misconducted themselves in the management of the public affairs.

Lord *Carleton* said, that from every consideration he had given the present measure, he considered the advantages superior to any inconvenience likely to arise from it, that it should meet with his hearty support. But he approved of the measure on account of the great benefit which the lower orders of the Irish who belonged to militia regiments would derive from coming to and mixing with the people of this country. He was happy at the prospect of their being likely to imitate in some degree, the manners and character of the virtuous peasantry of England. There was no doubt but that many Irish gentlemen would feel a great inconvenience in

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" The Chairman having left the Chair, and the " Duke of Devonshire having taken it—Resolved, " That the thanks of this meeting be given to Lord " Fitzwilliam, for calling their attention to a subject of " such high importance, and for the able, judicious, " and constitutional manner in which he conducted " the business."

being obliged to come over here; but this was a trifling circumstance, compared to the advantages which G. Britain must derive from having so large a force brought over here. His Lordship alluded to the letters of Lord Redesdale, and defended his Lordship from the unfavourable inferences attached to them, thinking it incumbent on noble Lords who censured him in his absence, to lay some adequate ground of judgment before the House.

Lord *Boringdon* adverted to the nature of the documents in question, which their Lordships would recollect could not regularly be moved for.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, it was impossible for him to remain silent, after the unjust charges which, in the course of that debate, had been thrown out against a noble person (Lord Redesdale) who had long been his dearest and most intimate friend, and against whom uncommon pains had lately been taken to excite a most unfounded prejudice. Amidst all the animosity, the violence, and injustice, which had been engendered by the French revolution, it could hardly have been supposed that aspersions of such a nature would have been thrown out against his noble friend; and in a way, too, by which he was precluded an opportunity of defending himself against them. He could affirm that that noble Lord had fully earned and merited the rewards he obtained for his long, laborious, and useful services, and that his character, for strict honour and integrity, stood as high as that of any man in the country. But some persons had thought proper to charge him with having used expressions hostile to the interests of a large body of people in Ireland. And what did this charge rest upon? Nothing else but a publication purporting to be a correspondence between him and another noble Lord in Ireland: a publication which his noble friend had had no hand in sending into the world; which ought not to have gone farther than the individuals between whom the correspondence had passed; and which, if it had not been stolen out of the pocket of the noble person in whose possession the original was, would never have made its appearance. Was such a publication therefore as this, which could not be regularly brought forward by way of defence, a sufficient ground for throwing out such heavy aspersions against a man of the high character which his noble friend bore? Besides, he wished it to be considered how far the former conduct pursued by his noble friend could justify these charges. Would it be forgotten, that he had been on many occasions, the most strenuous advocate for the Catholics of Ireland? that he had been their best friend? And now he must, without any foundation, be charged with being their enemy. He thought proper to say thus much in behalf of his dearest friend, whose worth and excellent qualities he had long known, and still held in the highest estimation; and whose friendship he hoped to preserve as long as life existed in his body.—Having thus felt himself impelled to say so much in vindication of the character of his friend, he should say a word or two in support of the present bill. He could not see any force in the objection that this measure would convert the militia regiments of Ireland into deliberative bodies; he saw nothing like deliberation in their expressing their willingness to serve in any particular place out of their own country. But the objection had still less force, when such a change of service could be proved to be useful. Suppose that a body of troops had agreed to serve only in a particular part or county of England, and that such a necessity should occur as to render that assistance highly useful in the next county, to which they were bound not to go, and from which they might be separated only by a river; if they should offer such assistance, would it be dangerous to accept of it? Would it be recognizing a dangerous deliberative power in military men? Certainly not; and the same reasoning now applied to the offers of service made by regiments in Ireland. He would not say, whether this force was actually wanted by G. Britain at this time: he believed it was not; but would it not be highly useful to have such an accession, as should enable the govt. to convert a large disposeable force to other purposes? Upon the whole, this bill met with his most decided approbation and support.

The Earl of *Carnarvon* began by taking notice of the allusion which the Earl of Limerick had made to the Resolutions lately entered into by several militia officers, and declared, that if he had been in town at the time they were entered into, he should have put his name to them. The noble Lord, after making some observations on the blunders sometimes committed by people in that country from which he came, imputed to the persons who had signed those resolutions, that they had committed a blunder in so doing. The imputation could, with much more justice, be thrown against those persons whose measures that noble Lord supported. The whole of their conduct, from beginning to end, was a series of blunders. What was their conduct on the present occasion? It was a breach of faith, and that which went to complete the destruction of the only constitutional force we now had remaining. There was no necessity for doing this. The militia of Ireland formed its constitutional defence: and if so, why deprive that country of it? and why bring her constitutional force over here? The faith of govt. was pledged to the Irish militia regiments, that they should not be sent out of that country; and they might as well send them to Jamaica or Ceylon, as to G. Britain. One of the reasons which had been advanced in support of this measure was such as rendered it more objectionable than any other, in his mind, and that was the probability of its leading to an interchange between the militias of G. Britain and Ireland. He considered that such a step as that would completely destroy every constitutional principle which still belonged to this force. The govt. had already nearly destroyed the constitution of the militia, and this would be giving it the finishing blow. The measure was pregnant with mischief, and could not be attended with one advantage whatever.

Lord *Auckland* said, that those who had brought forward and supported the present measure, never held out any such idea as that of its leading to an interchange of the militias of both countries. No such thing was understood; and Ministers had not said so. But while he stated this in point of fact, he thought it necessary to give it as his opinion, that an interchange of that kind would not only be not unconstitutional, but would be highly beneficial to both countries. No comparison could possibly be more inapplicable than that made by the noble Lord, when he said, that govt. might as well send the Irish militia to the East or West Indies. There was a material difference between sending troops to a distant colony, and sending them from one part of the same kingdom to another. Every objection that could formerly have existed against an interchange with Ireland, must be now completely done away, on account of the union with that country; and he saw no reason why the little Irish Channel should cause a greater separation between G. Britain and Ireland, than a large river would between two counties. If any one part of the united kingdom was attacked by a formidable force of the enemy, would it not be proper to have the assistance of troops in any, even the most distant part of the country? If an attack should be made on Kent, would not militia regiments be sent for from Cheshire, if they were not wanted there? And if it was justifiable to send to Cheshire for them, what objection could there be to bring militia regiments from Ireland, which was as much a part of the kingdom as Cheshire? But here the men were not ordered away; for they voluntarily offered to come. Now, with regard to the objection, that the acceptance of those voluntary services would be to recognize a deliberative power in the regiments, it did not appear to him that any such thing was done. The deliberation went no farther than barely giving their consent; than their barely answering yes or no to this question, "are you willing to go to England?" They had nothing to do but to give their assent or dissent. In this, there surely was no deliberation. But many important advantages would accrue from this measure. It would enable govt. to have a great disposeable force at its command. It would facilitate the means of recruiting our force. We should have a greater number of men from Ireland than we now expected: for he knew the attachment of the peasantry to the gentry of that country to be such, that they would follow them in great numbers. If ever there was a time when it was more necessary than another to strengthen the military force of this country, it was at the present moment: for there never was a moment when we appeared to stand so much alone, and when we had less hope of co-operation from any of the powers on the continent. This must clearly appear to every man, who viewed the conduct lately pursued by the accredited representatives of most of the crowned heads of Europe, who, on a late occasion, thought proper to express such sentiments as they had done to the Despot of France, whose hand was at that moment reeking with the blood of an innocent and murdered Prince. It was now more than ever incumbent on us to fortify ourselves by every means within our power, not only for the reasons already stated, but on account of the violent and alarming proceedings continually adopted by the French govt. The French Revolution had brought along with it a train of evils hardly ever known before. It was a revolution originating in regicide, carried on and matured by pillage and massacre, and now upheld, as appeared from very recent intelligence, by midnight murder and assassination.

Lord *Harrowby* observed, that the notion of the noble Lord who spoke last, with regard to the services of the Irish militia being extended to this country, was expressly contrary to the principles recognized in the Act of Union. He had defended the measure for accepting the services of the English militia in Ireland during the rebellion of 1798, upon the ground of necessity or expediency. But at present, he saw no necessity for the extension of the services of the Irish Militia to this country. It would also prove injurious, when accompanied with the augmentation bill, to the recruiting service, and on these grounds he opposed it.

The Marquis of *Sligo* supported the measure, from the conviction that the greatest advantages would result from it to both countries. He defended Ireland from what he conceived to be some reflexions upon it by the noble Lord who spoke last.

Lord *Harrowby* explained, by observing that it never entered his imagination to cast any reflexions upon Ireland.

The Duke of *Montrose* said, he should oppose this bill, and the other which was to come after it by way of supplement. He considered it unjust to call on men to enter on a service, for which they had not been originally engaged. He could see no advantage whatever likely to arise from taking away the defensive force of Ireland, and bringing it to this country; and still less benefit did he think likely to arise from raising an additional number of militiamen in Ireland, It was raising them in the worst possible way, because they would be least capable of extended service. If it was meant that the country should derive any benefit from a new levy of troops, why were they not raised for the regular army, or why were not fencible regiments raised?

The Earl of *Westmoreland* argued in favour of the bill, inasmuch as its beneficial object was to set loose a considerable and desirable offensive force. From the constitution of the Irish militia and their attachment to their leaders, he argued the most desirable advantages would result from this measure. From what he knew of that country, during the time of his holding a high appointment in it, he was persuaded this measure, and the other connected with it for augmenting the Irish militia, would very little, if at all, interfere with the recruiting for the regular army. Our volunteer force having now reached its utmost desirable extent, he thought every plan should be pursued which had for its object, like the present, an encrease to the offensive force of the country. He would ask any noble Lord, whether he really thought the military force of this country was too large for the various services which might be required of it?—There was nothing new nor unprecedented in the object proposed by the bill now before the House. The wisdom of parliament had upon former occasions, and when the exigency of affairs required it, adopted measures analogous to the present, and founded upon the same principle, as led them to increase the military establishment during the last war. It then amounted to about 165,000 men, independent of the yeomanry cavalry. Now, it was to be considered that the numbers should at present be less, even with the addition proposed by the bills now pending in parliament, than what were then on foot. The additional force which it was proposed to raise in Ireland, would have the advantage of its being done at a much less expence than could be accomplished by any other method. Nor, he was satisfied, would it interfere with the recruiting for the army. This his Lordship illustrated by a comparison of the different bounties which were payable for recruiting for the regulars and for the militia in Ireland. Another advantage was, that it would produce, in a comparatively short space of time, an additional efficient force to the country, which might be of the greatest advantage. He could not help thinking, that it was by the active measures pursued for increasing the Irish militia upon a former occasion, when internal rebellion and a foreign force combined to attack Ireland, that its preservation was chiefly to be ascribed. His Lordship declared himself a sincere well-wisher to the plan, as far as it could be rendered practicable, of a mutual exchange of the militia regiments of each country. He argued in favour of such an interchange, if it could be brought about, from the past experience of the advantages of English regiments of militia having volunteered their services to Ireland; as well as from the consideration, founded upon the feelings of human nature, that in case of any future insurrection in Ireland, Irish militiamen would feel more at the thought of attacking those with whom they were connected by the ties of blood and friendship, than they would in turning their arms against a foreign enemy who might dare to invade our shores.

Earl *Darnley* said, he could not coincide with the arguments of the noble Earl who had spoken last, He could see little or no analogy between the circumstances of the present time and the period alluded to by the noble Lord, when internal insurrection actually reigned in Ireland, which was the time when the offer of several English regiments of militia for that country was accepted. He could see no good ground on which the present measure was brought forward. Was it professed to be on account of the imminent danger to which this country was exposed? For his part, he thought that Ireland was equally vulnerable as any part of G. Britain. This was, therefore, an additional reason with his Lordship for objecting to the present bill, because he considered that it tended to do injustice to Ireland, by withdrawing from her shores those native forces to which she looked with confidence in the hour of danger.

Lord *Egremont* came to the House prepared to vote for the bill, on the supposition that the service was to be reciprocal; but as this reciprocity had been disclaimed, he felt himself obliged to vote against it.

Lord *Grenville* argued strongly in opposition to the bill. He insisted that there was no necessity for it, either for the security of this country, or, as some noble Lords had argued, for the better consolidation of the union between G. Britain and Ireland. He considered the present measure as connected with the important question, whether there should be a reciprocity of services between the militias of the two countries? his Lordship said he disliked this indirect way of bringing forward this subject; but if ever it were made a distinct proposition, he promised noble Lords that he would pay to it all that attention which its importance deserved. At present, he should only observe the recommendation which had been noticed in favour of such reciprocity from the example of the union between England and Scotland; but it was to be considered, that it was many years after that union before any militia had been established for Scotland, and even then, it was not judged expedient to enact that the Scotch militia should be liable to serve out of Scotland. His Lordship denied that this measure would extend the disposeable force of the country, as it only went to bring forward one limited force to supply another of the same description. He also objected to it on the ground of its giving countenance to military deliberative bodies; a principle this, which, in its consequences, endangered the subversion of the constitution. He would admit, that cases might arise which would justify the violation of this principle; but he did not think it was necessary to allow of such violation at the present period. His Lordship then proceeded to take notice of the censure which had been passed by a noble Lord (Limerick) on a late meeting of the Lords Lieutenants and militia officers of England, being members of parliament. He thought that their convening together and deliberating on the effects of a measure pending in parliament, so far from deserving censure, was really doing no more than what was strictly within the line of their duty. His Lordship said, as he could see no necessity for the present measure, the only question on which it could be fairly argued was, as to the expediency of bringing over 10,000 men from Ireland into this country; and he argued that it was a measure founded on a mistaken policy, as such an effective body of men could not easily be replaced in Ireland, and it went merely to weaken the garrison of Ireland in order to strengthen the garrison of this country. By so doing, Ireland, he thought would have a right to complain. His Lordship concluded with lamenting the attack which had been made by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Lord Redesdale) on the Catholics of that country, inasmuch as it tended to increase the disaffection of that body, and appeared to be peculiarly ill timed and unconciliating; more especially when it was recollected that a considerable proportion of the Irish militia regiments who had volunteered their services, consisted of that religious description of persons.

Lord *Hawkesbury* disclaimed all intention, on the part of administration, to bring forward indirectly the subject of a reciprocity of services between the militias of the two countries. At the same time he felt no hesitation in saying, that the nearer they could practically approach to that principle, the more consentaneous would it be, in his opinion, to the principle on which the union between the two countries was founded. At the same time, he was fully sensible, that however desirable such a measure was, theoretically considered, this was not the proper time for attempting to bring it forward, as he was aware that it would tend to revolt the prejudices of the people of this country. He thought it rather extraordinary, that so many noble Lords should have considered the offer made by several militia regiments of Ireland as a dangerous deliberation of armed bodies; and should have made so serious an objection to these offers upon this ground. Circumstances might arise which would render such deliberate offers unavoidable and necessary; and they had actually occurred, without involving any inconvenience or danger, in the course of the last war. His Lordship instanced, in the case of the troops that volunteered their services to Portugal, and other Irish regiments that had been raised on the express condition, that their services were not to extend beyond Europe, who had volunteered their services to Africa, and who had afterwards acquired so much honour to themselves by the victories which they obtained in Egypt.—His Lordship then adverted to the late meeting of the Lords Lieutenants and officers of militia regiments who had published the resolutions which they came to in the public papers. With every degree of respect and deference which he entertained for the individuals composing that meeting, yet, when he viewed them as convened in a deliberate capacity, canvassing the deliberations of parliament on a subject of great national importance, he must fairly say, that they appeared to him to have acted wrong, and, without wishing to give offence, to declare his opinion, that they had been misled in judgment, more particularly as they seemed to have assembled together as a military body, the officers convened with the lords lieutenants, being colonels of militia regiments.—His Lordship then recurred to the measure immediately before the House, which he defended as one of all others the most easy in execution; promoting an increase of force in the most expeditious and least expensive manner, being connected with other collateral measures for raising an increase of the military force in Ireland. He denied therefore that the objection was well founded, which the noble Lord (Grenville) had made use of, that it would weaken the garrisons of Ireland, inasmuch as it was not meant that this measure, were it to pass into a law, should be immediately acted upon; but only that his Majesty should be empowered so to do, when circumstances arose which might appear to render it expedient and necessary. He answered, that the noble Lord's objection would be doing injustice to Ireland. He was persuaded the people of that country would not consider it in that point of view. She had already experienced the benefits which had accrued to her from the former offer of English militia regiments to assist in quelling the rebellion which raged in that country; an offer this, which, he verily believed, had tended in its consequences to the salvation of Ireland.

The Earl of *Romney* rose to repel the attack which had been made by a noble Lord upon the late meeting of the lords lieutenants and officers of militia regiments. He said he had the honour of being one, who in the former capacity, had attended this meeting, which had drawn upon it the severity of his Lordship's animadversion. He saw nothing culpable in their proceedings. He was sure they were actuated by the purest motives. He thought it was fitting for officers commanding militia regiments, and holding places in parliament, to meet together, and consider the tendency of measures brought forward in parliament, and which tended to entrench upon the original principles on which their constitution was formed. His Lordship then went into an historical detail of the causes which led to the original establishment of the militia, and concluded with declaring, that much as he was inclined to support every measure tending to invigorate and increase the military strength of the country, and highly as he deemed himself honoured by his Majesty in being appointed a lord lieut., he would sooner throw up his appointment than be deterred from acting up to the best of his judgment, as an independent member of parliament.

Lord *Hawkesbury* assured the noble Lord, that he meant nothing disrespectful to his Lordship, in any remarks he had made respecting a late meeting of the Colonels of the English militia regiments, nor to any individual composing that body; at the same time, he must adhere to the opinion already given, as to the deliberative meetings of colonels of militia regiments holding and publishing their opinions in a manner calculated to overawe the parliament, as to a measure under their mature deliberation. In this part of their conduct, and in lending the aid of their names to a meeting held, and to resolutions published in their name, he must repeat it, that, according to constitutional principles, in his opinion, they were chargeable with an error of judgment.

Lord *Carnarvon* also defended the conduct of the noblemen and gentlemen who composed that meeting; if they had been guilty of an error in deliberating, it was Ministers who led them into that error, by inviting deliberations among the soldiers which composed those militia regiments who now offered their services.—The question being called for, the House divided, when there appeared,

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Majority - 28

The bill was read a second time accordingly; after which the House adjourned.

List of the Minority.

Duke of Norfolk
Duke of Beaufort
Duke of Bedford
Duke of Devonshire
Duke of Montrose
Duke of Leinster
Marquis of Stafford
Earl of Derby
Earl of Bridgewater
Earl of Thanet
Earl of Essex
Earl of Carlisle
Earl of Albemarle
Earl Cholmondeley
Earl Cowper
Earl Fitzwilliam
Earl of Egremont
Earl Spencer
Earl of Leicester
Earl Talbot
Earl Camden
Earl Fortescue
Earl of Mansfield
Earl of Carnarvon
Earl of Romney
Earl of Besborough
Earl Darnley
Earl of Aboyne
Earl of Carysfort
Lord Viscount Maynard
Lord Viscount Lowther
Lord Viscount Downe
Lord King
Lord Brownlow
Lord Harrowby
Lord Elliot
Lord Boringdon
Lord Kenyon
Lord Braybrooke
Lord Grenville
Lord Dundas
Lord Yarborough
Lord Carrington
Lord Glastonbury
Lord Minto
Lord Lilford
Lord Bishop of Lincoln
Lord Bish. of Peterborough

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, April 19.

This day being fixed for a ballot on the petition complaining of an undue election and return for the borough of Ilchester, in Somersetshire, the Speaker, at four o'clock, counted the House, when there being no more than 57 members present, the House was of course adjourned to to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, April 20.

[IRISH MILITIA AUGMENTATION BILL.]—Lord *Hawkesbury* observed, that it was rather beyond the usual hour at which it was generally understood the public business should commence; and, therefore, although he did not wish to hurry any noble Lord, who might wish to deliver his opinion on the bill before the House, yet he would submit it to the consideration of noble Lords, whether it would not be proper to proceed. For himself, he always made it a rule to attend at five o'clock, which he understood to be the time fixed for proceeding.—After a few words from the Lord Chancellor, Earls Spencer and Romney, in which it was observed, that it was a mark of deference due to the executive govt., to attend at the hour at which it was understood that the discussion of any measure brought forward by them should take place,

Lord *Hobart* rose, and stated, that it was not his intention to enter much upon the merits of the measure recommended, and to be provided for by the bill, which he intended to move should be now read a second time. The question had, in a great measure, been disposed of by the arguments that had been urged last night, and he would only trouble the House with a few of those which he conceived to be most material. It had been much objected to the measure, when under discussion in another place, that it would not add to the disposeable force of the country. From this he must beg leave to dissent; for, although certainly the 10,000 Irish militia that were to be raised, were not of that description of force that would be subject to be sent upon ordinary military service, yet they might be considered, to a certain extent, as a disposeable force, inasmuch as they might enable his Majesty to detach an equal number of the regular force wherever it may be necessary. With respect to any opposition that the bill may meet with, although it was in all respects of the same precise tenor with a similar measure brought forward by the late administration, he could not expect, on that account, that it would be found less objectionable, particularly by a noble Lord (Grenville) on an opposite bench. He could perceive a fixed disposition in that noble Lord to decry those measures of the present govt. which bore the greatest affinity to the measures of that govt. in which he filled a distinguished place. Although that noble Lord had formerly sanctioned similar measures, and supported them with all his acknowledged ability, yet the very circumstance of their being introduced by the present ministers, was sufficient to induce him to condemn them as absurd, puerile, and inefficient. It would be for the noble Lord to establish his consistency, but he professed he could not discover upon what principle of that kind the noble Lord could now reprobate those measures he but a very few years ago approved. He wished, however, noble Lords to understand, that measures are now pursuing to augment the disposeable force to the amount of 25,000 more than at present; consequently it would be seen that govt. are not inattentive to their duty. The noble Lord adverted to the observations which had been made the preceding evening, respecting the correspondence carried on by a noble Lord (Redesdale) in Ireland, and observed that he had never, before that evening, conceived that private correspondence ought to be made the subject of public avowal or disavowal on the part of govt. He would not detain the House longer, but move, that the bill before them be read a second time.

Earl *Spencer* professed, that his objection to this measure did not originate in any opinion which he might have formed on the letters alluded to by the noble Sec. of State. With respect to the principle of the measure, he must condemn it altogether. It was impolitic, at the present moment, to take so large a portion of the force as 10,000 from the defence of Ireland. He must also contend, that it was impolitic and unwise to make such an addition for limited service only. We ought to add to our disposeable force, and therefore he would recommend, that instead of increasing the militia of Ireland, at the rate of 4 guineas per man bounty, he would advise ministers to give even the bounty of 10 guineas for an equal number for general service. The noble Earl was happy to congratulate the House upon what they had just heard from the noble Sec. of State, namely, that it was in contemplation to augment the disposeable force; but he could not help observing, that the whole of the measures of the present administration were calculated to thwart and cross each other. He concluded with giving his decided negative to the motion for the second reading.

Lord *Grenville* would not enter into any length of discussion on this day, as many noble Lords, beside himself, were much fatigued from the length which the debate of the preceding evening had taken. He wished it, however, to be understood, that it was not because his opinions were changed. He should take another opportunity of discussing the measure, and would not suffer any observations which might be made by noble Lords opposite, respecting the acts which had passed during the time in which he formed a part of the administration, from giving his decided opposition to a measure, which he considered as one of the most weak, pitiable, and puerile measures which have disgraced the present ministry. Whatever might have been the construction of the acts to which the allusion had been made, the House would recollect the difference of situation in which the country is placed at the present period, and at the time to which the noble Lord had alluded. If ministers could not discriminate, the House and the country would; and nothing should deter him from delivering his sentiments openly and fairly, as an honest member of Parliament. He trusted that proper notice would be given of the next stages of the bill, as many noble Lords not present wished to discuss it.

The *Lord Chancellor* acknowledged, that he was never more surprised, than at the declaration of the noble Baron, that he would not debate the principle of the bill at present. When that noble Lord, on the preceding evening, with all the gravity that belonged to him, declared, when it was proposed to read the bill a second time, that he had more objections to make to it than to the bill which they had then debated, he really thought that the House had a right to expect that he would come down prepared to state those objections. He assured the noble Lord, that his Majesty's ministers were not afraid to meet him and his friends, whenever they chose, in defending any of their measures, weak, puerile, and what not, as he had described them. He hoped, however, that when the noble Lord considered that the measures which he was now objecting to, and characterizing by such epithets, were similar to, though infinitely better than those which he himself had introduced, that he would cease to speak of them in such terms. He was sorry to think that the noble Lord and his friends felt so much indisposed after their last night's fatigue. He could assure him, that his Majesty's ministers were fully prepared to enter upon the discussion. They felt within them all the strength and spirits of giants refreshed, and they challenged the noble Lord to the contest. He, for one, was prepared to defend the present measure, which, in common with all the other measures of the present ministers, were branded by his noble friend (he hoped he would allow him to call him so now, he hoped he should call him so when all the nonsense of politics was over) with the epithets of weak, pitiable, and he knew not what. He saw no reason why the discussion should be delayed, unless the noble Lord did not feel himself so confident at this moment as he appeared to be last night.

Lord *Grenville* did not wish to disconcert the good humour of the noble and learned Lord. If, as he had declared, his Majesty's ministers felt like "giants refreshed," he could assure the noble Lord, that those on the same side of the House with him did not feel, from any thing that had lately occurred in that House, that they had any reason to suppose that they had been discomfited. But really the cause why he wished to postpone the discussion was, that many noble Lords, to whom it was impossible to attend on this evening, were anxious to be present when the principle should be debated, and it was his wish to accommodate them. As that might as well be done on the consideration of the report, or on the third reading, he saw no absolute necessity for pressing it in the present stage of the bill. —The bill was then read a second time, and committed for Monday.—The House then resolved itself into a committee on the Irish Militia Offer Bill.

[IRISH MILITIA OFFER BILL.]—The Bishop of *St. Asaph* observed, that many of the persons coming here as Irish militiamen might be in a situation of great difficulty, concerning which he would express his fears to the noble and learned Lords near him. By an act of the Irish Parliament, Roman Catholics serving in the militia were relieved from the restraints and penalties of the law against the Roman Catholics. But when they should come to this country, would they not be subject to the operation of the act of the 1st of George I.? The restraints and penalties of that act were these: incapacity to be guardians to their own children; to be executors or administrators; to sue in courts of justice; and a penalty of 500l. and imprisonment. Besides this, would they not also be subject to the penalties for not taking the test? Numbers of the privates, and many of the officers in the Irish militia, were Roman Catholics; and these penalties extended to privates as well as officers, by the 1st of Geo. I. It was certainly not right that these persons, who had so gallantly volunteered their services, should be in this unexpected situation; and if he were not mistaken in his idea, some clause ought to be framed to provide an express remedy.

The *Lord Chancellor* complained a little of the suddenness of the objection. He conceived, however, that the plain and necessary construction of the present bill was, that the King being enabled to accept the services of the Irish militia regiments, he must accept them such as they were, with such privileges as the law of Ireland, guaranteed by the Union, had granted them. He therefore conceived that any clause to grant the privileges and exemptions to the Roman Catholics of the Irish militia, when here, would be superfluous.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* thought the objection of the right rev. Prelate most important. He saw a further difficulty: suppose officers in the Irish militia to be raised in rank, were they, on receiving their new commissions, to qualify? With respect to the construction of the bill given by the learned Lord, he felt great doubts.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, what was law could only be determined in the courts of justice, and it was not for him to say how they might decide; but he believed he had given the true construction of the bill.

Lord *Ellenborough* said, if the question was brought before him in the court where he presided, he should determine the construction to be, that the Irish militia coming into this part of the realm, under its authority, would come with all the privileges and exemptions they enjoyed as militia in Ireland. It would be a harsh construction, indeed, to say, that they would be subject to restraints and penalties for an act which, though partly their own deed, yet must eventually be considered as that of the legislature and his Majesty's govt.

Lord *Grenville* said, after what had been said by the learned Lord who spoke last, his mind was perfectly satisfied as to the law on the question; yet he thought it prudent, to allay any fears in the persons concerned, that an express clause should declare it.

The *Lord Chancellor* objected to such a clause; as, in providing for that objection, it would point out many others, if the general words of the law were not themselves a remedy, which such clause would confess to be the case.

Lord *Ellenborough* said, he had drawn up a clause, which he would now suggest, as he might not be present when it should be introduced: this clause provided that the Irish militia should be exempt from all restraints and penalties, in like manner as they were in Ireland.

Lord *Hawkesbury* objected to the introduction of such a clause as unnecessary. But he thought it would be right to adjourn the farther consideration of this subject to a subsequent stage of the bill, when their Lordships might be prepared to decide on the question, which had come rather suddenly upon them.—Some verbal amendments were made in the bill; and the House being resumed, the report was ordered to be received on Monday next.—Adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, April 20.

[Minutes.]—The House met pursuant to adjournment, and proceeded to ballot for a committee to try the merits of the petitions complaining of an undue election and return for the borough of Ilchester.—Mr. Rose moved, that there be laid before the House an account of the produce of all the permanent taxes in the years ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, and the 5th Jan. 1804, distinguishing those which had been imposed previous to the year 1793, and those laid on since; also distinguishing the amount of the duties which had been postponed previous to the 5th of Jan. 1803, and were received in the course of 1803; also the amount of the duties postponed previous to the 5th of Jan. 1804, which had been received in the course of the present year, likewise shewing the diminution of the revenue in payment of corn bounties. Ordered.—Mr. Sec. Yorke moved, that the Lords' amendments to the Volunteer Bill should be taken into consideration on Monday next.—Lord Portchester gave notice that he should, on Friday next, bring forward a motion relative to the orders sent to the settlements in India, for the purpose of detaining French vessels on the occasion of the war.—Mr. Fox also gave notice of a motion for an account of the transports that had been taken up for bringing over the Hanoverian troops, for the same day.—The House went into a committee on the report of the committee for carrying into effect the act for making an inland navigation between Inverness and Fort William, in Scotland. The committee came to a resolution, that a bill should be brought in for making a further provision for making and maintaining the said navigation. The House being resumed, the report was brought up, the resolution agreed to, and a bill ordered accordingly.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice, that in the committee of supply on Monday, he should move a grant for making a provision for that purpose.—Mr. Kinnaird moved, that there be laid before the House an account of the dates of all dispatches sent out by the secret committee of the East India Company, to the different presidencies in India, from the 8th of March, the day of his Majesty's message, till the rupture with France. Ordered.—Mr. Kinnaird gave notice, that on Monday he should move an humble address to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to order to be laid before the House a list of all officers on half pay.

[War in India.]—Mr. *Kinnaird* rose to make a motion for papers, to which, from what had taken place yesterday in another part of the legislature, he did not suppose there would be any objection. The ground on which he rested his motion was, the notoriety of certain facts, and the right the House had to expect official information on a subject of such importance. The object of his motion was to have laid before the House copies of the dispatches which had been sent by his Majesty's govt. to the different presidencies in India, and the commanding officers there, as well as to the governor of the island of St. Helena, on his Majesty's messages of March and May last. The message of the 8th of March had been known at Calcutta so early as the 24th of

June, though no official account had reached it till the 5th of July. On the 5th of June a French frigate arrived with and landed troops at Pondicherry; on the 13th Linois arrived there, but on the 14th a corvette reached him with dispatches, in consequence of which he cut his cables in the night, and escaped. The hon. member then adverted to the different periods at which the different presidencies had been made acquainted with the rupture, and contended, that if the facts he stated could not be controverted, they were a proof of gross and criminal neglect on the part of his Majesty's ministers. As to St. Helena, no dispatches whatever had been sent by govt. to that island, and the first intimation of the rupture was received there in the month of Oct. from an English frigate, which carried a prize thither. He hoped his Majesty's ministers could prove that every necessary precaution had been taken to secure our possessions in that quarter, and that if any misfortune were to be the consequence of the escape of Linois, it would not be attributable to their neglect. The hon. gent. then moved, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, requesting that he would be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before the House copies of all the dispatches sent to the different presidencies in India, and the officers commanding by land and sea there, communicating his Majesty's message of the 8th of March; also, of the dispatches to the same, communicating the rupture with France; also, an account of the dates of the receipts of said dispatches respectively; also, copies of the dispatches to the governor of the island of St. Helena, communicating the message of the 8th of March, and the rupture, with an account of the dates of their receipt.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he had no objection to the production of the papers; if he could feel any, it was only that they did not go far enough. As to the circumstance alluded to by the hon. member, which had taken place in another House, he could assure him that there would have been no objection in that quarter, if the motion had been brought forward after a regular notice. The noble Lord then stated, that distinct and positive dispatches had been sent out by his Majesty's ministers, and by the secret committee at the India House, to the different presidencies, and to the officers commanding in India, both on his Majesty's message in March and May.—The motions were then agreed to.

[ARMY OF RESERVE SUSPENSION BILL.]—Mr. *Secretary Yorke* moved the order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a committee of the whole House on the Army of Reserve Suspension Bill. The order being read, the right hon. gent. said, that when he had the honour of proposing to the House this bill, he was not aware that he should be under the necessity of postponing the consideration of it, as he was now about to propose. The clauses, which he felt it his duty to submit, were not ready this day; and as Wednesday next was understood to be an open day, he should hope the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) would have no objection to this question being postponed until Wednesday next, and the committee of ways and means might be deferred until Friday. He therefore now moved, that the House do, on Wednesday next, resolve itself into the said committee.

Mr. *Pitt* said, he heard this motion with some surprise. An hon. friend of his gave notice, that it was his wish, before the House went into a committee on this bill, to take an opportunity of stating his reasons against the farther progress of this bill at the present time; and it was his wish, instead of suspending the operation of the Army of Reserve Bill, to ingraft upon it a plan for the augmentation and improvement of the regular army. If the right hon. gent. had clauses to propose in the bill, and he was not prepared with them at present, it was a good reason for postponing the committee on the bill, and he would have no objection to that course being taken, supposing the House to be determined that this bill should be committed at all; but the whole argument he had to urge would go to shew, that instead of making any farther progress in this bill for the suspension of the army of reserve, the House ought to consider what could be ingrafted upon it, as a system for the improvement of the regular army: his intention was to have objected to the Speaker's leaving the Chair, and to propose postponing the consideration of this bill for a fortnight, in order to give to himself an opportunity of submitting, and the House of considering, his ideas upon this subject, which he was ready to propose now. There was, therefore, nothing in the right hon. gent.'s postponing his clauses, that should prevent the House discussing the question that the Speaker do leave the Chair; for, if it should be the opinion of the House that the bill was altogether unnecessary, there need be no time allowed to prepare clauses for the farther progress of it. The House might now determine, that, instead of postponing the bill until Wednesday, it should be postponed altogether, in order to give way for another plan in preference to it. Therefore if he agreed to postponing the bill until he thought proper, it should be made Wednesday se'ennight, or fortnight, and that for the express purpose of affording an opportunity of his submitting another plan for the adoption of the House, which was founded on a system of increasing the regular army for our defence, both now and in future, upon a permanent foundation. At the same time, if any ground could be stated to shew it to be in any considerable degree inconvenient to ministers to enter on the investigation of this subject, at this moment, he should not wish to press the matter, to create that inconvenience to govt.; but the House should understand that he was prepared to state his ideas upon this important subject this day. The House was assembled for the purpose of having it discussed now. The clauses alluded to by the right hon. gent. not being ready, could be no reason for the delay. If ministers had any reasons to allege for the delay, he was ready to hear them, and he was disposed to give them any accommodation that was necessary; but the reason hitherto stated, was not any thing on which the House could very consistently act against the taking its sense upon the preliminary objection to the Speaker's leaving the Chair this day, and that course being taken, would accomplish the very object the right hon. gent. had in view; for the debate would most probably continue to an hour that would make a detailed discussion on the clauses impossible; at least, if the progress went so far as the place of the proposed clauses of the right hon. gent. which were not ready, the discussion might be stopped, and postponed to a day on which he thought he might be prepared, than which nothing was easier. He had stated this to the House, that a discussion of this importance should not be unnecessarily delayed; and now, before he proceeded farther, he should wait for the reasons of the right hon. gent.

Mr. *Secretary Yorke* said, that a debate of this importance should not be brought on until the materials were properly prepared. He had already stated why he could not go into the committee on this bill at present, because the amendments he had to propose were not ready. It could not be ascertained how long the debate on the Speaker's leaving the chair might continue; he was, therefore, justified in proposing to postpone the discussion on this bill, and it was essential, if the bill passed at all, that it should pass with all reasonable expedition. It was competent, certainly, to the right hon. gent. to propose postponing this bill for a greater length of time than was now proposed, or to move for putting it off altogether, and it would be open to him on any day, if he gave notice, to propose his plan to the House, and if the House should think that his plan was preferable to this bill, the House might postpone the bill to make way for it. He had now stated his reasons for postponing the bill for the time he mentioned; the right hon. gent. might move an amendment to that motion, and if he did, he should state to the House his reasons for not postponing this bill farther than he had proposed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he should hope the right hon. gent. would not persist in his objection for postponing this bill further than Wednesday next; nor would he be precluded from moving to postpone the bill at any time. An opportunity would be as well afforded to him on the question for the Speaker leaving the chair, as if it were now moved. He might also, on that night, bring forward his plan as well as if he did it now: the right hon. gent. therefore, could not be fettered or embarrassed by acquiescing in the motion now before the House, because, on Wednesday, he could propose a still farther delay. It might be said, that the question of leaving the chair had nothing to do with the clauses that might be proposed in the committee; but although it was not quite regular, yet the practice often was to state the substance of clauses intended to be proposed, before the House went into a committee; and it was often important that the House should be possessed of that information, although somewhat irregular, for it often afforded the House means of judging whether it ought to go into a committee or not: the only question then was, whether the right hon. gent. should state his objections to the bill now, or take the opportunity that would be afforded him of doing so on Wednesday? The right hon. gent. himself acquiesced in the idea, that his plan should not be brought forward until after the discussion on the suspension of the army of reserve had taken place; and he thought it was understood that the right hon. gent. would not bring forward his plan until after the discussion should have taken place on the army of reserve: but be that as it might, he must submit that it was due to the ordinary disposition of the House, that those who have any matters to propose, may be allowed the time they want to prepare what they have to bring forward; and although he could not state the circumstances with strict propriety, yet he could not forbear saying, that several members of the House were apprized of the intention of the right hon. gent. to postpone his motion. He was sure he should have credit for what he said; it was, in point of fact, a truth, that several members of that House, who were not now present, had been impressed with an idea that the House would not proceed on this matter to-day. He contended, that no possible inconvenience could arise from the course proposed by his right hon. friend; for the right hon. gent. would have as full and fair an opportunity on Wednesday, as he had to-day, of bringing forward his proposition: at the same time, he did not think it was worth while to protract the discussion at the present moment; and if it should be the pleasure of the House to proceed on the bill, he hoped that no time would be wasted in preliminary discussions.

Mr. *Fox* said, that the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to think that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke) had expressed some doubt of his being ready to-day; but so far from it, that gent. had postponed the discussion from Wednesday last to this day, on purpose that he might be ready. But if the right hon. Secretary of State felt himself less ready now than he was on Wednesday last, the probability was, that on Wednesday next he would be still less ready, and, therefore, he saw no good reason for the delay proposed.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* stated, that he had said he hoped he should be ready with the clauses on Friday, but, at the same time, he mentioned that one or two of them required a good deal of consideration. He avowed that there was no intention on the part of his Majesty's ministers to deprecate the discussion of the bill, but they merely deprecated going into the committee immediately, because they were not ready with the clauses intended to be proposed.

Mr. *Pitt* said, that one of the reasons which induced him to press the discussion, was a desire to consult the convenience of the House. Another was, his wish to bring forward the discussion on this subject previous to any of the other discussions of which notices had been given. It was with reluctance, therefore, he consented to his amendment; but as he had the strongest desire to accommodate those whose duty it was to bring forward and arrange the public measures, he should not press it in this instance. He must say, however, that he did not yield to arguments. He had no reason for being anxious for this discussion to-day, but to consult the convenience of the House, and the only reason assigned was, that the Army of Reserve Suspension Bill should be discussed before he submitted his proposition to the House; it was with considerable reluctance that he consented to the delay of this discussion upon such a reason: at the same time he felt a strong desire to accommodate persons in the situation in which ministers professed themselves to be, although he was not convinced by their arguments, and to allow them all the advantages they thought they might gain by time, if they thought a fuller attendance was likely to take place on another day; and he saw no symptoms of indifference in that respect at present, the numbers being very considerable. He would not oppose the delay; he must, however, be allowed to remark, that taking it for granted that a subject would not be brought on the day it was appointed, was rather more than gent. were justified in doing. He was prepared to take the sense of the House on this matter; but as gent. on the bench below him said they were not prepared to meet the subject now, if they thought they could, in a few days, be in any respect better able to meet the question—if they had neglected to give any gent. proper precaution to attend, and that by fresh application some gent. who were absent now would attend on Wednesday, or, from any other reason, they should think they would be in a better condition to meet the case than they were at present, he should not oppose the delay; but the subject must be discussed, and he was anxious to submit his plan to the House. But still, however reluctant, he must agree to postpone this matter to accommodate ministers.—The question was then put and carried.

[EXCHEQUER BILLS.]—Mr. Alexander, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought up the report of the Committee of Ways and Means. On the question that the resolutions be read a second time,

Mr. *Johnstone* rose to object to the further issue of Exchequer bills. He considered 24,800,000l. the sum in this form now in the money market, and that it was much too large a sum to answer the purposes of national expedience. At the time the loan will be proposed, the quantity in the market will probably be 25,000,000l. and the effect of this enormous quantity, if continued, must necessarily be greatly to reduce their value. It should be recollected, that last year, when the financial negotiations were commenced, we had only 20 millions in Exchequer bills, and we should pause before we departed from the established maxims of state policy, which had been hitherto regarded with so much advantage. It was the more wise at this time to economise the pecuniary resources, as we might be led into a prodigious expenditure. We may be constrained to call out the volunteer force, and to support, in consequence, the expence of this immense military body. No less a sum than 16 millions is to be raised between the present time and the 5th of April next. Another motive for the preference of a large loan to a small one, to excuse the issue of Exchequer bills, is, that the loyalty loan is to be provided for. If the amount of Exchequer bills were to be so extravagantly increased, we could not rely upon this resource for that and similar emergencies; and next year, if the minister proceeded as he has done, we should have to fund for Exchequer bills, in addition to the periodical loan the necessaries of the state will require. Exchequer bills are now, and have been for the last month at a discount. He wished, that instead of 8 millions in this way, only 3 millions should be issued. It would, perhaps, be said, that the issue of Exchequer bills is not now greater than at some former periods. Looking, however, at the four last budgets, the quantity was never so burthensome as at present in that interval. It was true, that under the former administration, they had been extended to 26 millions; but the impolicy was soon discovered, and, as soon as possible, the diminution was effected. On every view of the case he could not discern any reason why the loan might not in the present instance be increased, and the bills diminished five millions. If there was a plausible objection, it was, that the public had been led to expect the approaching loan should not exceed 16 millions; but he was confident the right hon. gent. would not barter away the substantial interests of the country to avoid disappointing this expectation. He was sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer had the benefit of the state nearest his heart, and would be equally disposed to sacrifice private feeling or popular applause to promote it.

Mr. *Vansittart* agreed in the general principle, that an excessive issue of Exchequer bills would be injurious to the country, but denied that that was the case in the present instance. There were no bills outstanding of an earlier date than April 1803, and, from the quantity discharged, the market required a new issue. Those now outstanding would be materially diminished this year, and as the whole expenditure of the year was to be provided for by the ways and means of the year, without including Exchequer bills, a large amount of them would be paid off in the course of the year, and the quantity in the market, at any period, would never exceed the quantity at any former corresponding period.—A conversation ensued, in which

Mr. *Johnstone* stated, that, from an attentive investigation of the price current, he had found that Exchequer bills had been at a discount of one per cent. from the 1st of Jan. to the present time. Mr. Dent also stated, that they were at a discount. Mr. Vansittart, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that the bills that had been at a discount, were only those that bore an interest of 3d. a day, none of those issued by the present govt. bearing an interest of 3½d. a day, were at a discount.—The resolutions were agreed to, as well as those respecting the pay and clothing of the militia, and the allowance to militia officers; and bills were ordered accordingly.

[Catholics in the Irish Militia.]—Mr. *Dillon* said, he was not aware when he gave his vote in favour of the Irish Militia Offer Bill, that the Roman Catholics in the Irish militia as soon as they came over here would be subject to the penalties of the statute of Geo. I. He wished to know, whether the right hon. gent. opposite had provided any remedy for such Roman Catholic militiamen, against those penalties? If not, he should, on an early day, submit a motion to the House on the subject.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the hon. gent. might have answered his own question. He could not have provided any remedy, but by a legislative measure, of which the hon. gent. would have been aware, if it had been brought forward. He had only to observe, that there was nothing applicable to the Irish militia, which was not equally applicable to the Irish Catholics in the regiments of the line, nor had they any thing more to apprehend.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, April 23.

Counsel were heard in the cause Hunter v. Lord Kinnoul, which was ordered to be proceeded in on Thursday next.—The Irish Linen Manufactory Bill, and several private bills, were brought up from the Commons.—The Irish Militia Augmentation Bill went through a committee, and was ordered to be read a third time to-morrow. The other bills on the table were forwarded in their several stages, and the House adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, April 23.

Minutes.]—Lord Marsham, chairman of the committee on the Middlesex election, reported, that Benjamin Wield, ordered to be taken into custody for disobedience to a summons of the said committee, had appeared before the committee and given his evidence. The said B. Wield was ordered to be brought up to-morrow to be discharged.—Lord H. Petty reported from the Committee on the Ilchester election, that Mr. John Manners was duly elected, and that the petition of Mr. Ogle was frivolous and vexatious.—Mr. Dillon gave notice of his intention, to move, on Monday next, for leave to bring in a bill to exempt Catholics serving in the Irish militia from the pains and penalties of the statute of George the First.—Mr. C. Dundas presented a petition for leave to bring in a bill for defraying the expences of prosecutions out of the county rate in England and Wales. The petition was referred to a committee.—Mr. Corry stated, that a loan of a million and a quarter had been contracted for in Ireland, and gave notice that he should submit a motion with respect to it, in the Committee of Supply on Wednesday.—Mr. Corry brought in a bill for continuing certain acts relating to the duties in Ireland. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow.—On the motion of Mr. Secretary Yorke, the amendments of the Lords on the Volunteer Bill were, according to the precedent on the Militia Bill in 1757, referred to a Select Committee to report thereon to the House, as it should appear to them to be right.—On the motion of Lord Temple, Mr. Windham and Mr. Grenville were added to this committee; as was Lord Temple on the motion of Mr. Secretary Yorke.—Mr. Alexander brought in bills for defraying the charges of the pay, clothing, and allowances of the British and Irish Militia, and raising the sums of 8,000,000l. and 1,500,000l. on Exchequer Bills, which were all read a first time, and ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow.—On the motion of Mr. Secretary Yorke, the House went into a committee on the Militia Officers' Bill. The report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—On the motion of Mr. Sheridan, the consideration of the petition, relating to the right of voting in the borough of Liskeard, was deferred from to-morrow till Thursday.—Mr. Kinnaird moved that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty do give directions, that there be laid before the House a list of all Half-pay Officers, distinguishing the ranks, and stating those that were on the staff, those that were unemployed, and fit for service. Ordered.

[Defence of the Country.]—Mr. *Fox*, in pursuance of the notice he had previously given, rose to make his motion relative to the defence of the country, and addressed the House to the following purport:—I am afraid, Sir, before I proceed to discuss the motion of which I have given notice, I shall find it absolutely necessary to make some preliminary observations, occasioned by what has fallen from time to time in conversation in this House, whenever this subject of the defence of the country has occasionally been touched upon. And, Sir, those preliminary observations appear to me the more necessary, on account of the construction, which members of this House, and others out of it, have been pleased to put on the extraordinary zeal which has appeared, not only in this House, but in every rank and class of society in support of the war. I am, Sir, one of those who highly approve that zeal, and have ever been forward to give it my warmest commendation. Nothing can, in my opinion, be more proper, nor redound more highly to the honour of the country; but, when I see an attempt made to turn that zeal into the course of a fallacious channel, and to argue on it as proceeding from an approbation in those who possess and evince it of the grounds on which the war was originally undertaken, or the manner in which it has since been conducted by his Majesty's ministers, I feel it necessary to enter my protest against any such assumption, and briefly to shew, that such zeal is in no degree connected with those subjects to which it has been attributed. That such a degree of zeal did from the commencement of the war exist is most certain; I am myself a very striking and exemplary proof of it; that is to say, I felt myself, Sir, from the first moment that I saw hostilities could not be avoided, anxious and zealous in the extreme for the defence of the country, which I saw menaced with an immediate and desperate attack, beyond what had ever before been known. But I can appeal to the recollection of the members of this House, and to that of the country at large also, that I by no means approved either the mode of commencing the war, or the manner of carrying it on. I shall, therefore, trouble the House with but very few words indeed on it. Sir, from the first moment the war was actually commenced, it was immediately followed up by the continued cry of instant invasion, and that apprehension has been kept alive with a steadiness and activity which I may say has been almost incessant. Is it possible, then, Sir, under such circumstances, to attribute the zeal which has so eminently and extensively displayed itself amongst all ranks and classes of the people, eager to defend themselves, their properties, and families, against the attacks of so inveterate and formidable an enemy, as we have now to contend with, into an approbation of the war? I say, no, Sir. To what is the war to be attributed? To the fear of the danger we should incur by strictly complying with the terms of the peace. If this be so, Sir, it follows, that the minister who brings us into the greatest danger, will henceforth be entitled to have the most ample share of approbation. The question, as stated by ministers, and conceived as such by the whole country from the commencement of hostilities, was a question involving life, liberty, and existence; as such it was understood; as such it was universally felt; and this feeling, I say, is not attributable to the war, or to the causes which brought it on, but to the actual view the people saw it in, and the consequences which they were almost certain must result from it, more than ever has been the issue of former wars. It may, perhaps, be argued by his Majesty's ministers, that great numbers had voted for the first address, from whom I had the misfortune to differ; but it must be recollected, that on the second agitation of the subject, there was a much greater difference of opinion, and afterwards great numbers wished they had acted otherwise than they had done, when they called to their recollection how ministers had acted; 1st, as to timeing the war; 2dly, as to the cause assigned for it; and 3dly, as to the particular manner in which it was conducted.—These preliminary observations, Sir, I have thought the more necessary, because, when about to make a motion of this kind, and to go into further consideration of the defence of the country, I cannot agree at all with those statements which infer, that the extraordinary zeal of the country, evinced in behalf of every thing that is most dear to it, should be construed to imply an approbation either of timeing the war, or of the mode of conducting it.—With respect to the motion itself, I think it necessary, Sir, in the first place, to clear away the objections that may be made to it. When gent. have been reproached with feeling the "panic of invasion," it may be requisite to notice shortly, what is generally understood by the word panic. I should suppose, Sir, that the word panic applies to those who would run away from, and not those who are desirous to defend any thing; I am therefore desirous not to have it said, that I, and those with whom I have the honour to act, are influenced by the panic of invasion, but that, well aware of the serious consequences which must inevitably result from such an event taking place, we earnestly wish, and are most anxious to put the country in the best possible state of defence. I beg, Sir, that in expressing this wish, we may not be supposed to have acted on light or frivolous grounds, or on any inclination to raise alarm and dread, where none before existed. For when I see and advert to the numerous papers which have been laid on the table on this subject; when I take a view of the measures already adopted by his Majesty's ministers, as well as those with which we are told they are intended to be followed up, I cannot help saying, with Sir Christopher Hatton in the Critic,

> "Oh pardon me, if my conjecture's rash,
> But I surmise——the State——
> Some danger apprehends!"

I must own, Sir, that I think the language held out by some, of a wish to be invaded, is wrong, except with two provisoes; 1st, that our fleet may immediately fall in with them, and instantly convince them of the folly and madness of the attempt; and 2dly, that having eluded the vigilance of our fleets, our state of defence should be such as, that when landed, they should soon be convinced that, as this was the first, so it would be the last time they would ever dare to meet us on our own shores. And I think, Sir, we ought not, by any means to build our hopes, or to form any idea, that because the enemy has not hitherto put his threats in execution, that he has therefore given up his design. Such reasoning would be fallacious in the extreme. If the enemy have duly considered all the various dangers and difficulties attending the enterprize, it is of very little signification at what particular period the attempt may be made; whether it be in the year 3, 4, or 5 of the war; we should only consider, that the longer it is delayed, the more formidable it may prove, and it is our first and most essential duty to be fully prepared to meet it, let it come whenever it may. With the attention that I have been able to give of this subject, I once thought, Sir, that a general view of the defence of the country would be the best; but when I consider that there are so many difficulties attending the subject, the difficulties of the finances of the country, the state of Ireland, and many others of various natures, I have been induced to prefer coming to a motion of a narrower kind. I mean, therefore, Sir, to confine myself to the notice I gave of a particular defence of the country, and that I shall also endeavour to narrow as much as possible, in order to enable gent. to take as clear and perspicuous a view of it as possible. It is not, therefore, my intention, Sir, to take any notice at present of the naval defence of the country. In the next place, Sir, as to the volunteers, considering that the system has been so lately discussed in this House, it will be needless for me to touch on them, except as an incidental subject, and by way of illustrating or strengthening any other.—I come now, Sir, therefore, to the particular ground on which I mean to move, leaving it open to gent. to turn it in their consideration, and to form such opinions on it as to them shall seem best. I mean, Sir, to confine myself to the land defence; and in doing so, I beg leave to observe, that passing by for the moment the volunteers, there are, in my opinion, two great objects to be kept in view, and on which the utmost reliance may ultimately be placed. These are, the regular army on one hand, and an army consisting of labourers, artificers, and peasantry, on the other. Now, Sir, as to the regular army, I have listened with the greatest attention to the arguments used by the right hon. gents. opposite to me, and also to those repeatedly urged with so much zeal and ability by an hon. officer (Colonel Crauford) behind me, between which statements I find there is a difference of, at least, one half. This being the case, I should be glad, Sir, to know what objection his Majesty's ministers can have to let us know the real state of our army? They have frequently favoured us with different statements of so much and so much; but I would wish to have the real state. This cannot, Sir, give any fresh intelligence to the enemy. When we have the number of regiments, and not the number of rank and file, we have only a defective statement. What danger can there possibly be in giving that? At all events, I think such statements will be much better known from papers on the table, than from the partial, mutilated accounts which the House receives from the different statements of ministers, at different periods of time, without any documents by which we can fairly judge of their truth and exactness. With respect to one circumstance, Sir, I own I cannot but feel considerable surprize. I have repeatedly heard it asserted, that, with regard to Ireland, our force there is at this moment as great as it was on the conclusion of the last peace—an assertion which may possibly be true, but which I must own it is somewhat difficult to believe. I speak now, Sir, of the regular force, and in so doing, I must say, that with respect to the regular army in Ireland, I do not mean to confine myself to troops of the line only, but to include the Irish militia, and the British fencible regiments, which, at the conclusion of the last war, amounted in Ireland to 50, or 60,000 men. To them are to be added also the several English militia regiments, at that time in Ireland; and when this is done with care and accuracy, we may perhaps come to something like a certainty on these points, but not otherwise. As to what relates to the artillery, it is not the number of guns alone, but of drivers, horses, carriages, ammunition, &c. which should be fairly and accurately stated, in order to enable us to form any thing like a competent judgment on the subject. I think, also, Sir, that with respect to G. Britain, the statement of his Majesty's ministers, that our forces are greater than at the conclusion of the war, are by no means more accurate than those statements they have given us respecting Ireland. But I have been told, Sir, that if I had had my way, and my advice had been adopted, we should have had still a less force than we now have. This, Sir, is stating the question comparatively between a state of war and a state of peace, which certainly stand on very different grounds; and I appeal to the recollection and candour of the House whether, on every occasion in which I recommended a low establishment, I did not expressly confine it to a supposition of the continuance of peace; and that I never could have done so, had I conceived or had it in contemplation that his Majesty's ministers intended so soon to renew or re-commence a war. My opinion has, at all times, invariably been in favour of a large regular army, in time of war; but peculiarly so, where we had to begin with so extreme and pushing a necessity, for the defence of the country. No man, Sir, can have a higher or more favourable opinion than I entertain of a militia, considered as a constitutional defence. I know also that the discipline of the militia is carried to a degree of excellence far beyond what it has ever been in former times; but with all that can be said of that brave and respectable body of men, no man can say that the militia is equal to regular troops; it is impossible to conceive that those who have not seen service can be equal to those who have repeatedly been in action.—Having thus slightly touched on this subject, Sir, I will now proceed to observe on what has been our progress in recruiting. We have been told that it has gone on as well, notwithstanding the various measures which have been adopted by ministers, as it used to do in former periods. I must here, Sir, beg the House to recollect, that different times afford proportionate differences in recruiting. It cannot be doubted, that every contraction and difficulty thrown in the way of our manufactures and commerce, must facilitate the recruiting service, so long as such contraction and difficulties exist. Now, Sir, however strong this favourite theory of the day may influence the minds of ministers on the subject, I have no hesitation in saying, that in point of practice, it is not so easy to get a man to enlist for life for 10l. as it is to obtain one for 50l. to enlist for a limited service. And I will maintain, Sir, that it is an incredible and extravagant proposition to say that the recruiting service has not been injured. And though I should be inclined to admit, by way of argument, that we have actually gained in the course of this year, yet I insist, at the same time, that we should have done so in a much greater degree, had it not been for the bounties which have been given with so lavish a hand. I am not arguing this subject now, Sir, by way of inquiry; but when ministers declare their intention of suspending the army of reserve, I cannot avoid pointing out to them that, for fear they should succeed, they are taking the utmost possible care and pains to meet themselves in their own market. There is, however, one measure, Sir, which I will venture to recommend, and that is, to leave off the monstrous custom of particularly distinguishing this country from all the rest of Europe in military economy, by enlisting men for life. What shall we say, if we are told, that those who have the greatest military powers on foot, that those who have the greatest demand for military forces, and who govern countries where every thing gives way to the army, the men are enlisted only for a limited time? but in this country, whose pride and boast for centuries have been that of enjoying the greatest freedom of any nation under the sun, your soldiers must be slaves for life. Now, Sir, it is not from my own opinion and feelings alone that I venture to speak so decisively on this subject; but I am convinced of the propriety of it from the authority of officers of the highest character and respectability, not in our own army only, but in those of almost every other military power in Europe who have either spoken or written on the subject. If, however, Sir, I went on that principle only, I would not, at such a crisis, venture to recommend an alteration. But this, Sir, I say, is not only what ought to be done, but what ought particularly to be done at this time. In support of this doctrine, Sir, I beg leave to mention a single fact, which is well known to have happened within the last 12 months. A whole regiment of the proposed army of reserve would have enlisted into the regular army, if it had been for a limited service; and as it is at present, very few indeed have been prevailed on to do so with all the influence that could be exerted. This is not mere theory; it is reasoning that is almost self-evident. Who is it that does not know the effect produced among the lower orders of the people when any of their own class enlists into the army? they consider him as lost to the community for ever. If a son enlists into the regular army, his disconsolate parents consider him as in a manner annihilated, and the wretched father has frequently been known to distress himself, and the rest of his family, to hoard and scrape together a sum that may be sufficient to buy him off.—Now, Sir, let us take it in another point of view. Let us consider the time of life when this is generally done. By the established law of this country, and a most wise law it is, no man or woman is allowed to be capable of entering into any contract for the disposal of their property, or of their persons in marriage, till they arrive at a certain age, and that age is in all cases fixed, at the period of arriving at man's estate, at 21 years. Yet, in the particular case of enlisting for a soldier, when it is perhaps the result of momentary passion, or folly, or the effect of intoxication, a poor, ignorant, unfortunate lad of 16 or 17, is allowed to enter into a contract which is to bind him for life to a state in which he is liable to be sent from his friends and country to any part of the world. If, therefore, this evil could, Sir, be, to a certain degree, alleviated, it must undoubtedly very much contribute to increase the satisfaction and happiness of the lower orders of the people; and such persons as tradesmen and farmers, far from looking on their sons as they now do, lost to them for ever, would, on the contrary, part from them with a certain degree of satisfaction, in hopes of seeing them return, in the course of a few years, improved in their manners and demeanour, and with a superior knowledge of men and things, which might render them more fitted for the very purposes to which it was his original intention to bring them up. In answer to this, it may perhaps be urged, that if the soldiers who compose the regular army were enlisted for a certain time only, those who had it in their power would all quit at once, and so we might be left without an army at all. But this I take to be an assumption by no means warranted in the nature of the case. On the contrary, I believe it has been pretty clearly proved by experience, that those who are really the best soldiers become so from a decided liking to the service, and having been so long initiated in, and enured to, habits which they have imbibed by degrees, and grown partial to from age, are the most likely, when their time is out, to re-enter either into their own or some other regiment they may have private reasons for preferring. What! it will be asked, without any additional reward?—Certainly not. They will expect and be entitled to an increase of pay, or a new bounty, which is the first principle of recruiting the army. This mode of increasing our regular force, when added to the other, the taking away the competition produced by the army of reserve, &c. cannot fail to produce advantages which may be almost said to be incalculable.—The next circumstance, Sir, which I wish to advert to, as having greatly retarded and injured our recruiting for the regular army, is the pernicious consequence of raising men for rank. This being a custom which has long prevailed, will require great steadiness and perseverance to prevent it. How far it is even to be regulated, I will not pretend to say; and I beg leave to observe, Mr. Speaker, that I am not now mentioning this as a peremptory measure, but only as a desirable measure, which I heartily wish should be attended to. I wish the House to go into a committee, in order to see what may be done towards increasing considerably our regular army, and to ascertain how far and in what proportion the competitions which have existed have retarded and injured the same.—Now, Sir, having stated this on the subject of the regular army, I shall proceed to the other more general and extensive armament, the volunteers. In doing this, Sir, it is not my intention to go into the question of how far the first formation of the volunteers was political; how far it was right to encourage them to so great an extent; how far it was then either right or consistent to repress their ardour, and discourage their zeal; how far it was politic to give such extensive exemptions, when no exemptions at all were looked for, and then to dispute, inch by inch, every privilege that had been granted them. The zeal of the volunteers certainly stands on very high and advantageous grounds; and it cannot be denied, that having the volunteers, we have obtained a very large, and, it may be hoped, what will in time turn out a very efficient force: they are meant undoubtedly to act with the regulars; and if they are, in any great proportion employed, must prove a most material weapon. Still, Sir, we must not neglect the next material weapon which the nature of the country has put into our hands; I mean an armed peasantry. I own, Sir, that if these were meant to fight in battalion, they would not be so truly efficient as volunteers; but I beg leave to be understood, that I am not technically speaking of an army. An army, however efficient, is not the only power, in a country like this, which ought to be looked to: there is a general force besides, which is equally, or perhaps more formidable to an invading enemy, which would be continually throwing itself in their way, and harassing and distressing them at every turn and on every occasion; sometimes when least expected, and always with great advantage to themselves. I have been told, Sir, that I want to substitute an armed peasantry in the place of the volunteers. Sir, I would have the volunteers come to the trial; but still I would also get the others. I should never have done, Sir, were I to state all the advantages resulting from such a body of men, and will therefore content myself with citing only a few. In the first place, the enormous expence of the volunteer corps may tend in time greatly to diminish them. What then will become of the state, should a great proportion of the volunteers be disbanded or dissolved? In possessing an armed peasantry, you have a formidable force ready on all occasions to act in aid of a regular army. Who is it, Sir, that has not heard or read of the almost innumerable advantages attendant on having persons ready and willing and able to fight on the spot, or in the neighbourhood of those places in which they have been used to live, who are perfectly and accurately acquainted with the topography of the country, which must give them a power almost incalculable, from their being able to take advantage of every rising ground, and its adjoining valley, to fall upon a retreat from the enemy, as circumstances and occasions may require, to his almost certain defeat and discomfiture, as he will never be free from their repeated and continued attacks? I freely confess, Sir, I see more advantages in this, as a permanent rather than a temporary system, which war may and certainly will give birth to, but which being once fairly raised and trained, may remain for ever as a strong bulwark and invincible defence of the country. I say, therefore, arm the people, but do not put an end to the service, which we may purchase at a trifling expence of money and of time, both in war and peace. It would become in a very short time an amusement instead of a toil, and each man in a parish would pride himself in being thus considered as the intrepid guardian and protector of his own family and rights, as well as those of his neighbours, so that the whole country would soon become linked in a band of patriotic affection, which all the foreign foes in the world would never be able to sever or cut asunder.—Now, Sir, I will consider it with a view to the volunteers: if such a system as this had been adopted 20 years ago, the volunteer service would have been far more advanced. If you look to the volunteers alone, it ought to be for a mass of the country, who have been properly trained to and perfectly know the use of arms. This, Sir, I am clear in, that the more you trust and place confidence in the people of this country, the better you will find their behaviour. If we had a number of armed persons in every part of the country, we could quell every insurrection without the interference of the military to settle civil feuds. It is not, however, to times of peace that I am to allude, but rather to the time of war. I do not think that I am quite wrong when I say, suppose an enemy to land in this country, and his warfare to go on, I must not shut my eyes to the possibility of an English army being defeated, for such possibilities do exist in the fate of war. Will any man say, that if a report of the English army being defeated be circulated through the country, it is a matter of indifference whether we be armed or not throughout the whole kingdom? Even after any partial success of the enemy, it could not be in their power to procure provisions, or any other accommodation, without sending a detachment of their army to force it, and such detachments might be successfully opposed, and even their victories, in the end, might prove their ruin. Let us now take another view of the case, and suppose that the British army had gained an advantage, but had not put the enemy to a total rout, will any man say, that if an army be forced to fly in different directions, the rallying of that army will not be rendered exceedingly difficult by means of an armed peasantry?—I shall now proceed to take a view of what has actually been done by ministers to provide for the defence of the country; and, first of all, with regard to the Defence Act, passed last session: I wish to make a few observations on the unlimited assertion of his Majesty's prerogative. I attach to myself some blame in having participated in agreeing with such an assertion. It certainly is impossible for the members of this House to watch every word and sentence of every bill that is brought in; and, therefore, the particular authors of each bill are looked to as more peculiarly responsible for glaring errors. I believe that 99 acts out of 100 pass without being critically and carefully examined, as they ought to be, by the members of the House, consistent with their strict and rigid duty. But, it is in a particular way the duty of ministers, that no bill be suffered to assert any false or dangerous doctrine, in the persuasion that it may pass unobserved in the hurry of legislation. In July, 1803, the alarm of invasion was so imminent, according to ministers, that the Defence Bill must be passed by acclamation; and the zeal of the country being aroused to meet the invasion, which was to take place in Aug. no time was to be lost in weighing and judging of the bill. Accordingly, I find we overlooked a most serious declaration in the preamble of the bill, and which, certainly, if I had seen, I should have exerted the utmost efforts of my mind to have corrected, namely, "that the King has a right to command all his liege subjects to take up arms, &c." a doctrine which, to be admitted as true, ought to have been qualified and defined. It may be said, that his Majesty has the right to do justice, but he is to do justice according to law. And so is the prerogative of calling forth his people in arms. It must undoubtedly be said of any community, that they must possess the means of preserving themselves; and that, on the principle of the salus populi suprema lex, the power of calling forth the physical strength of the community must reside in it; and that the King, as the head, represents this community, and is the organ of its will. But this species of reasoning would justify the arbitrary assertions; and all such reasoning the spirit of our constitution utterly reprobates. The rights which our Sovereign possesses are defined as well as limited: and this has been most sensibly as well as ably stated by a great judge, who, speaking of this sort of abstract right, made use of these words: "for I freely declare, that ancient precedents, unless supported by modern usage, in cases of prerogative, have little weight with me." Nothing can be more true than these words of the learned Mr. Justice Foster; and nothing can be more applicable to this strange assertion in the preamble of this act. No such right can be claimed by the King; no such right, however it may have been part of the undefined prerogative in ancient times, can be exercised after the words of the statute in the 25th of Ed. III. A statute made in an epoch which I respect, because the statutes of that period were marked by their wisdom, and by the principles of sound legislation. In a statute of that year it is expressly declared, "no person shall be liable to serve but such as are bound by their tenures." If, indeed, there were such a prerogative, it would be impracticable. The constitution has wisely planted an inseparable check over the abuse, and, thank God! not one of the ancient undefined prerogatives can be exercised against the liberties of the people. To what an extent, and to what complete overthrow of every thing for which our ancestors have successfully contended, would this right go? Money has been, perhaps by a strained metaphor, called the sinews of war. If his Majesty has the right of commanding the military service of his subjects, he must also be supposed to have the right of maintaining them; and so the power of the purse would be taken out of the hands of the representatives of the people. I state this only to shew how improper and unjustifiable it is to introduce such an expression into a bill, and how negligent it is to let it pass. And it is not in the preamble of this act only that we see a dangerous door opened to abuse.—Let us look, then, at the enactments of the General Defence Act, respecting this prerogative, which is asserted to be inherent in his Majesty. It states, that in the event of invasion, or the appearance of the enemy in force upon the coast, it shall be lawful for his Majesty to call out the persons who are enrolled under this act in the different counties; that it shall be lawful to call them out in such proportion as shall seem meet; to place them in any regiment of regulars, militia, or fencibles; to put them under martial law, and march them to any part of the coast, &c. This act, therefore, without any limit or qualification of rank, age, or station, empowers the King to compel any individual, however unfit for military service, to serve in the ranks exactly on the footing of enlisted soldiers, to be subject to all the severities of military duty and of martial law. If this really be the prerogative of his Majesty, it is one which cannot be contemplated without anxiety. Not to suppose the existence of great and violent abuse, it is sufficient to know, that such power is liable to abuse; and no man, with the sentiments of freedom, and the confidence of independence, can feel perfectly easy to think, that to a law so unmitigated and so unqualified he may be subject. Is it possible to reflect on such a power, without seeing how it may be abused and perverted? It may be an extreme case, indeed, to state, that its sweeping provisions give authority to the King to take the Prince of Wales, place him under the command of his footman, and march him in that inferior capacity against the enemy. I know that such a case is impossible, but it illustrates the boundless authority which the act confers, and which, in many instances, it is quite easy to conceive might be exercised. Might not a tradesman or a farmer be hurried away from his family and occupations, and placed under the command of a corporal or serjeant, their own servants? Persons of every situation may be pitched upon by malice or by revenge, and sent to perform military service, for which they are unfit. I see that such a scheme of things does lie open to abuse, and the monstrous abuse and injustice with which the execution of it would be attended, must have prevented the attempt to carry it into effect at all. I do not understand exactly the mode in which these provisions are to be reduced to practice. If the quota of men to be furnished by a parish was to be fixed by ballot, the inconvenience might frequently be very great, even where a sense of abuse did not aggravate the case. The ballot might, without any distinction of rank, age, or circumstances, compel any man to serve in person. In truth, a principle more inconsistent with that sound and rational equality, which all laws and all human institutions ought to aim at in the imposition of burdens, never was devised. In practice it must be productive of extreme inequality, hardship, and grievance. From a true equality the principles of subordination flow; but, in the operation of such measures as this, all distinctions are annihilated, and every thing is levelled under the discretion of the crown. Indeed, ministers themselves, on some occasions, have acknowledged enough to shew that they were themselves convinced that the General Defence Act could not be carried into practice. It was said by one of them, that the Defence Act would have "given way;" and so it must, for such extravagant powers could not have been exercised without an abuse that would have proved fatal to the measure. But still ministers contended it had been of use, as it backed the volunteer system. What? Was it then thought necessary to goad the people of this country forward in the defence of their houses, their property, and their liberties, by the terror of these severe provisions? I am certain that the spirit of the nation required no such spur. Why such bugbears then? Why thus compel the volunteers on, like a front rank by the bayonet of that behind it? But, in truth, what was this bugbear? Ministers admit that this act might have "given way!" What was the value of this threat, this stimulus of the General Defence Act, which had its use? At any rate, if the people wanted a spur, as they do not, would you employ a menace, which, in fact, had in it nothing that could really alarm? At least you ought not to threaten what you cannot enforce. I remember an anecdote of one of your predecessors, Sir, who is allowed to have maintained the dignity and authority of the chair in a manner superior to all those who went before him, however he may have yielded to those who have come after him. It was a custom with that person (Mr. Speaker Onslow), when any member was guilty of any irregularity, to cry, "take care, Sir, or I'll name you." And, on one occasion, a member, not much frightened by the threat, asked coolly, "and suppose you do name me, what will be the consequence?" "The consequence!" replied the Speaker, "God only knows!" Now, in the same manner, ministers have thought it convenient to keep up the terror of the General Defence Act, in order to stimulate the volunteers; yet they are sensible, that the menace would fail them, and that if they were to be asked, what would be the consequence of their threat, their answer would be, "God only knows!" for no man could think of putting in practice a measure so pregnant with oppression and injustice. In the volunteer bill, which was lately so much the subject of discussion in the House, it was argued to be unjust that a farmer should, against his will, be deprived of the labour of his servant; and this provision, I understand, has been altered in the other House. But indeed it was of little consequence to talk of the hardship of the farmer being deprived of his servant, if he himself was liable to be taken, and sent to serve in the army or militia, in Cornwall or Northumberland, or any other place the most remote from his abode. But, in truth, the very atrocity of the fact made it impossible to put it into execution; so that, in reality, it was as little calculated to be useful, as it was altogether unnecessary as a stimulus to the zeal and to the patriotism of the country.—Having seen, therefore, that the General Defence Act was neither necessary in terrorem, and could be of no avail as a bugbear, what practical good was it calculated to afford in strengthening our means of repelling invasion? I have repeatedly stated in this House, that I conceived it desirable that, in addition to our other means of defence, we should have an armed peasantry. Ministers themselves go so far as to say, that an armed peasantry may be of use to back the volunteers, as the latter will be of service to back the regular army. They have never, however, proposed any rational practical means by which this advantage can be obtained. Let us, therefore, go into the committee, and discuss the subject. Let us there try if we cannot devise some mode of strengthening and confirming whatever is well conceived in the present system of defence, by that which all consider useful and important, though in different degrees. Let us there discuss how the peasantry are to be called out, armed and arrayed. Let us discuss how, in case of emergency, they are to be employed; how far, if fire arms cannot be found, pikes may not with advantage be put into their hands, and whether it may be necessary to place them under martial law; or by what other code they may be rendered subject to discipline. These are fit objects for discussion in the committee, and there alone, indeed, can they be discussed with advantage. There, too, we may revise, amend, and improve the different measures that have already been passed for the public defence; there we may correct their errors, remove their contradictions, and increase their effect. I have already hinted the general importance of calling forth the exertions of an armed peasantry, and in this, even they who think more highly of the volunteers, will perfectly concur, because the armed peasantry is not intended to supersede the volunteers. As to a detailed plan on this head, I do not propose to trouble the House with any at present. Neither am I prepared to say how far this service should be voluntary or compulsory. That the voluntary zeal of the country would supply every thing that could be desired, I am perfectly convinced. At the same time, if it should be thought necessary to make the service in some degree compulsory, I will not say that it might not be proper to make some provision for it. Nevertheless, the means of calling forth that aid must be freed from that injustice and inequality to which the General Defence Act would now be liable. How, likewise, is this force to be armed? And if muskets cannot be furnished to all, surely those who are most inclined to despise the pike, must admit that the pike is a much better weapon than the spade or pitchfork, with which alone the peasantry are now armed, even were they so arrayed and organized as to be capable of being employed with effect. These, however, and many other questions which are naturally connected with the subject, and which will, no doubt, be more particularly insisted upon this evening, will be proper for the consideration of the committee, which it is the purpose of my motion to institute. I shall therefore conclude with moving, "That it be referred to a committee of the whole House to revise the several bills for the Defence of the Country, and to consider of such further measures as may be necessary to make that defence more complete and permanent."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer.*—Sir, I am induced to offer myself to your notice at this moment, rather than at a more advanced period of the debate, for the purpose of combating the arguments which the hon. gent. has urged at considerable length, in support of one of the most extraordinary motions that, within my parliamentary experience, has ever been submitted to the consideration of this House. I have another inducement, also, arising from some incidental circumstances in the speech you have just heard, for trespassing, at this early hour, upon the attention of the House. The hon. gent. has alluded to the zeal and unanimity which at present pervades all ranks and classes of society; but his approbation is qualified by the observation, that it is a zeal and unanimity solely to be attributed to the fear of invasion, inferring thereby, that his Majesty's ministers, neither by their measures, nor their conduct, have conduced either to excite or maintain it. The hon. gent. has adverted to some discussions which took place at the commencement of the war; but it must be in the recollection of gent. that the observations which fell from him on one of those occasions, drew forth the reprehension of the House; on another question, I had the benefit of that hon. gent.'s support. When a motion was made, the tendency of which was to condemn me and my colleagues for engaging in the war, that hon. gent. refused to support it. By his vote on that question, he did, in the fullest and most unqualified manner, absolve and acquit us entirely from the guilt of having commenced that war. But, Sir, we do not depend for our justification on the accidental approbation of that hon. gent., great as the effect of his approbation might be. We build it on much more solid and extended grounds, the almost unanimous vote of this House, by which it has been sanctioned and confirmed. I come now to the hon. gent.'s present motion, certainly one of the most extraordinary that has ever been brought before this House, for which there is no precedent in the parliamentary history of this country, to which there is nothing analogous in the parliamentary usages of the country, and which I am well justified in describing as a measure most uncommon and extraordinary, when coupled with the strange and singular matter which the hon. gent. has contrived to mix with it. The object of his motion is to appoint a committee to revise the acts that have been passed for the defence of the country, and to consider of, and provide adequate means for, the protection of it in future. Sir, there is no man in this House who more highly values the privileges of Parliament than I do; there is no man in the House who will be more ready to assert and maintain them. I know, that by the constitution it is invested, and it is fitting it should be, with very great and extensive powers; and I will not deny its right to institute a committee for the purposes that are proposed. But, Sir, while I admit the power of the House to do this, I think I may safely apply to the discretion of gent. that they will not, by supporting the motion, countenance the establishment of a committee, which, in its proceedings and result, must terminate and become, to all intents and purposes, a committee of a purely military nature. Such a committee would be rather a novel and uncommon mode of manifesting either the authority or the prudence of this House, and one to which, I am persuaded, it will not easily recur, except upon much stronger grounds than the hon. gent. has brought forward in support of his motion of this night. There is something peculiar also in the matter of the hon. gent.'s motion. For reasons peculiar to himself, no doubt, but which the House will have little difficulty in guessing at, he has totally omitted all mention or allusion whatever to the navy, and has wholly excluded from his consideration the 400,000 volunteers, composing so essential a part of our means of defence. But this peculiarity is not to be exclusively appropriated to the purport of his motion, or the various details that it is intended to embrace. He has so worded it, as to take in all descriptions of persons in this House, with all their floating and contradictory opinions; one man objecting to too great an extension of one part of our force, another lamenting any attempt at its diminution; some recommending a greater and some a lesser addition to the regular army, and others, who differ as to that particular species of naval force we should employ; some preferring a large number of small vessels, and some a small number of large vessels; all, all these, the hon. gent. has found means to gratify, in their individual caprices and opinions, and to include them within the compass of this sweeping and general motion.—I come now to another part of the hon. gent.'s argument, in which he has said that he did not attach much credit to the apprehension of invasion. The hon. gent. as I stated before, has been pleased to declare that the present unanimity arose entirely from the actual danger of the country. I know not by what dexterity of argument the hon. gent. will be able to reconcile those two observations, that, as he says, there is no danger of invasion, and again, that our unanimity is entirely owing to it. Nor am I very solicitous on that head, when I recollect, that during the last war, that hon. gent. continually asserted, that it was the injustice of that war which prevented us from being unanimous then. During that war, I believe it cannot be imputed to that hon. gent. that he ever came forward with any proposition to avert any danger with which the country might have been menaced, nor during the actual hostility, has he ever favoured his Majesty's ministers with any project or suggestion of his, or given them, in any way whatever, the advantage of his great talents. Indeed, the hon. gent. has said, that if ministers had frankly communicated to him that they were really apprehensive of danger, he would have concurred in any augmentation to the public force they might have thought necessary for the public defence. But, Sir, was it necessary that this should have been made the subject of particular and specific communication to him, or to any thinking man in this country? Is it possible that hon. gent. could have shut his eyes, and closed up his enlightened mind against the active, unceasing, and immoderate ambition of France, stimulated and invited to the exertion of that ambition, and possessing the means of gratifying it, in the possession of so many hundred leagues of sea coast, extending almost from the Texel to the Adriatic? —In the course of the hon. gent's. speech he has frequently adverted, but with a partiality which I have reason to complain of, to the declarations of ministers respecting the probable duration of the peace of Amiens. Sir, we never did pledge ourselves for the continuance of that peace. On the contrary, we always thought, and omitted no opportunity of declaring so, that the best security for the continuance of peace, was to impress France, and not only France, but all Europe, with a conviction that our strength, our spirit, and our means, were whole and inexhausted; and that although we were willing to adhere to the peace we had made, we were ready for war, whenever insult or aggression, on the part of any power, should compel us to it. It was, Sir, from these motives, that our peace-establishment so greatly exceeded the peace-establishment of 1792, an augmentation which brought down on us the censure of the hon. gent.—I come now to the hon. gent.'s motion, narrowed and restricted to a degree inconsistent with his usual candour, and unworthy of his great mind. He has directed his observations principally to the regular and militia force, omitting the navy and volunteers, and has recommended, with his accustomed zeal and perseverance, the adoption of his favourite project of adding an armed peasantry. He has chiefly relied upon two points for the appointment of this committee, from which he affects to suppose, that so many advantages may be derived; one is, that the pernicious principle of recruiting by competition may be abolished in it, and next, that the extent of service may be altered from life to term of years. I trust I shall be able to prove, to the satisfaction of the House, that it would not be justified, that it would not be prudent nor advisable in it, to proceed to the formation of such a committee, upon such slight and insufficient reasons as have been mentioned. My noble friend who sits near me (Lord Castlereagh) has stated, from authentic documents, that although the recruiting for general service was not so great at present as it was on former occasions, yet that it was as great as circumstances gave us any right to expect. When, gent. Sir, are informed, that the persons who are entrusted with his Majesty's govt. were compelled to collect and take out of your population no less than

200,000 men for the purpose of recruiting your army and your navy. and that within the space of little more than 12 months, they will cease to express any surprise that the recruiting service should have experienced a momentary cessation; when I declare to this House, on the part of that govt. that there is at present a regular force, in this country and in Ireland, composed of troops of the line and militia, of no less than 184,000, I trust it will be acknowledged that his Majesty's ministers have not been remiss or improvident in making adequate preparations for the defence of the country. When gent. reflect upon the difficulties we had to encounter, that we had the militia to raise, that we had the army of the line to recruit, that we had the army of reserve to establish, that we had the defence act to prepare, and that we have a regular army, line and militia of 184,000, that we have 400,000 volunteers, that we have 27,000 sea fencibles, independent of troops in other points, in garrisons, and in colonies, making in the whole a force little short of 800,000, and greater in number by 200,000 than the greatest exertion of the enemy can bring forward? I say, Sir, when such difficulties and such successes are weighed against each other, I trust the House and the country will admit that we are not that incapable and incompetent description of men the hon. mover of the question before you endeavours to represent us. This, Sir, could be proved by documents the most authentic and irrefragable; and though for many reasons which will be obvious to gent. I feel strong objection to the production of such information, yet I will consent to give those gent. who make the want of it a ground of complaint and accusation against ministers, an account of the military and naval force of the country as it actually is, but upon the express condition that they do not ask for the distribution of it. I am persuaded, Sir, that if such an account were laid on the table, it would be the best, I will go farther, and say, it would be a decisive answer to the best argument the hon. gent. has urged in support of his motion.—The hon. gent. has gone at considerable length into the consideration of that principle expressed in the defence act, that it is his Majesty's prerogative to call upon the services of all ranks of his subjects capable of bearing arms, in case of invasion. Sir, in discussing that bill, that principle was frequently alluded to in debate, but never opposed; for it was admitted, generally admitted, that his Majesty possessed such a prerogative in case of invasion, and the only question was, I well remember, whether he could not resort to it before invasion. The hon. gent. affects to acquit ministers of any blame in introducing the assertion of that particular prerogative into that bill, by presuming that in their anxiety to prepare for the defence of the country, a solitary instance of recognizing it might have escaped their observation. Sir, I desire that principle may be thoroughly examined and enquired into; I desire that it be not taken, pro admisso, but that it may stand on its fair and general constitutional grounds.—With respect to the hon. gent.'s motion, I am to look for other motives, than those he has thought prudent to avow, for proposing it. I am to seek for other reasons for a motion peculiarly calculated to collect all the floating opinions of the House, and to create such an opposition to his Majesty's ministers as would tend to produce a change of administration. If that be the object of the hon. gent.'s motion, let him state so, broadly and unequivocally; let him produce some specific accusation; let him bring forward some direct, explicit charge, and let him take the sense of the House on it; but let him not bring it forward in this covert and underhand mode, and by a detour endeavour to stigmatize those he has not the courage to accuse boldly and manfully. Let not the hon. gent. I say, have recourse to a paltry expedient of this nature, it is unworthy of him. If we are fairly attacked, if we are accused upon specific grounds, we are ready and willing to meet the charge, and we shall find, I trust, no difficulty in defending and justifying ourselves upon fair, open, and constitutional principles. To the motion of the hon. gent. I feel the strongest objections, and I am bound to resist it upon every consideration of prudence and of public policy. I call upon every member of this House to look at the state of the country, and to say, whether such a committee is practicable or adviseable? To accomplish all the objects proposed by it, you must bring officers from their duty, with great inconvenience to the public service, and, possibly with greater danger to the public safety; you must collect documents and information from various quarters; you must have all the records and accounts, the plans and the proposals that are possessed, or have been submitted to the different departments, laid on that table, and examined, and, what is no trivial objection, made public, before you can come to a right, or indeed to any conclusion, as to whether the naval and military force of the country has been properly employed and administered. I do not mean to say, that a great state necessity may not justify the appointment of such a committee; but I leave it to the wisdom of the House to determine, if any proofs of such necessity have been advanced in support of the present dangerous and extraordinary measure. And I must say, that the arguments in support of the motion are too feeble, impotent, and insignificant to justify so important and delicate a proceeding. I entertain a perfect confidence, therefore, that in opposing the motion, I shall have the concurrence of a large majority of the House. I say a large majority of the House, for I cannot suppose, that they will be so indifferent to the order and dignity of their own proceedings as to be misled by such statements into a measure, so unprecedented and dangerous as the motion the hon. gent. proposes. I therefore feel it my duty to give it a decided negative.

Mr. *Pitt.*—I cannot agree, Sir, with the right hon. gent. who has just spoken, in the description of the motion which is now before the House. It is a motion, in my view of it, which is neither calculated to embrace opinions hostile to govt. nor to any ministers whatever, nor to embrace opinions that may have been entertained on small and minute points, and thereby produce a general concurrence against ministers to criticize upon their conduct, when such members might have but small and minute differences in their opinions as to the detail of a system to which they generally assent; but it is a motion calculated to embrace all those who consider that such a measure ought to be adopted and substituted for that which they consider to be inadequate for our defence, and to call the attention of those who are disposed to take a grave and radical review of our public affairs—a review of all the resources which govt. have brought forward; who think that no part of our defence is adequate to what we ought to expect—all those who are convinced, by experience, that after 12 months have been given to these gent. to exhaust all the resources of their minds, to amend, and what they have thought, to improve from the suggestion of others; all those who are convinced upon mature reflection, that from the present ministers, or under them, nothing is likely to originate to give to this country any fair chance of having what is due to its own zeal and its own exertion, at the most important and the most critical period that ever existed in its history, which he embraced by the present motion; and I confess I am one of those who look at this subject in that point of view, and I am inclined to support this motion on almost all the grounds which the hon. gent. urged who moved it. I feel it my duty to my sovereign and to my country, to do so, not only on all the reasons which that hon. gent. has urged in support of it, but also for many which he omitted to state, and which I shall slightly touch upon. But the right hon. gent. who spoke last, with all his recollection of the records of parliament, and with all the force of his imagination, which he indulged to supply his recollection, has only proved that he knew of no motion like the present; and also by the same authority, which is himself, that when circumstances are extraordinary, the measures to provide for them are likewise extraordinary; and I think we may add, that whatever extraordinary measures may be adopted, the present crisis which requires them is also extraordinary; and this the right hon. gent. appears to be surprized at, as if it were extraordinary to propose a committee of this House, to consider of the means for providing for the defence of the country; as if it were extraordinary, that after 12 months of the war, preceded by a peace which, by the confession of ministers themselves, was a mere notice of that war, and a war in which they themselves have been exhausted in their skill; and yet in the course of the last 12 months, they have brought forward nothing in which there has not been a variety of contradictions in the plans, repugnancies in the measures, and imbecility in the execution. Nothing in which every step has not been marked by unnecessary delay; and at last the measures adopted amounting almost to a retraction of the principle upon which it was founded. I should say it is extraordinary indeed, if after having such and so many melancholy proofs that ministers themselves, after repeated trials, have proved what is to be expected from them, by what they have produced, if this House did not inquire into this important subject, in the hope of being able to devise some better means for the defence of the country than any which they have brought forward for that purpose; a course in which, if they are permitted to go on, there can be no hope of safety to this country. Such has been the mode in which they have managed the important charge of defending the country! I feel that I am compelled to make this strong and explicit declaration of my sentiments. I do consider the measure for the increase of the regular army as a measure for which ministers are unable to provide; for it is only a few nights ago, since we had the confession of ministers themselves, that the necessity was so great for the making a provision for this purpose, that the measure they themselves had formerly brought forward, they would consent to abandon, if by any other measure the increase of the regular army could be produced.—I do not mean to say any thing of the propriety of the measure proposed upon the subject of an armed peasantry, nor of substituting an armed peasantry for the volunteers; which the right hon. gent. who spoke last, at one time was about to state, as being the idea of the hon. gent. who has brought forward this motion; but he set himself right afterwards, and admitted of a difference, not a very slight one, that of adding an armed peasantry to the volunteers, instead of substituting them for the volunteers. And if there are persons who think, that, in point of substance, the volunteers are more essential for the actual and efficient service of the country than the armed peasantry, as certainly there are great numbers that would be for altering the quality of our mode of defence; but then they may assent to having the aid of the peasantry, but not in the way in which it was stated by the right hon. gent.; and, as to the volunteers, we have a right to avail ourselves of the full benefit of that force; a force which has often been, and justly is, a favourite with this House and the public; a force, which whatever it may have been in its origin, has now the advantage of being formed, and of being in a great state of efficiency as a force, though none of its efficiency has been owing to ministers. Often it has produced among us some difference of opinion, as to the precise extent to which you should carry it, and as to the circumstances under which you should render it most effectual; but it is a force which all of us allowed to be an extremely valuable force; and now there is hardly any difference between the hon. gent. who made this motion, and his Majesty's government, on the subject of the armed peasantry, he says it may be a proper thing if ministers and parliament shall think it right. So the right hon. gent. has gone the length of admitting the measure may be right, if he shall hereafter think so. I say, I think it clearly right that you should institute an inquiry whether it is right or not. Have we not been told by ministers for these six months past, that the invasion might take place perhaps within 24 hours? Is it a time to procrastinate any wise measures, any efficient plans of defence, at a time when we see that the enemy have surmounted many of those preliminary difficulties which some months ago were deemed invincible? Have not the enemy supplied those means of conveyance which it was at first thought must render all the threats of the enemy vain and futile? Have they not, in the face of that navy which ministers so confidently boast has been carried to its utmost strength, and has been distributed with the most perfect judgment—have they not, within sight of our shores, and in defiance of our obstruction, assembled in one port between 13 and 1400 vessels, capable of conveying from 50 to 100 and 150 men each? Have they not proved that all our reasonings about the impossibility of sailing from one port, the difficulty of a concerted attack, the obstacle of winds and tides, were unfounded, and that the contempt we entertained for their preparations and for their menaces were ill-founded and unwarranted? With such facts before us, ought we to suspend or delay any means that can contribute to our safety? We ought not to treat with contempt, or with a false security pronounce impracticable, the projects of a bold, enterprizing, and desperate, though often fortunate enemy, and one, too, that never stood in the way of good fortune by a dread of bad. If, then, an armed peasantry is calculated to be of any utility in Essex, Kent, or Sussex, in opposing an enemy, and retarding their progress to the metropolis, it is fit that no time should be lost in devising a plan for obtaining this additional aid. The hon. gent. next contends, that the motion is unconstitutional; but what is there unconstitutional in referring to the consideration of a committee of the whole House, which I understand to be the object of the motion (Mr. Fox nodded assent), certain acts passed by the legislature, so that they may be modified, altered, and improved? Is the hon. gent. who so long filled that chair, with so much credit to himself and advantage to the House, so little acquainted with parliamentary usages as not to know, that in a committee of the whole House alone several proceedings can regularly originate. Matters of religion, grievance, trade, finance, &c. must first be discussed in a committee of the whole House. If, then, questions on those subjects must originate in a committee, can there be any scruple to refer to a similar committee, measures, the object of which is to defend every thing that is dear and valuable to a state, the religion which exalts, the commerce which enriches, the laws which regulate and protect? Is there any thing extraordinary, any thing dangerous, then, in the present motion? Will it be said that the system of defence is so good that there is nothing to be added to it? Is the experience of it in its fruits and effects such as to encourage us to rely with implicit confidence in the energy and resources of ministers? What measures have they ever adopted that have not been thwarted by some other of their measures? What efficient plan has been proposed for the recruiting the regular army? Can we indulge the vain and chimerical hope, that, without any new regulations as to the period of service, such as those proposed by the right hon. gent. recruits will be obtained for eight guineas, when they can hardly be procured for forty and fifty pounds? Is it upon the wisdom, the vigilance, and the energy of these ministers that we can rely, when we have seen that no one measure for the public defence can they be truly said to have originated, when several they have retarded or enfeebled? I am satisfied that some plan for the permanent recruiting of the army ought to be settled, and that we ought with all dispatch proceed to that important subject. But neglecting the regular army, have ministers improved and perfected that system of the volunteers in which they have spent so much time? I venture to affirm, that the volunteer system is still far from that state of perfection to which it might be carried. The army of reserve, instead of being suspended, should be modified. In regard to fortifications, too, in which, hitherto, so little has been done, I will venture to state, that due precautions in that department have been much neglected, and that many things have been omitted to be done, which, in case of invasion, would tend both to save the lives of men and to check the progress of an invader. From all that I have heard, too, on the subject of the navy, and in spite of that magnificent catalogue of ships which ministers have produced, and which I shall not at present dissect, I must repeat, that the conduct of that branch of our defence, has not been such as the public had a right to expect, and upon this subject I may take an opportunity to state circumstances that will astonish the House and the country. These, and many other considerations, form the most conclusive argument in favour of the motion, and though the right hon. gent. who made it, did not dilate on these topics, he naturally expected, and stated his expectation, that they would be taken up by other speakers in the course of the debate. It is true that ministers on this as on former occasions, have given us a pompous enumeration of the force of the country. I have heard that statement with pride. It affords the most consolatory evidence of what the country is capable of doing. But I and other members of this House have at least as good a right to exult in that survey of our strength as ministers. We have not been wanting in our exertions to contribute to call forth the spirit of the country, and to organize its strength. That spirit and exertion, however, belong to the country, and are not to be ascribed to the direction or the energy of the government. Indeed, if there be any who ought peculiarly to separate that pride from any feeling of personal merit, it is the present ministers, who have had so little share in the national energy. No one measure can they claim as their own; no one measure have they improved and perfected; very many they have weakened by their delays, and destroyed by their incongruities. Whatever then the spirit and zeal of a free and brave people may have been, under the sense of danger, ought fairly to be separated from the tardiness, langour, and imbecility of ministers in every thing of which they have assumed the direction. Ministers boast of what others have suggested, or voluntary public zeal has effected, as if what was done was perfectly adequate to our security. But is it enough to have provided against the danger of a final conquest? Enough has not been done unless we have adopted every practicable and rational means of checking the enemy, should they invade our shores, with the least sacrifice of life, with the least waste of the public resources, with a rapidity that will disappoint the enemy's projects of devastation. Enough has not been done, unless every thing has been provided, by which, in the shortest space, we may be enabled to defeat the enemy with that signal overthrow and destruction, as will for ever deter them from a repetition of the attack, and for ever relieve the country from the alarm and anxiety of invasion. I do not mean to say that the enemy would, according to all human calculation, succeed in their designs, even had we no other means of defence but those which now exist; but have we reason to believe that our strength is yet arrayed in the best manner, that our forces are distributed at the proper points, so as to act with the most decisive effect? Unless this be done (as I fear it is not), it is not enough to say that we have 184,000 regulars and militia, and 400,000 volunteers; and, indeed, when it is proved by their own statements, that the resources of the country are so great, it forms an additional ground of censure against ministers, if our system of defence be not adequate to every demand. As to the observations which have been made upon the amount of force which should have been kept up during the peace, and the proportion which existed at the renewal of the war, whatever I may think with respect to the opinion held by the hon. gent. who opened the debate upon a former occasion, I cannot, without surprise, hear from the right hon. gent. who has just sat down, that he conceived the force which was maintained during the peace as amply sufficient to meet any probable emergency; for that right hon. gent. was in possession of much knowledge of the disposition of the enemy, which must have satisfied his mind of the propriety of making more extensive preparations for a state of hostility. That knowledge the right hon. gent. to be sure studiously concealed from parliament, and therefore the hon. gent. upon the opposite bench was, with many others, incompetent to form any opinion of the impending danger; but not so his Majesty's ministers, who had yet neglected to provide against it. They who, by a manifesto since published to the world, explained that there were grounds, almost from immediately after the conclusion of the peace, to complain of the conduct and to suspect the intentions of Buonaparte, had yet omitted to devise measures to counteract his designs, and to put the country in a state fitted for the description of hostility to be apprehended. In this state the country is not, in point of fact, even now placed; and this forms one of my reasons for concurring in the motion before the House, because, as they who thought the peace not likely to continue, did not prepare for war, and who, since the war has commenced, have not preserved that course of vigorous exertion which the situation of the empire called for, are not those in whom I would confide for the establishment of our security. Ministers foresaw the war, and yet they did not attempt to ballot for the militia, as they should have done, during the peace. They should have availed themselves of that period, when they must, according to their own confessions, since so repeatedly made, have contemplated war as something more than probable, set every means in motion of defending the country against invasion.—The observations they were enabled to make, at the close of the last war, of the plans and purpose of Buonaparte, were sufficient to assure them that his first notion was an invasion of this country, which the short period that elapsed between the establishment of peace upon the Continent, and the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, did not qualify him to attempt, but the progress of his then preparations served to shew that his resolution was not to make desultory attacks upon us, but to do that which he has since accomplished, viz. to collect a large force upon some part of the coast most convenient for the purpose of making a descent upon this country. What then are we to think of those ministers who, with such an opportunity of observation, overlooked renewing the ballot for that important part of our force, the militia, during peace? And how did they act towards the volunteers, on whose gallantry they now profess so much to rely? The House must have in recollection the letters which ministers addressed to that body of men during the peace, which letters were so much calculated rather to damp than to animate and encourage the zeal of those corps. But this was not all; for, under circumstances peculiarly auspicious for the purpose, and with the prospects before them I have already mentioned, they refused to attend to a plan suggested to them for providing a certain resource for the recruiting and supply of our regular army. This plan was founded upon the same principle as that of the army of reserve, with the addition of that which I took occasion lately to lay before the House, and which, if adopted when my opinion was first urged to ministers, would have furnished the means of adding to our army, with all possible expedition, not less than 40 or 50,000 men. This plan has, I admit, been since adopted in part; and I shall certainly feel it my duty to urge the adoption of the whole of it again and again. The committee proposed by the motion, I conceive the most convenient place for entering into the detail of this and other measures for the public defence, to no branch of which, I perceive with regret, have ministers attended in due time, and to the execution of none of which do they appear to be adequate. Passing by all the omissions I complain of during the period of peace; drawing a veil over their conduct on that occasion altogether; and supposing the war recommenced as much to the surprise of ministers, as to that of many persons in that House and the country; supposing that they were not at all prepared to expect it, let us only look at their proceedings since that event, and let us examine how far their measures have been so contrived or executed as to justify a hope, much less an opinion, of safety to be derived from their exertion. The first part of their plan of defence, and that to which they seemed principally to look, related to volunteers. This topic has, I am aware, been already very fully discussed, and on that account overlooked by the hon. mover of the proposition before the House; but upon this point I would wish to ask of ministers whether they foresaw, or had even a remote idea, at the commencement of hostilities, that this description of our force would have extended so far, whether they contemplated that it ever should be so numerous? It was known by those who had any knowledge of their sentiments, who had any conversation with ministers, that they had no such intentions, and that, on the contrary, they expressed their disapprobation of the policy of their predecessors, in allowing the volunteer system to enlarge so much. This fact I allude to merely to shew that they are entitled to no praise for the multiplication of the volunteers; and to state that the spirit which produced the increase of that body, arose out of the discussions of this House—a spirit which, as ministers themselves admitted, far outvies their calculation or hopes; and also, as it seemed, exceeded their power of direction, for they afterwards thought proper to check and restrain it. So much as to the origin of the volunteer system. But how did ministers proceed to carry that system into execution? Why, without going much at length into this part of the subject, which I do not mean at present, I will merely remark on the case of exemptions, which have been much and very justly objected to. The propriety of granting of these exemptions I never could see—certain it is that they were never necessary; for the volunteers, for the most part, required no such thing in the shape of encouragement to offer their services, and many of them were not at all aware, when they did engage, that any exemptions were to be granted: on the contrary, it is notorious that they were in several districts actually subscribing a certain sum each to purchase substitutes for any of their body which might be balloted for the militia. Such was the state of the volunteers when the act of parliament was passed, with the strong recommendation of ministers, for allowing exemptions, clogged, however, with such conditions, that the measure was not to be well understood. In another part of this act of ministers, there was something still less intelligible with respect to a volunteer's right of resignation, upon which ministers had evinced the most complete want of penetration and foresight. Had they judged wisely, they never would have attempted to dispute this right; for, paradoxical as it may seem, nothing tends more to preserve discipline among those corps, than the undisputed exercise of this right; and the reason is this, that while a volunteer has the right of leaving a corps, he cannot object to any regulation that may be deemed necessary by a commanding officer for the promotion of order and discipline in such corps, the private having his choice to submit or resign: but as to the act of ministers, the Attorney-General, for whose judgment and learning I entertain the most unfeigned respect, interpreted the law upon resignations in one way, and the court of King's Bench in another. Ministers, in this con tradiction, thought proper to circulate the opinion of the former as that to be acted upon by the volunteers, although they have since avowed that they did not agree with that opinion, and that they intended to introduce a declaratory law upon the subject. This I must class among the most unaccountable proceedings of ministers. As to the volunteer system generally, according to its present constitution, it appears to me to have several radical errors, and principally as to the mode in which the volunteers are distributed over the face of the country. When they were forming, and particularly when it was determined to limit their numbers, regard should have been had to the proportion proper to be assigned to each district. With that view, it would have been right to consider the difference between the inland and maritime counties, which were the more probable points of attack, and which was the most important to preserve. Our great naval arsenals, and those places which are most contiguous to our principal manufactories, ought of course to be the first objects of govt. in settling the relative proportion of volunteers which the several districts should be allowed to furnish—allowed, I call it, for it was at the discretion of govt. to accept the services of many corps which they rejected, and generally without any reference to the consideration of local defence which I have mentioned. When they thought proper to limit the volunteers to six times the number of the militia, and for what reason I cannot divine, they put Staffordshire and Derbyshire quite on a par with the maritime counties. No distinction was made in favour of those districts which lie most convenient to the enemy's coast, and which are most likely to be the first points of attack. Can any man say that there was any thing like policy in such an arrangement, or that indeed there is to be found in any part of the structure or execution of the volunteer system, so far as ministers are concerned, that which can deserve the character of discretion, or the approval of a statesman; There was, in fact, no part of the conduct pursued by govt. towards the volunteers, which did not form some ground for complaint, which did not offer some evidence of wavering and inconsistency. The House has witnessed the part they took at the close of the last sessions, when an hon. gent. on the other side (Mr. Sheridan) undertook to panegyrise the zeal and gallantry of the volunteers. When that hon. gent. two days before the sessions closed, thought proper, and, in the opinion of many intelligent respectable members, very prematurely, to move a vote of thanks to the volunteers, he stated that such vote was not only a just acknowledgment for the patriotism, they, who were then embodied had manifested, but that it would operate to encourage further voluntary offers of service. Ministers applauded warmly the motion of the hon. gent. but how did they afterwards act? The hon. gent. moved at the same time, that there should be laid before the House, at its meeting after the recess, a list of such new corps as should volunteer; but there was another list which the hon. gent. neglected to move for, namely, of all the corps which should be reduced or rejected in the same interval. Had the hon. gent. done so, he would have seen what use had been made of his motion, for the first step taken by ministers almost immediately after its adoption was, to suspend the progress of that voluntary zeal which the hon. gent. in common with every man who valued the character and safety of the country, so much admired. Ministers determined at once that the volunteers should not be increased any further, but that, on the contrary, their numbers should be diminished. The notice of this determination was speedily circulated among the volunteers, accompanied by the hon. gent.'s vote of thanks. Thus the volunteers were complimented for that, which govt. at the same time told them they did not wish for, they would not accept. There is a word in French, remercier, which literally implies returning thanks for proffered services, which it is not intended to accept; and this word has close analogy to the conduct of ministers in the communication of the motion of thanks, which they agreed in, in company with the strange resolution which I have already mentioned. In regard to the enrolment of volunteer corps, so far as such enrolment is connected with the provisions of the Defence Act, I must again repeat the complaint I have often made, of the total omission of govt. to execute the powers vested in it by that act; and any difficulties that have arisen in the progress of the ballot, I do conceive to be attributable to the non-exercise of the power I have referred to. As to the refusal of adequate, pecuniary, and military aid to the volunteers, I must observe, that it is amongst the most culpable and inconsistent part of the conduct of ministers. Without going minutely into the consequences of such conduct, which it would be more convenient to detail in the proposed committee, I have only at present to remark, that whatever difference of opinion may exist between my hon. friend on the lower bench (Mr. Windham) and me, with respect to the volunteers, and the practicability of rendering them perfect in military discipline, there can be no difference between us as to this point, that they ought to be furnished with the best instruction that is attainable, and both he and I have a right to complain of ministers in not following up their own principle, by giving the necessary aid to promote the improvement of the volunteers. My hon. friend has always maintained that the volunteers cannot be rendered equal to, or fit to act with regular troops; but ministers have uniformly resisted this opinion. Why then have they not provided adequately for the execution of their own ideas? No, they have only allowed pay for 20 days in a year, although, in the opinion of all military men, no new raised regiment of the regular army, with all the advantages of subordination, martial law, &c. could be disciplined fit for service in less than six weeks, or two months. Will any man say, that so short a period should be deemed sufficient for the discipline of the volunteers? But I shall be told, probably, that it was expected the volunteers would, independently of the 20 days, attend to drill on every Sunday. If they were, should I maintain that, Sundays included, the time was not sufficient to instruct them, and should not be relied on in the existing circumstances of the country, when we were daily menaced with invasion—that invasion which ministers have been perpetually telling us was daily to be expected since the middle of last summer. Notwithstanding this apprehension, such has been the behaviour of ministers, that I much fear if the enemy should not attack us until even the middle of next summer, he would find the volunteers very imperfectly disciplined. I cannot help expressing my surprise that ministers could have ever seriously calculated upon the probability that the labouring classes, of whom so many of the volunteers consist, would be so prompt to devote the only day they have for recreation and repose to the study of military discipline. It certainly did not betray any policy or consideration so to calculate; but even supposing they were so to assemble, and also to attend the 20 days, how were they to attain the instruction desired from the present mode, and from that which has prevailed uniformly. I suggested to ministers a plan of instruction, which I was told should be considered; but as they have never yet acted upon it, nor appear at all to consider it, their promise of consideration upon this, as well as upon other points, reminds me of a practice in the legislative assembly of a neighbouring nation (the United States of Holland), in which, when it was determined to get rid of a question, the resolution was ad referendum, which meant to take no more notice of it. The nature of the project I thought it my duty to recommend to ministers, related particularly to that which I have often mentioned in this House. For the advancement of the discipline of the volunteers, I urged the necessity of appointing adjutants to a certain number of men. This has been in part acceded to, but in what manner? An adjutant is appointed to such corps only as amounts to 400 men, and to them only in case they exercise 80 days in the year, although the men are allowed pay but for 20 days. Where, I would put it to the common sense of any man, can be found a stronger instance of weakness and inconsistency, than this order furnishes? No provision is made for the pay of the adjutant, unless the corps exercise 80 days, for one-fourth of which only the men are made any allowance. Is not this alone enough to expose the mind of ministers—to shew their disacquaintance with the means of executing their own purposes? Indeed, I am perfectly convinced of their want of vigour; every circumstance serves to shew it, and I have therefore the strongest conviction upon my mind that they are incapable of acting upon any thing like system, of adopting or executing any well-digested or energetic plan for the defence of the country. I do not of course place any hope on their exertions, and therefore concur in the propriety of the proposed committee, where every question connected with our security may be fully investigated. One reason, I recollect, for so tardily adopting the plan for the appointment of adjutants was, the difficulty of procuring officers from the line to fill those stations. I recommended that serjeant-majors should be chosen; but to this I was told, that serjeant-majors could not be persuaded to give up their situations for such adjutancies, unless they were allowed half pay. I saw no good reason for declining to make this allowance, and I therefore advised it in December last. I was promised that the subject would be taken into consideration. I afterwards applied, in March, to know the result of the consideration, but I was told that no decision was made, and I understand it is undecided still, while the discipline of the volunteers does and has for months back so imperatively called for an immediate decision respecting it, although this was one of the defects in the volunteer system, which govt. promised to cure. When, before last Christmas, an application was made to ministers with regard to the confusion which prevailed among the volunteers, the gent. who applied were desired to wait until after the Christmas recess, when a digested plan would be brought forward by ministers, which should remove and prevent the recurrence of the evils complained of, and communicate to the volunteer system all the perfection of which it was susceptible. This digested plan has been laid before the House, and at length made its way, after various alterations, through it. Those alterations were added in the House of Lords; and now it is returned to us, there is scarcely one feature remaining of the original measure, of the well-digested plan of ministers. The suggestions made to them by others they reluctantly adopted, and the object of those suggestions they in some instances have almost defeated, as in the case of inviting the volunteers to permanent duty, and applying the guinea proposed to be given them as bounty, which is to be distributed in such a way as to hold out no inducement to the men, or benefit to their families. Ministers have been equally injudicious in every other project of defence, from the army of reserve to the enrolment of classes under the General Defence Act—an act which I had the honour of a large share in suggesting, and I lament much that ministers did not adopt it at a more early period; but the fact is, that so far from ministers having spontaneously taken any vigorous proceeding for the defence of the country since the commencement of the war, I state broadly, that no part of the measures for the increase of our military establishment has originated with them. If, said he, the right hon. gent. means to deny my assertion, I shall appeal to the recollection of the House, whether in June last, when the army estimates were under discussion, I did not ask the right hon. Sec. at War (Mr. Bragge) after he had finished his statement—I did not ask if what he had mentioned comprehended all the provision that ministers meant to make for the defence of the country. To this I was answered in the affirmative, and I accordingly gave notice of my intention to submit a measure founded on the same principle with that of the army of reserve. Any benefit that may have resulted from that measure is not, I assert, attributable to ministers, who were quite at a loss what course to take—who knew not, in fact, what measures were applicable to the dangers of the country. I will not dwell on the execution of the Army of Reserve act, as I shall go into that subject very fully on Wednesday next, and if I should not then have the good fortune of persuading the House to accede to the proposition which I would wish to have ingrafted on the Army of Reserve Bill, in order to provide a constant and regular supply of recruits for our regular army, I shall feel an advantage in the existence of such a committee as the motion before the House proposes to establish, as I may thus have an opportunity of again pressing the project upon the consideration of the House—a project which, if I am able to demonstrate its practicability for great objects in view, I am sure that every man will feel it to be desirable, and all will be ready to give it their concurrence. If I can shew that even a small increase can be derived from this project to our regular army, it is impossible to doubt that any member will refuse it his support. The mode proposed by ministers to raise any addition to the regular army, to supply the suspension of the army of reserve, I confess I cannot understand. They have not stated any inducement to men to enlist beyond 8 guineas bounty, and how they can procure them for such a sum, while 30 guineas and more are giving for militia substitutes, it is difficult to imagine; unless the intention be that which no one has yet avowed, because all have been unanimous in condemning the practice, viz. that of raising men for rank. It may be said that this practice has prevailed when I was in power, but then the experience of that practice afforded a complete warning against it. I am quite ready to declare, that I am sorry for the share I had in that measure, and experience convinces me, that it ought never again to be resorted to. Other gent. have appeared, and professed to be equally adverse to that measure, and their minds must be of a strange character, if what they have observed is not sufficient to dissuade them from it. Nothing can be more absurd than to suppose, that if they persist in the old and scandalous practice of crimping, all its attendant frauds and impositions will not return; and it is equally absurd to fancy, that only 8 guineas bounty will be given. Why not let the army of reserve go on along with this new plan, whatever it may be? If officers are to run a race together for rank, as I understand they are, for although the intention is not avowed in this House by ministers, applications are known to be made to and by several officers—why take away the competition of the army of reserve? I cannot conceive any thing more irrational. When a new mode of raising recruits for the regular army is proposed, it naturally brings to my mind an opinion which is much disputed, and upon which, because it is so disputed by some great military authorities, I cannot presume to pronounce a decided sentiment, I mean the propriety of raising men for limited service in point, although I certainly should think it the more eligible policy, and best calculated to render the army respectable and efficient. However, military objections as to the difficulty, if such a system existed, of supplying our foreign stations, must be overcome before the system be attempted. As to the plan for bringing the Irish militia over here, I do not approve of it under existing circumstances. No argument can be drawn in favour of such a plan at present, from a precedent which occurred in quite a different situation of things. With respect to the interchange of the militias of the two countries, there are many physical objections to it that would render it a measure very disagreeable to the officers connected with both militias; and here I must notice a rumour which has gone abroad, that applications have been lately made to the privates of the West Kent militia, without the knowledge of their officers, to volunteer their services for Ireland: this practice deserves to be strongly reprobated. What, to try to prevail on men to quit their own coast, within half a day's sail of the enemy, to proceed to the distance of Ireland!—The hon. mover of the proposition under debate has alluded, in the course of his speech, to the power which, in my opinion, belongs to the Crown, to call out the population of the country in the event of an invasion, as expressed in the preamble to the General Defence Act. I perceive, that the hon. gent.'s sentiment differs from mine. I do not mean to discuss this subject at present; but I must observe, that nothing appears clearer to me than this proposition, that the state has a right to call on the people to defend it, and that in the Crown, being the depositary of the power of the state, is vested the right of so calling out the people upon a great emergency. This right I think I could shew, from a series of precedents, to be recognized by the constitution and custom of this country; that it is a right inherent in the Crown to exercise this power according to the necessity of such case as may arise, and to be limited by that necessity. The Crown, it must be admitted, possesses the power of putting any district of the kingdom under martial law, in case of invasion; subject, however, to that responsibility to which ministers would be liable for the abuse of any such power.—Upon the respective interchange of the services of the two militias of England and Ireland, I think, considering the peculiar principles on which they are officered, it would put the landed gent. of both countries to great and unexpected inconvenience; and therefore would operate injuriously on that constitutional establishment. If, however, this interchange of service is right at all, it must be on general principles, or on account of particular and pressing urgency, that supersedes all regular establishment, such as arose from the situation of Ireland, when, during the former administration, the English militia volunteered their services to that country. If the present ministers do not advance any general principle to justify the measure, and certainly no idea of urgency presents itself on either side the water, that there is no necessity is obvious from the very arguments of ministers, for they say, don't be afraid to vote with us on this subject, for it is not our intention to carry it into execution by a partial and discretionary measure; it must of course be unjustifiable and wrong. On general principles they have not attempted to defend it. This last measure of his Majesty's ministers, shews clearly that the regular army is not yet adequate to the necessity of the state, and implies that means should be taken to increase it. The method of so doing may be subject to some variety of opinion; perhaps I may not see it exactly in the same light as the hon. gent. (Mr. Fox), yet I do not perceive any material practical difference between us. The general principle and outlines of our national defence appears to me good, regarding as it does the regulars, army of reserve, militia, and volunteers. Were they less defensible in principle than they are, I should consider them as existing establishments, in the present moment, more agreeable to confirm and improve, than abolish and substitute by new. Thus I declare my opinion on this subject, without at this time entering into a more particular defence of it. With respect to the power of the Crown to call on every subject under its dominion, in case of absolute need, this, I take, under some form or other, to be incident to the very establishment of civil society, and, in fact, whenever occasion required, has been exercised. The principle is, however, limited by its necessity, which scarcely can arise but when the state of things would authorise the Crown of itself to proclaim martial law; and if the constitution should survive that urgent state of things, the counsellors of his Majesty would, doubtless, be as amenable to constitutional responsibility for that, as any other act of their administration. As such is the undoubted right and prerogative of the Crown, I should think, with a view to possible emergencies, that legislative provision should, in the present juncture, a little anticipate the justifiable necessity to which I have referred, at least so far as to put every man in the Maritime counties, likely to be the seat of the enemy's attempt, under the immediate power of the crown, in case of actual or imminent danger of invasion. In those counties most likely to be the seat of war, such as Kent, Essex, Sussex, Suffolk, Devonshire, Cornwall, and the vicinity of Newcastle, I also think a greater proportion of volunteers should be allowed than in others, at least so far as the convenience and voluntary offers of individuals will allow. But I shall not stop here; I must say, that our naval means are insufficient for our defence; and that there is a great deficiency of the means for keeping up our navy. Into these points I shall enter minutely, upon some future occasion. At present, I shall only say, in vindication of myself, from all the obloquy thrown upon me by officers brought from distant stations to support the present system; that, as to the specific force which I recommended, I did not recommend barges and lighters and such sort of trash, as they reproached me with advising. I recommended good stout gun-brigs, and I have had the pleasure of seeing great activity of late to increase that very species of force. Another objection has been made to my system. I recommended fortifications, and I have on this account been reproached with an attempt to lessen the spirit of the country, and to involve a great and unnecessary expence. What I recommended was, not a general system of fortification, but that where there were great districts possessing great local bulwarks, there a judicious mixture of art and nature, which, at a small expence in money, might spare many thousands of men, would be the best and wisest policy. I know many places in which a few thousand pounds expended, would give more security than as many thousand men could afford. This is obvious to all military men, and the system is beginning to be acted upon; but at the same time it must be admitted, that it was as obvious last summer as it is now. I do not wish, by these observations, to interfere with the department to which this system may seem to belong. I believe, however, that it does not rest with the department of the Commander in Chief, or any other, but with the cabinet. I have discharged my duty by delivering this my sincere and undisguised opinion. I hope it is not hastily or inconsiderately entertained; but sure I am that I should consider it treason to the best interests of my country, if, such as it is, I did not openly declare it.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* explained, and stated, that he had not said, as imputed to him by the right hon. gent. who had just sat down, that it was not within the power of parliament to institute such a committee as was proposed. It must be in the recollection of the House, that he admitted the competency of parliament, although he doubted its inclination to appoint such a committee.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* said, he could not help expressing his surprise at this mode of making an attack against his Majesty's ministers. If they had been guilty of any gross misconduct or neglect, there were abundant means of recrimination against them. But no sush motion as that was now before the House; and therefore he might be excused from entering into any detail on the conduct of ministers, until a direct charge was made against them. The object of this motion was to enter into an examination of the different acts of parliament that had been lately passed for promoting the defence of the country. This he must consider extremely improper to do, when it was competent for any member to move for the repeal of a particular act, if it should be found to be inefficient for its purpose. He had another objection to the present motion, which was, that it would be impossible for that House to enter into the consideration of such further measures of defence, as might be fit to be adopted, at this critical period, without calling to its bar all the military officers who were now on duty, and without having reports, documents, &c. from various offices. He would not pretend to say, but that such an enquiry and examination might be gone into; but he was sure, that to do so at the present moment, when it was necessary to call forward all the force of the country towards its common defence, would be productive of the greatest inconvenience and prejudice to the country. And such step ought never to be taken except on the gravest and most serious grounds. He regretted that he had lost the confidence of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), and he hoped, that in any other arrangement he would be supported as steadily and independently as he had been by himself and his friends. When such a motion as the present was made, he would ask, was there any thing melancholy in our situation? Had any misfortune happened to us, or any advantage been gained by the enemy in consequence of the inadequate measures of govt.? He would put it to any gent. in that House, whether the state of preparation in which the country was at this moment, could be considered as inadequate to the danger that threatened us? If the House was now to go into a committee on the state of our public defence, it must do so on either of these three grounds: 1st, They must be persuaded that some great misfortune had happened; 2d, that a great degree of discontent had prevailed throughout the country with regard to the conduct of govt.; and 3d, that there was something so inconsistent and incongruous in the conduct of his Majesty's servants as to make such an inquiry necessary. Now, as to the first of these, he would ask did any misfortunes happen? He would make one short answer—that there were none; and upon that part of the subject he thought it unnecessary to say any more. Was there any discontent or dissatisfaction? (a loud cry of hear! hear!) I know, exclaimed Mr. Yorke, that great dissatisfaction against his Majesty's ministers prevails among many individuals in this House; but I will ask, if there are any symptoms of dissatisfaction throughout the country? Are there any addresses from any part of the country, praying for the removal of ministers? If there have been any, let them be stated. He was ready to admit, that, during a part of the last autumn, there prevailed a certain degree of discontent in a distant part of the country, on account of the greatest part of our force having been concentrated in the vicinity of the metropolis. But these complaints no longer existed; and the distant parts of the island were now as well defended as Ireland was at the time when Hoche arrived there with a formidable fleet and army. In the year 1779, when the French ships were masters of the Channel, there was not a sufficient military force to defend the coasts of Devon, Somerset, and Cornwall. These places were almost as badly defended at the commencement of the late war, when Gen. Dumourier was on the point of overrunning Holland, which, if he had done, an armament might be sent against this country. They were, however, now, in a complete state of defence; and he was confident it would be a great misfortune to enter into an examination on a subject where no ground of blame whatever existed. He could not see on what grounds the hon. gent. brought forward the present motion. That hon. gent.'s character he certainly had always admired; but he must say, that he never could agree with him in his political principles; and still less could he agree with him in the line of conduct which he adopted that day. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) who supported the motion, and appeared to coalesce with him, was still more undisguised; for he had openly declared that those whom he could formerly consider to be his friends, were now unfit for the management of the public affairs. One subject on which the right hon. gent. had dwelt, was that of the volunteers; and, in reply to that part of his charge, he must answer, that from the best information he could procure, the volunteers had arrived at such a state of perfection in discipline, that they were the astonishment of all Europe, and were also the astonishment of their own country, which had not, until that vast force was collected, known the strength and power it possessed. Out of the whole number of volunteers now in the country, there were not above 13,000 of them who had not been supplied with firelocks. The entire number amounted to 330,000. With this great number, and with the spirit which, as Britons, actuated them, he did not think there was any occasion for an armed peasantry, as had been recommended by an hon. gent. But if ever it should be necessary to put arms into the hands of a greater number of people than the volunteers consisted of, his Majesty had the power of resorting to the compulsory clauses of the general defence act. He could not agree with the hon. gent. that an armed peasantry would answer any purpose. They might be useful on the banks of the Necker or in the Black Forest. But in this country, he was sure many a peasant did not know the butt from the muzzle of a gun. He very much doubted then whether the plan of an armed peasantry could be adapted to any extent in this country. Such a body of men could not be treated as soldiers, and therefore, they could not be converted to any efficient purpose. The hon. gent. who proposed the motion, had followed the example set him in another place, and had objected to the defence bill as involving in it certain phrases explanatory of the Royal prerogative. It was very extraordinary that this should be the first time he should have stated this objection, although he had so fit and favourable an opportunity of doing it during the progress of the bill. As far, however, as he (Mr. Yorke) considered the functions of the British Crown, he thought they were fairly recognized in the terms of the bill, and he thought consistently with what he had always understood to be the sentiments of the hon. gent. ever since he had the honour of hearing him in parliament. Nothing could be more unjust than to censure ministers for not completing the volunteer system, either in respect to the application of the prerogative, or any other particular. All that had been professed or attempted, was to prepare the way for a more eligible system, which should be formed on the sure basis of experience, and would not therefore be subjected to those difficulties which, under the novelty of this establishment, it was at present necessary to encounter. What was the situation in which it was required that the House should again form itself into a committee? It had already, in the same form, entered at large into the various modes of defence now proposed; the result of its deliberations had been sent to the Peers, and the amendments suggested by them were to be considered. Why then adopt this retrograde measure? why undo all that had been performed, for no one reason on earth but to produce delay at a moment when procrastination was the greatest evil we had to apprehend? It was said, that if the conduct of his Majesty's servants be attended to before the war began, or after its commencement, they have neglected the exertions suited to the public defence. Looking as he did to the geographical situation of the states of Europe, and to the peculiar circumstances of France before he held a responsible situation, he had endeavoured to predict the consequences of the domineering influence of the latter, and had adverted to the peculiar attention to be paid by this country to its own security. The same sentiments which he held before, he had more strongly felt since he had the honour of acting in the capacity of one of his Majesty's confidential servants, and he conceived he had acted upon them to the fullest extent in his power. The only diminution which had been effected in the infantry was to the number of 7000, and that was in regiments which had returned harassed from foreign and dangerous services. But gent. inquired, why did you not take measures earlier for enrolling the militia? He for one could not plead guilty to any charge of the kind alluded to in this question; he had brought forward a plan for this express object, and if it had not been at length adopted, the country would have been totally destitute of a militia at this moment. It was again said, that the volunteer system had been abandoned at the most inauspicious moment. The fact, however, was, that a bill was proposed as soon as possible for the specific purpose of preserving it, and by this vigilance 10,000 yeoman cavalry were provided, and a considerable portion of infantry, which were ready to present themselves for the public service at the commencement of the war. Besides all this, every possible inducement was held out to the fencibles and militia, to induce them to enter into the regular service—a service that had been greatly injured and reduced by the calamities of a protracted war, so long and so discouraging, as to present to ministers more numerous difficulties than had been at any former period encountered, difficulties for which no reward could compensate, which nothing but the zeal they felt to serve their sovereign and their country could dispose them to meet. He objected to the suspension of the recruiting for the army of reserve. It did not appear to him that ministers were in any way culpable in that particular; but this was not the time to discuss that point; it would be enough for him to say, that from the experience he had had, it was impossible, with any regard to public economy, to push the enlisting at present any further. It had not quite answered the wishes of govt. but, perhaps, under the existing circumstances, it had fulfilled every reasonable expectation. Forty thousand had been projected for England, and 10,000 for Ireland, of which 37,000 had been actually raised. A measure was to be considered in the House on Wednesday, of a levy for the regular service, and the success of this would depend on the suspension of the former, for a period of about 12 months. The object was, to raise by this expedient not less than 18 or 20 battalions, and the best military authorities had been consulted, by whom the opinion of his Majesty's ministers had been assisted and guided. He needed only to mention, that it was the particular recommendation of H. R. H. the Commander in Chief, with whom the measure had originated, and military men were only competent to decide on a question of this nature. But gent. said, you disappoint your own designs by reducing the bounty. The bounty now proposed was 10 guineas, further to officers 2 guineas, and 1 guinea levy money. Gent. who conduced by their influence and liberality to increase the public force, were also advanced one step in military rank. Very great abuses had prevailed in former periods, and under the last administration, from the proposed method, under the old regulations, and the right hon. gent. behind him (Mr. Pitt) had candidly acknowledged he had found it detrimental; but this experience, he trusted, would be no objection to the present plan, because peculiar precautions were intended to prevent those abuses, and it would be directed that every officer who should promote them, should be obliged to recede from the step of rank he would otherwise acquire.—Two more points had been pressed upon the House to expose the neglect of administration, in neither of which he considered them blameable: he alluded to the naval defence, and to the plan of fortification. The right hon. Sec. then adverted to the observations made by the right hon. gent. as to the state of the naval defence of the country, and expressed his astonishment that he should have asserted, that a certain naval commander had been sent for expressly to town to ridicule the opinions which he (Mr. Pitt) had given with respect to the state of the navy. He assured the right hon. gent. that the term the gallant commander had used, namely "musquito fleet," was the common word of expression used by nautical men to describe the enemy's preparations. He contended that the commander alluded to had as much right to deliver his opinion freely and honestly as any other civilian, and defended the preparations carried on by the board of admiralty, as being greater than those made use of by former boards for the last 50 years. If any blame was imputable to any part of govt. with respect to the erection of fortifications, he wished it distinctly to be understood, that the blame rested with the whole of govt. and not with any one particular department. The erection of Martello towers had been relied on by some military characters, but he could assure the House, that it was the opinion of a great number of experienced officers, that the application of them would not be of any material service. The right hon. gent. concluded with expressing his sense of duty to the House and his country, and trusting that the House would consider what they were about to do before they acceded to the motion, which had for its object to effect, by a side-wind, the dismissal of ministers, who were prepared to meet it fairly and manfully.

Mr. *G. Vansittart* said, he considered the present motion to be an attempt to force the ministers out of their places, and was similar to that made in the year 1784, which was reprobated by every person in the country. If his Majesty's present ministers were guilty of misconduct, let that misconduct be specifically stated, and then let an address be moved to his Majesty for their removal. He must protest against the present proceeding, because it was an unconstitutional act for that House to take upon itself the appointment of his Majesty's ministers. If such proceedings as this were allowed, the country would be subject to the same cabals, which for a long time had agitated the French govt. The attack now attempted to be made was much more improper than that of 1784, in as much as the country was now in a situation of alarm and danger that did not exist at that period.

Sir *William Pultency* thought there was no ground to justify the motion before the House, because, he thought, on all those points where an attempt had been made to throw blame on his Majesty's ministers they had done right. They were, however, but men, and must not be expected to be perfect. To human nature allowance must be made for some faults, from which, they could not be wholly free any more than their predecessors, in whose conduct there were many faults, and gross ones too, which he could easily point out. When the present ministers came into office, the country was engaged in prosecuting a long, arduous, expensive, and unpopular war, which had been so long carried on by their predecessors, and with such enormous expence, that the right hon. gent. who had this night joined so heartily in the censure of ministers, could not have carried it on for 3 months longer. He must have been forced from his situation, by the spirit and sense of the country, had he longer persisted in it; and he had no difficulty in asserting that he could not have made peace with an enemy implacable against his administration. In this critical and arduous moment, his Majesty's present ministers came forward and concluded that peace so welcome to the wishes of the people. But, if unhappily, his Majesty's ministers had since found that the revival of the war was unavoidable, was there a man within or without those walls, was there a power in Europe who was not convinced that the fault lay solely in the restless ambition and insulting aggresions of the enemy, and was by no means justly attributable to his Majesty's present ministers, for whose conduct on that occasion, the country owed them indelible obligations; for, by that conduct, they manifested their sincerity in the wish of peace, and their readiness to make every concession, not dishonourable to the country, for its maintenance; and by that means, under the dire and inevitable necessity of renewing the war, they justified themselves in the eyes of their country and of all Europe, and attached that unanimous and glorious spirit, in which the nation stood ready to vindicate its own honour and security, and to hurl defiance to the foe. When war was found inevitable, they adopted, with the utmost promptitude, the measures best calculated to call forth the military strength of the country.

Sir *Home Popham* pointed out an error in the account upon the table, of the number of vessels in our service, which was stated at 1874, but which, upon examining the figures, proved to be only 1652. In the account also of the number of seamen and marines, at two periods, Nov. and March, there was an allowance made for deaths and casualties in the intervening time, although some of our ships had, during that period, been lost, and some of the crews either lost or taken prisoners.

Capt. *Markham* said, there certainly appeared to be an error in casting up the account, which he had never adverted to. As to the other objection with respect to the number of seamen, the Admiralty were compelled to take two periods when the Navy Board had no returns, and in fact he pledged himself to prove, that there was a greater number of men employed than there were mentioned in the account. The impressed men were not included in the account, these would serve to fill up the vacancies occasioned by desertion or death. As to the 1400 vessels collected at Boulogne, which appeared to have caused so much alarm in the mind of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), he believed no man who pretended to be a seaman would say, that the best way of stopping that flotilla was by a similar one. It appeared, however, that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), who had just before only mentioned gun-boats, now talked of gun-brigs being equipped for our service; at this rate he would get on from larger to larger vessels, until he at length came to those large vessels which alone ought to combat the French flotillas like giants amongst children. As to Sir Edward Pellew (here he was called to order for mentioning the name of a member), that gallant officer had been out 19 weeks, and it was therefore no matter for wonder that he should come up to Parliament: he came to town as a commander, to do business which could be better done by himself. He (Capt. M.) had spent his life in the naval services of his country, and the longer he lived, the more he found he had to learn.

Mr. *Pitt*, in explanation, said, that the hon. Capt. had entirely misunderstood him, as he had all along recommended the building of gun-brigs, such as was used during the late war. He had never stated that he wished small vessels to be substituted, or larger ones built, to constitute our additional force. The hon. Capt. was also equally unfortunate in misunderstanding him respecting another point; as he had never stated that such a description of vessels ought to be employed exclusively on the enemy's coast, but that, from the enemy's coast to our own, and in mid-channel alternately. As to the gallant officer (Sir Edward Pellew), if he was not sent for on purpose, he certainly came very opportunely.

The *Attorney General.*—Sir, I beg to express my humble reliance, that the House will indulge me with their attention to a few observations upon the subject now before them, and in vindication of his Majesty's ministers, whose dismissal from their situations is the avowed object of the motion this night brought forward by the hon. gent. over against me; and, Sir, I should not feel that I had done my duty this night to my King and country, if I should omit to express my astonishment at the manner in which the question has been opened by that hon. gent. If the question be carried this night in favour of that motion, and especially upon the arguments of the right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Pitt), there can be no question of its being followed by the resignation of his Majesty's ministers, who can no longer retain their situations under so obvious a declaration that they have lost the confidence of the House of Commons. But I would ask the hon. gent., if this is the species of conduct I am to expect from his candour and liberality? Is it on a motion of this sort, containing no direct charge of any criminal act or omission on the part of his Majesty's ministers, that I am to expect a decision, in which is insidiously involved the question, whether or not they shall any longer retain the confidence of this House, or continue to fill those situations in which they have acted with so much zeal and integrity, and I will add, with such signal effect for the service and security of their King and country? Is this a species of conduct consistent with the candour and manliness of his character, or the dignity which I have on so many occasions admired, though on so many others I have had reason to censure? Could I have expected from him, to choose such a mode or such a subject, to collect every stray vote and every stray opinion, to impress with his purpose the minds of many gent. brought together from the most distant parts of the country with no trivial share of management and industry?—(A cry of Hear! Hear!)—Sir, I repeat it, gent. brought hither with the utmost industry from every quarter of the kingdom, to hear the attack this night upon his Majesty's ministers, preparatory to their fall, under a subsequent measure, namely, an address to his Majesty for their dismissal. This, it is obvious, the motion before the House is the forerunner of: but if this House shall agree to a motion brought forward in such a manner, I have no hesitation in declaring, that it will sanction a project the most to be deplored, under existing circumstances, that ever was adopted by a House of Parliament. With regard to the principle of the prerogative vested in the Crown for calling on the services of the body of the people for the defence of the country, the hon. gent. has endeavoured to show some doubts on the existence of that prerogative. In support of his reasoning, he adduced some passages from Judge Foster. Certainly, I will allow his authority upon any legal subject; and he concludes, that if this prerogative does exist, it is only in the sanction of modern usage, and in cases of actual invasion. Now, Sir, I would beg to ask, if it exists only in cases of invasion, what is the occurrence in modern usage in this country, by which only it is sanctioned? for certainly the instances of modern invasion to this realm, afford no opportunity for instances of its exercise; and the practice has obtained principally, if not entirely, on ancient usage. For my own part, I have no doubt of the existence of the prerogative in the Crown; and it must appear to every man of ordinary perception, that cases of invasion, when the power of the magistrate and of the law courts is for a time suspended, the prerogative of the Crown is all in all for the well being of the realm. With respect to the motion before the House, Sir, if it is meant to precede an address to his Majesty for the dismissal of his present ministers, it is necessary, at least, to consider on what grounds, or what those ministers have done or left undone, that so marked a measure of censure is called for; and it will behove the wisdom and justice of this House, before they consent to affix their hand to such a measure, to consider well how it can be justified, and to look a little further and consider what are the consequences likely to result from the councils of men, such as those who are likely to become the successors of the present administration. An hon. gent. who has this night taken occasion to censure his Majesty's ministers for the peace they had concluded, seems to forget his own declaration on the subject of that peace upon a former occasion. He then gave it his approbation, and said, that, considering the state of the world, and the situation in which this country stood, it was the best that could be obtained, and he hailed it as such; while another right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), whom I will call his new ally on the present occasion, deprecated the peace, and condemned it as a most mischievous and ruinous measure. Those difficulties I shall leave for those great statesmen to settle at the next cabinet they hold; but, putting the authority of the one against the other, I will ask, what sort of congruity the country can expect from a junction of both? For the peace which was concluded, every British heart acknowledged gratitude to his Majesty's present ministers; and to them is entirely owing the unanimity of the whole empire in support of the present war—an unanimity worth all the soldiers that were disbanded at the conclusion of the peace. Yet the hon. gent. allows no excuse to his Majesty's ministers for recommencing an unavoidable war; but charges them with involving the country in danger. I should be glad, Sir, if his talents had been always roused to action by a sense of his country's danger. I should rejoice, Sir, to remember, if his vigilance and his energies had always been excited by a sense of the danger of that country for which he now professes so much alarm and solicitude. But, Sir, when public danger threatened this country on a former and no very remote occasion, how did the hon. member manifest his solicitude? Was it by deserting his duty in this House? When the annihilation of the naval power of the country was menaced by the mutiny, where was the hon. gent.? Not at any place where his duty should have pressed him. So much for the hon. gent.'s zeal, and his alarm at the public danger. I have no charge to make against his consistency in supporting the peace, because, during the whole of the war, he was ready to make peace upon almost any terms; and, therefore, I might suppose he would be as ready on the same principle to support peace again. But, how will he reconcile this principle to the right hon. gent. who goes along with him in this measure, and who has so repeatedly declared that peace to have so sunk the spirit of the country, and the hearts of Englishmen, that they have not courage to raise their hands against France? I know not how much the arrogance and acerbity with which that peace was condemned, and the character and courage of the country traduced, may have contributed to excite the enemy to new designs of hostility against us; but certainly, if Buonaparte felt any disposition to insult and attack this country, I know of nothing so well calculated to induce him to believe he may do it with impunity, as the language held on that occasion by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham.) But now that this fallen, dispirited, and pusillanimous nation is again disposed to assert itself, and shew its spirit against the common enemy, his Majesty's ministers are attacked for renewing the war, and condemned through every vestige of their proceedings in conducting it. Sir, I say it would be an act of the utmost rashness in this House, at such a crisis as the present, to move for the dismissal of his Majesty's ministers, or agree to any motion necessarily leading to such a measure, without well considering what would be likely to follow, and who to succeed them—to consider a little the disposition of those successors; and, Sir, if we only examine a little the consistency of those principles and politics, we shall find but little cause to rely on the success of their measures.—We are told that our country is in a state of siege; and how does it appear? Why, in our fleets blockading the ports of the enemy! It is said that we are degraded in the eyes of all

Europe. I should be glad to know the name of that nation, which, amongst the surrounding countries of humiliated Europe, can, from its proud and elevated dignity, look down upon the present humble, prostrate state of degraded England! If, indeed, the powers of the Continent felt that England, crouching with terror within her own ports, felt alarm only for her own safety, they might feel sentiments of contempt for her situation; but, viewing her as the only nation able to cope with the gigantic power and ambition of France, which had humbled all the rest of Europe, and the only rallying point to which Europe can turn for the hopes of its emancipation, I am at a loss to conceive what is meant by this degradation. I recollect, indeed, Sir, the vaunts of the enemy, the threats of our annihilation, the "delenda est Carthago," the assertion that France and England could not both exist in the same hemisphere, and the menaces of Buonaparte of our utter destruction; but we have seen him afterwards crouch to a peace with this country, and to purchase that peace by surrendering the territories of his allies; and how does he now menace our destruction? Why, by fleets that dare not quit his shores beyond the protection of those batteries that line his coast from Dunkirk to Boulogne.—From an union, such as the motion of this night proposes to affect, in succession to his Majesty's present ministers, no unity of sentiment can be expected. In a cabinet composed of such opposite principles, no union can exist. I think it extremely probable, for instance, that one of the first measures that would be proposed by the right hon. gent. opposite to me (Mr. Fox), would be a peace with Buonaparte, and probably through the mediation of Russia. But, I ask, is it to be expected such a peace would be proposed in such terms as his right hon. ally (Mr. Windham) would be induced to agree to? I know there are many gent. in this House tonight, who may be induced to vote in favour of this question, even with intent to the removal of his Majesty's present ministers, in hopes that it might lead to form a ministry, at the head of which might be placed the right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Pitt). I know, Sir, his great talents and his exalted mind; and I know that great good must be attained for this country, under any govt. where he is placed at the head. But does any man imagine it possible he could ever unite with the hon. gent. opposite to me, who has so often arraigned his govt. as an abomination to this country, and the whole of his measures as the most wicked, dangerous, and unconstitutional? who has arraigned him repeatedly as guilty of the vilest corruption and profligacy, and accused him of wickedly and unnecessarily protracting the late war, and promoting the ruin of his country? Can it be possible, Sir, that the hon. member over against me (Mr. Fox), now just returning to this House from that retirement he sought in disgust at the measures of the right hon. gent. under the gallery, will dedicate his first exertion to raise again to power that minister whose former sway he considered so odious, and his ministry the greatest calamity to this country? Sir, I cannot suppose such an object possible. It may be imagined, that the right hon. gent. under the gallery is desirous of raising to power the hon. member over the way: this I think equally improbable. I do not say the disgrace would be greater to one than to the other, but that it would be equally disgraceful to both. I am ready to give the right hon. gent. under the gallery credit for every thing magnanimous, for every thing liberal, for every readiness to sacrifice political resentment or party pique, when, at such a crisis, they may stand in the way of his country's good; and I am sure he would feel it a load cast from his feelings. But, Sir, I do not believe that he can sacrifice the great principle of his consistency; and I can never think that two men of principles so totally opposite, could meet at the same council board, without such concealments or dissimulation as would render each despicable in the eyes of the other, and both in their own. I beg to ask, if this could be considered as a means of defending the nation? If it could be for the good of the country, that administration should continue in their situations after the confidence of Parliament is withdrawn from them? And if they are to continue in place, would it not be madness for the House to accede to this measure? I beg to ask, is this a time to repeal the Habeas Corpus Suspension Law in Ireland, or the Martial Law bill? Is it, I ask, a prudent moment to agitate the Catholic question? Is it a time to assimilate this homely constitution of ours to that "exalted monument of human wisdom," the govt. of France? With respect to the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), I conjure him by the many well-fought days of argument he has maintained in this House —I conjure him by the memory of his departed friend, Mr. Burke — I conjure him by a memory he should and he ought to respect still more, the memory of his departed self, to pause, before it is too late, and before he signs and seals for ever his own inconsistency. I would ask him, whether he is prepared to join the advocates of French principles? (a loud cry of Order! Order!) or whether he considers this the proper moment for the introduction of such principles? I again conjure the House to look seriously to the consequences of agreeing to the present motion, as it must infallibly lead to the introduction of a new ministry worse than that which at present exists.

Mr. *Windham* said, he gave the learned gentleman credit for his endeavours to rouse the House from that languor into which it had been insensibly sinking. He had chaunted the funeral obsequies of the ministry in melodious strains.

> He sang Darius, great and good,
> Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen,
> Fallen from his high estate,
> And weltering in his blood.

But he did not seem to think the cause altogether desperate; and as he proceeded,

> He burst the bands of sleep asunder,
> And rous'd him like a rattling peal of thunder.

The learned gent. had considered the motion in two different aspects. For his own part, he must confess he had no objection to the one part of the motion, as stated by the learned gent. that the present administration should be removed; but, at the same time, the conclusion that had been drawn from it by no means followed. Though they might disapprove of the conduct of the present ministers, it was not necessary they should point out, at the same time, who were the most proper to be their successors. Neither was it necessary that they should begin by charging ministers with misconduct previously to any investigation. Had they done this, he could easily conceive that the learned gent. would have been the first to cry out at the injustice of the proceeding. He would have asked a fair trial previous to any sentence of condemnation; he would have cried out very much had they moved the dismissal of ministers, without assigning any reason, or merely because they did not like them, have concluded them to be bad. He wished to go into the question on its own intrinsic merits, and not on the ground on which the learned gent. had shewn so much feeling, and in which he no doubt was sincere. Before deprecating so warmly, however, the union of opposite sentiments, which he seemed so much to apprehend, he would request the learned gent. to look to a gent. not more than 4 or 5 benches from him (Mr. Tierney), whose sentiments and his had not been always congenial, and who had been for many years the friend and companion of the admirer of French principles; who had been the champion of reform, and those other questions which were so obnoxious to the learned gent. He had no objection to take advice, but he did not know if the advice, in the present instance, was purely disinterested. The learned gent. from his professional habits (and no man had a greater respect than he had for his professional character), was so much accustomed to plead for his client, that, in the present instance, he seemed to have forgotten that he was both advocate and client too.

Mr. *Tierney* said, he did not imagine he was of so much consequence as to be so often arraigned. Few questions ever were so little productive of difficulty to him in the vote he ought to give. With respect to what had been said, as to his inconsistency, it was for the event to shew how, on the subject of parliamentary reform, he should act. For the present, let that be left ad referendam. As to accusations of entertaining French principles, he should take that as he always took it, in no ill humour. He had opposed his Majesty's late ministers, and certainly for one strong reason, among others, that the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Windham) was a member of it. The present question was evidently one, on the confidence that ought to be reposed in administration. The ground stated for the motion was the defence of the country; but the latter part of the motion went to take away from the executive govt. what had been always entrusted to it. It was nothing else but the question of dismissing ministers, which ought to have been brought forward in a fair, manly manner. He might be accused of self-interest, but he knew he had not been actuated by any such motive. It was said, that administration acted on no system, and this by those who were a part of the last; of that administration which formed the provisional cavalry, and whose income tax was the subject of complaints without end. Ministers had been abused for listening to the suggestions of others; such was the return for their impartiality. But any candid man, who looked at the multiplicity of affairs that crowded upon them, would see that their fault was rather in attempting too much. Look at Ireland, and see what a small force there was last war to defend it, compared with what there is at present; yet from the same mouth that ordered the then Irish establishment, the House now heard the voice of complaint. The right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Pitt) had sufficiently shewn the excellence of the volunteer system on different occasions. The zeal of the people at large had certainly been great, but ministers had done every thing in their power to promote and direct it; and the volunteers in general had shewn an excellent disposition. They were not equal to regular troops on a military system; but he did not think that the united talents of the different coalescing parties could point out a better mode of assisting the public defence. If party had raged abroad as much as in that House, they never could have been formed. If they were used properly, they would do their duty. With all the conquests and power of France, all that she has been able to do since the last peace, and all the additional means afforded her, we were now actually preparing, not for defence, but for offensive measures against her. The country was, therefore, as well defended as if even the late Sec. at War had the care of defending it. He had a great respect for the abilities of that right hon. gent. but he really believed that his return to the management of military affairs would strike more dismay than the appointment of any other man in the country: so many things would immediately occur to disgust the public mind. He might get a disposeable force, and he believed, too, he would, as formerly, soon find out a way of disposing of it. The present negligent and incapable ministry, as it was called, had scarcely done any thing like the transactions of St. Domingo, or the invasion of Holland, for which men were enticed and sent off intoxicated, and not knowing to what regiment they belonged, to have their brains beat out. But on this question the right hon. gent. ought to be able to state what his expectations were with respect to the successors of the present administration. He had heard a good deal of a coalition: that it had actually taken place he could not say; but he had also heard of a co-operation. Three large bodies had, it seemed, agreed in nothing else, but in their efforts to get rid of the present ministry. To accomplish such an union, many things must have been given up, and probably the right hon. gent. had made his peace with the hon. mover, for the attack made on the unblemished character of the hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) while that right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) was in Office, by striking him out of his Majesty's Privy Council! If gent. suffered such a motion as this to be carried, what would they say to the country, after the various acts they had passed, and the measures they had taken? It was necessary to look at the remedy proposed, as well as the disorder. The leaders of the combined parties had many partizans undoubtedly; but he was perfectly confident, that if they succeeded, there would be a general feeling of regret in the public mind, whenever the present administration should retire. The feelings of the public were, he was certain, with the present ministers. After ten years experience, the public had felt the blessing of being deprived of the vigorous proceedings of the rignt hon. gent. (Mr. Windham). But where were the petitions against ministers? From what city, or county, or borough? Some gent. in opposition, had a pretty good notion of the mode of procuring them; but they did not appear. Perhaps he might hear of them by-and-by. There might be some meetings in Palace-yard for that purpose, and very probably in the borough of Southwark too; but at present, gent. knew, that to procure any thing of importance in this way was impracticable. He was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of Ministers, and he should always look back to his connexion with them with satisfaction.

The Hon. C. H. *Hutchinson* said a few words in support of the motion, after which,

Mr. *Fox* rose to reply, and addressed the House to the following effect:—Sir, so much of this debate has been employed in personalities; so many observations have been made upon the character and construction of the motion, and upon the manner in which I introduced it, and so little has been said upon the motion itself, that it becomes necessary to trespass upon the House with a few observations. If ever there was a debate conducted with the spirit of party, indeed I ought rather to say with the spirit of faction, for it does not deserve the honourable name of party, it is the manner in which this debate has been conducted by the opponents of the motion, with the exception only of the Sec. of State, who met it in a fair and manly manner. If ever there was a case, in which those who opposed a motion displayed a total want of talent and capacity, and in their room had recourse to unjustifiable personality (and if I was to call it coarse ribaldry, I should not over-rate it) it is the present. I will begin what I have to say with a few observations respecting myself. I have been used to debates of this kind, and I have always observed, that when those whom I have opposed are pressed hard, and feel themselves in danger of a defeat, then I am sure to have all my political sins set forth in array against me; then I am sure to be told of my attachment to French principles; of my culpable love of peace, and of the coalition. I waited in confident expectation that they would go back, as usual, to the Middlesex election, but in this I was for once disappointed. We will begin first with the coalition, an event which occurred one-and-twenty years ago, before, I believe, the learned gent. engaged in public life. If he wants any information upon that subject, I wish he would not apply merely to me, but to others, and what he, of course, will consider more respectable authority. Let him apply to one of the members of the present administration, I mean the President of the Council, who will give him some information upon the principles on which that measure was founded. Let him apply to one of the Post-Masters-General, who was supposed to have had a considerable share in bringing about the event, and from the information which the learned gent. will receive from his friends, he will be able to form an opinion upon the subject. The learned gent. has this night indulged himself in a declamation against union of all sorts, but he does not seem always to have entertained such a violent antipathy to them. When a number of my friends, whom I valued most highly, joined the late administration; when the Duke of Portland, when one of the present Post-masters-General, when Lord Fitzwilliam, and several others with whom I had for years concurred in opinion, coalesced with the late ministers, where then was all his indignation, where was all his declamation against coalitions. When I was hurt and vexed, as I certainly was by the loss of such friends, did I attribute their conduct to any thing but an honourable difference of opinion, which forced them to take the part they did? But whenever a coalition is in favour of a ministry of which he forms a part, then it is entitled to every praise; but if it should have the effect of disturbing such an administration, then it immediately becomes the subject of the learned gent.'s vehement invective. The learned gent. then represents me as an admirer of French principles. I do not know his history from the beginning of the French revolution; but I believe that was an event at which 99 men out of every 100 were extremely rejoiced—I mean the overthrow of the govt. of France; and I believe that even his Majesty's ministers at first entertained similar sentiments upon the subject. But he combines the revolution with all the dreadful events and crimes that followed, and makes me a party to the whole. The learned gent. I presume, knows the history of his own country, let him look to the year 1641; he will find that good and honourable men took a part in producing the events of that time; he knows also that they were followed by miseries and crimes which those men could neither foresee nor prevent; and it was one of the misfortunes of this country, that those calamities made men afterwards go into an opposite extreme; and this will always happen as long as men are men and human nature remains the same. But I clearly perceive the disappointment of the learned gent. He appears of late to have employed himself in considering parties; he looks at my right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), and at me; and he takes it for granted, that whatever change may take place, we cannot come in; but the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) he supposes will come in, and upon these suppositions, he formed his speech. He therefore came down prepared to treat me with every species of hostility, supposing that I should make a long speech against the ministers, and he prepared a very moderate reply for the right hon. gent. under the gallery, who, he took it for granted, would be rather gentle in his censure of them. All his venom was therefore poured out upon my right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) and myself, while he lavished his still more disgusting adulation upon his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt). He is not satisfied with praising the former ministers, but he says, that nothing could give greater satisfaction than the return of that right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) to administration, and that this was a fact of which the present ministers were perfectly convinced. But is he aware how strongly he is censuring his present friends by such language? He is actually accusing them, in the technical words of an indictment, "that they, well knowing that he, the said Mr. Pitt, was a fit person to be minister of this country, and well knowing that his return to administration would give general satisfaction, yet that they wilfully, at the instigation (I will not say of whom), did continue to retain their places and offices, to the exclusion of the said right hon. gent. from the office of minister." But it must be observed, that all this praise of the right hon. gent. is only conditional: They say to him, "You may return to office, and it will give great satisfaction; but you must take care not to bring any new friends with you, because if you do, then you will lose all the praise we have given you." One would really suppose, by the apprehension which he expresses about me, that I was a barrister, and that he thought I wanted to supersede him in his office. The learned gent. has been very liberal of his advice; he advises my right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) to take care of his character; he advises his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) not by any means to join with us; but I don't recollect that he has been kind enough to bestow any advice upon me. Dr. Johnson once said to a person who was loading him with praise, "pray, Sir, consider what your praise is worth, before you bestow it so liberally." So, I must beg the learned gent. to consider what his advice is worth, before he is so lavish of it.—It has been contended that this was an unusual motion: in answer to this, I only begged to refer to the journals, where innumerable precedents would be found. But it is said, your object is to turn out the ministers; why do you not move openly at once? If this motion has the effect of turning out the ministers I shall like it the better for it; but I take it to be more parliamentary to prove the misconduct of ministers before a motion made to dismiss them. It is said, why do you not move to censure ministers? Why, this motion does contain a censure upon them for not doing their duty; for not taking any steps to increase the regular army; for not taking any measure for arming the people, and these are charges which they will find it difficult to answer. It may be asked why I did not bring forward this charge before? My answer is this: I thought it fair to wait to see whether ministers would adopt any effectual steps for the security of the country; and finding they had not, I thought it my duty to make this proposition to the House.—I have but a few observations more to trouble the House with, except upon what fell from the Sec. of State. He says, that he does not think an armed peasantry fit for this country. This is a fair opinion for him to entertain. But what do the other ministers say? Why, that they will have an armed peasantry and volunteers also; but this is a point which I hope to have an opportunity of discussing fully with him upon another occasion. The right hon. gent. says, this motion is only a pretence, and that the real object of it is to turn out ministers, and that every member ought to vote upon that idea.—I most sincerely hope they will, for if every member, who thinks that the ministers ought not to continue in their stations, will vote for this motion, I shall not despair of dividing in a majority. He then says there is no discontent in the country, there are no petitions; and another right hon. gent. (Mr. Tierney) says I am very skilful in procuring petitions; if I am, it only proves that I am an apt scholar of his. But upon such a subject, is not the House of Commons competent to form a judgment upon the conduct of ministers and to determine whether they are worthy of confidence or not? But then it is asked with greater eagerness, if you remove the present ministers, who will you put in their place? And one right hon. gent. (Mr. Tierney) seems particularly anxious to obtain some information upon that subject. To this question my answer is this: I would exercise the constitutional power of the House of Commons in endeavouring to turn out incompetent ministers, but I would never invade the prerogative of the Crown by pointing out who were to succeed them. I wish to turn out those ministers because I think they are a curse to the country, but I should never think of interfering with the prerogative of the Crown in the appointment of their successors. Upon this subject, therefore, I can give no answer to the anxious enquiries of the right hon. gent.; who has, however, openly declared, that he will oppose any administration of which my right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) forms a part, though he seems by no means disinclined to bow to another (Mr. Pitt). Another topic of public animadversion has been noticed by the learned gent. with the bitter spirit of malignity, if not in the language of disappointment or despair. It is the clamour against a supposed coalition. If I have experienced a return of friendship from those men with whom for some years I have widely differed in public opinions, and with whom any difference at all times was a subject of sincere regret, I cannot conceive why the union of sentiment on this occasion should call forth so harsh and so severe a reprehension from the learned gent.; but if there be any crime for embracing a return of former friendship and affection, between men who had always entertained for each other private sentiments of esteem, I have no hesitation in pleading guilty to the charge. Thus far I think due to attentions which are always grateful to my heart; and I cannot see any just cause why the learned gent. in the hey-day of his spleen, should attempt to interrupt our intercourse, or disturb our repose. It surely is not necessary that either they or I should consult him on our selection of friends, or ask his leave how far our mutual civilities should extend. With regard to a coalition between me and the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) under the gallery; I know of no other coalition, no other cause of co-operation, than what may appear to both fair and honourable as members of parliament, acting for the true interests of the country. I am totally unacquainted with any sinister views or private understanding. I know of no other cause, no other secret springs, than what may be openly proclaimed at Charing-cross. Surveying the very critical situation of public affairs, fully persuaded that some effort should be made to restore the credit and the honour of the country both at home and abroad, we have publicly concurred for the honourable attainment of the same desirable object; and it is hard, indeed, that public men cannot agree upon public measures without being liable to the bitter reproach of the learned gent. and his hon. colleagues. In my motion of this night I am proud of acknowledging the powerful aid of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt); but as to the particular line of conduct or argument, which the right hon. gent. meant to adopt, I was, before the delivery of his speech, as completely unacquainted with as any man in the House. So far we may safely disclaim any coalition, or private understanding. It is evident, indeed, that we fully concur in one particular opinion: we are perfectly agreed as to the weakness and incapacity of the present ministers. The motion now before the House will prove, if a committee be granted, the truth of this position; and should it be negatived, no proof can, from that circumstance, be inferred, that the ministers are either wise or able to conduct the affairs of a great empire. With all my condemnation of their measures, I have no hesitation to acknowledge that some of their acts I approved, believing them for the good of the country. But there is no general rule without an exception. Am I always to support their measures, whether wise or foolish? Am I always to agree with them, whether in peace or war? Although I highly approved of peace, as necessary for the interest of the country, yet I highly disapproved of some of its articles. With all my partiality for the peace of Amiens, I could not see any propriety in the shameful surrender of all our conquests. So glad, however, was I of the return of peace, that I did not dwell much upon the terms. Had such a happy event been properly managed, we might still have been at peace. But foolish and improvident ministers are ill calculated to avail themselves of the advantages of such an event. I do not, however, now oppose them, because we are at war, but because the country and its interests are in the most imminent danger. But I shall not neglect my public duty should any great emergency arise. I shall not, like some people, sit in silence when my country is in danger. I shall not passively let the French march to London, because I cannot give ministers my confidence. I hope public men may oppose and condemn ministers, without being charged as friendly to the common enemy. I and those with whom I had the honour of acting, totally disapproved of the American war. Did we, however, ever shrink from our public duty? No. I can refer those who entertain any doubt on the subject, to many great and respectable names. I can refer them to several distinguished characters, who were active in a military capacity in the militia. I can refer them to some noble commanders, who, notwithstanding their detestation of the American war, cordially united in every arrangement to repel the enemy, who then also threatened a descent on our coast. Coxheath and Warley witnessed their zeal and patriotism, by heading troops very little inferior to veterans in discipline, but equal to them in sentiments of glory. I beg pardon of the House for engrossing so much of their attention at so late an hour; but when so grossly and so illiberally charged, I hope for some indulgence. The motion is certainly not made with a design favourable to administration. It is made for the purpose of inquiring into the means of our defence, and improving our situation. All those who are real friends to the country—all those who would render even justice to administration, by affording them an opportunity of vindicating their conduct, will vote with me this night. I wish for the votes of these men, and these men only. Grant me but the committee, and I will endeavour to prove the truth of my allegations. If the result of the inquiry should be favourable to administration, they will have cause of triumph. Let us, however, investigate the facts. Let us not allow every act of parliament for our defence to remain as a mere dead letter. Let us, as there appears danger, improve our military spirit. Let us immediately adopt plans for the better and more general arming of the people.

The question being called for, the ayes went forth, and on the division the numbers were,

For Mr. Fox's motion	204
Against it - - - -	256
Majority -	52

Adjourned at 4 o'clock on Tuesday morning.

List of the Minority.

Anson, Thomas
Antonie, W. Lee
Adair, Robert
Adams, W.
Aubrey, Sir John
Bailey, George
Bankes, Henry
Binning, Lord
Bertie, General
Barclay, George
Barham, J. Foster
Bruce, P. C.
Bootle, E. W.
Barne, Snowdon
Brandling, C. J.
Beach, Hicks M.
Brodie, J.
Brooke, Lord
Byng George
Burdett, Sir F.
Blaquiere, Lord De
Bouverie, Hon. E.
Bradshaw, R. H.
Bligh, Thomas
Berkeley, Admiral
Burroughs, Wm.
Barclay, Sir Robert
Bourne, Sturges
Cooke, Bryan
Creevey, Thomas
Courtenay, John
Canning, George
Cartwright, W. R.
Cooper, J. E.
Caulfield, Hon. H.
Craufurd, Col.
Chapman, C.
Codrington, C.
Calcraft, John
Cavendish, Lord G.
Cavendish, W.
Carbery, Lord
Coke, Thomas W.
Coke, Edward
Combe, H. C.
Dalrymple, Sir H.
Dickenson, W. sen.
Dickenson, W. jun.
Dupré, J.
Dundas, R.
Dundas, Right Hon. W.
Dundas, Charles
Dundas, L.
Dundas, G.
Dundas, Philip
Dent, John
Dillon, Hon. H. A.
Durand, J. H.
Elford, Sir Wm.
Ellis, C. R.
Euston, Earl of
Eliot, Hon. W.
Eliot, W.
Everett, T.
Ferguson, James
Fitzharris, Lord
Foster, John
Fuller, John
Fox, Hon. C. J.
Foljambe, F. F.
Francis, Philip
Fitzpatrick, General
Fitzhugh, Wm.
Folkestone, Lord
Foley, Andrew
Graham, Col.
Graham, James
Geary, Sir W.
Gregor, Francis
Gunning, G W.
Garland, G.
Gower, Lord G. L.
Grenville, R. H. T.
Grenfell, P.
Hammet, John
Hill, W.
Hamilton, Lord A.
Henderson, A.
Hippisley, Sir J. C.
Holland, H.
Hardman, E.
Harrison, John
Hulkes, J.
Hope, Alex.
Hutchinson, Hon. C.
Hughes, W. L.
Jeffery, J.
Joliffe, Hylton
Jekyl, Joseph
Johnstone, George
Johnes, T.
Kinnaird, Hon. C.
Kensington, Lord
Kirkwall, Visc.
Leigh, R. H.
Lenox, Charles
Long, Rt. Hon. J. C.
Latouche, P.
Latouche, J.
Louvaine, Lord
Lowther, Col.
Lowther, J.
Langton, Gore
Laurence, Doctor
Lawley, Sir R.
Lamb, T. D.
Lambton, R. John
Ladbroke, R.
Leland, General
Milbank, Sir R.
Mostyn, Sir T.
Marsham, Viscount
Mildmay, Sir H.
Morpeth, Lord
Madocks, W. A.
Milner, Sir William
Morland, W.
Mackenzie, Gen. A.
Manners, John
Morris, E.
Montgomery, J.
Moore, Peter
Moore, G. P.
Newport, Sir John
North, Dudley
Northey, Wm.
Osborne, Lord F.
Osborne, John
Ossulstone, Lord
Ord, William
Pelham, Hon. C.
Popham, Sir Home
Poyntz, W. S.
Peel, Sir R.
Penn, J.
Petty, Lord H.
Pierse, Henry
Pitt, Right Hon. W.
Porchester, Lord
Preston, Sir R.
Phipps, J. G.
Plumer, Wm.
Pytches, John
Ram, A.
Ryder, Hon. R.
Russell, Lord W.
Raine, J.
Rooke, General
Rose, Rt. Hon. G.
Rose, George H.
Rutherford, G.
Scott, Claude
Scott, S.
Scott, Jos.
Sinclair, Sir John
Sloane, H.
Sheridan, R. B.
Sneyd, N.
Shakespeare, Arthur
Smith, Samuel
Smith, C.
Smith, John
Scudamore, John
Smith, William
Spencer, Lord R.
St. John, Hon. St. A.
Stanhope, S.
Smith, Asheton

Somerset, Lord E.
Staniforth, John
Stanley, Lord
Stuart, Lord W.
Thornton, S.
Thornton, Robert
Turner, Edm.
Thellusson, I. P.
Tarleton, General
Townshend, Lord J.
Villiers, Hon. J. C.
Ward, Robert
Ward, Hon. J. W.
Wilberforce, Wm.
White, M.
Walpole, Hon. G.
Windham, Right Hon. W.
Wynne, Sir W. W.
Wynne, C. W.
Wrottesley, Sir J.
Wigram, R.
Western, C C.
Wharton, John
Winnington, Sir E.
Wood, George
Young, Sir Wm.

Lord Temple, } Tellers.
S. Whitbread, }

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, April. 24.

[Irish Militia Offer Bill.]—The order of the day was then read for the third reading of the Irish Militia Transfer Bill. Lord Hawkesbury moved, that the bill be now read a third time.—On this occasion, a conversation of very considerable length, and rather of a desultory nature took place, on the subject of the operation of the existing laws, together with the actual provisions of the bill in question, respecting the liabilities of those Roman Catholic officers and privates serving in the Irish militia, who may be brought into this country, in case of their taking certain prescribed oaths, tests, &c. The principal speakers were, the Lord Chancellor, Lords Grenville, Hawkesbury, Ellenborough, Carleton, Mulgrave, Auckland, the Bishop of St. Asaph, Earl Spencer, the Marquis of Sligo, and the Duke of Norfolk. The discussion arose principally out of that which took place on a former evening, on the same topic, and which was, in some degree, reserved for future consideration. The hinge upon which it generally turned in the present instance, was upon a clause proposed to be introduced in the way of rider, by Lord Grenville, and, in substance, tending to enact, That no person serving in G. Britain, in the Irish regiments of militia, should be subject to any liabilities, penalties, &c. in consequence of their not taking or subscribing the oaths or declarations required by law therein, other than they were subject to while serving in Ireland. The introduction of this clause was objected to by the Lord Chancellor, Lords Ellenborough, Carleton, Hawkesbury, Auckland, and the Marquis of Sligo, chiefly on the general ground of its being superfluous and unnecessary. Among the arguments urged by their Lordships, were the consideration of the laws of the two countries being identified by the act of union; that the act of the 26th of Charles II. by which the liabilities in question were first created, had only in its purview England, Wales, and the islands of Guernsey and Jersey; that by the provisions of the existing laws, an indictment preferred on the score of non-compliance, must necessarily be laid in such a way as could not apply to the enactments of an Irish statute; that the decisions of the courts below in such cases, must be hostile to the interpretation given to the bill by the peers in opposition; and that under every fair and liberal construction of the measure under consideration, those dissenters from the established religion, serving in the Irish militia in this country, were entitled to every advantage, immunity, and protection, which they derived from the acts under which they originally engaged to serve. Upon these general grounds, the clause was opposed by the above-mentioned Peers.—On the part of those Lords who supported the clause, who, beside the noble mover (Lord Grenville) were principally Earl Spencer, Lord Mulgrave, and the Bishop of St. Asaph, it was urged, among other arguments, that the subject was of that peculiar nature and importance, that the non-liability of the religious dissenters in question, should be clearly and specifically declared; that the introducing such a clause, could not possibly be detrimental, but was obviously of beneficial tendency. Recent occurrences should convince their Lordships of the necessity of such an enactment; when, notwithstanding, the decisions which were given in the courts below on a subject of great importance, it was found adviseable in the bill, which was afterwards introduced, to declare what the law was upon the subject; that the interpretations given by law lords on such occasions should not be implicitly followed, and that what fell from learned lords in the course of the present conversation, should convince the House of the necessity of adopting a clear and specific provision upon the subject; and, that not a shadow of doubt should be suffered to remain in the minds of those who were to be affected by the present measure, &c.—Lord Grenville pressing the clause, the House divided, when there appeared

Contents	38	Non Contents	51
Proxies	7	Proxies -	20
	—45		—71

On the question that the bill should pass, being put,

Lord *Mulgrave* rose, and entered at some length into the conduct of ministers in the different measures they had brought forward. He had the greatest esteem for their integrity and upright intentions; but it would be better for this country to have men of more talent in administration, even though they should have less integrity, because the excellent forms of our constitution guarded against the confidence of the country being given to any person who should be so devoid of integrity as to abuse that confidence. He had heard of the measures of ministers for the most part from rumour, which, in this case, was a proper representative, for it was vague and changeable like the measures themselves. He then commented upon the extreme impolicy of the bill; which stopped up the sources of recruiting for the army.

The Earl of *Carnarvon* objected to the bill upon the grounds, that when the militia was embodied at first, it was meant as a constitutional force, and that the change of its place was in some measure a dereliction of the principle, on which it was founded.

Lord *Westmoreland* relied to the arguments of the two last speakers, and defended ministers from the charge which had been made against them, of endeavouring to palliate their own conduct by a comparison with the measures of their predecessors. The object of this bill was to augment the disposeable force of the country, and he thought that it was a proper and wise measure to raise the militia of Ireland to that number to which they had been raised during the last war.—The question being put on the passing of the Bill, the House divided,

Contents	69	Non Contents	41
Proxies	22	Proxies	8
	—91		—49

The bill was accordingly passed.

[Irish Militia Augmentation Bill.] Upon the motion for the third reading of the Irish Militia Augmentation Bill,

Lord *King* rose and observed, that the only argument which he had heard uttered in defence of this measure, that had the least appearance of plausibility was, that the Irish peasantry were more ready to enter upon military duty with the country gent. whom they knew, than to engage in any other sort of service. But if this argument was well-founded, where was the justice or even the plausibility of those opinions that had been stated of the unwillingness of the Irish Roman Catholics to enter into the service of a protestant govt.? The very circumstance of their following the country gent. of whatever persuasion, was a proof that such opinions were ill-founded, and rashly adopted. Yet, certain letters had been circulated over this country, by means of the public prints, from which it appeared, that a noble and learned lord (Redesdale) who held a high situation in the Irish govt. maintained such opinions. What must be the effect of such a conviction, as these had a tendency to produce upon the minds of the Roman Catholics of Ireland? Could they believe that the govt. was diposed to place any confidence in them, when a distinguished member of it entertained and delivered such opinions? He who, from the dignified situation which he held, ought to have been the soother of those animosities, that were too apt to be inflamed by religious disputes, instead of himself promoting and irritating them. It was high time to begin to endeavour to conciliate the Catholics, who could never be well affected to a govt. headed by Protestants, who, instead of studying their interests, only treated them with abuse. He then entered upon the subject matter of the bill, to which he had the strongest objections.

The Earl of *Limerick* warmly vindicated the Protestants from the charge of treating the Catholics of Ireland with abuse, and contended, that the words of the noble Lord himself had the strongest tendency to inflame religious animosities.

Lord *Ellenborough* would not have said a word on the present subject, had it not been for the reflections which had fallen from a noble lord opposite to him, against another noble lord, a member of that House. He had adverted to the publication of the letters of a noble and learned lord, now in another kingdom, and commented upon them, as if they had been published by the authority of the noble lord who had written them. He thought, indeed, that the age of chivalry was gone; the nice discriminations and feelings of honour were likewise gone, when comments were to be made in that House on a correspondence obtained in the way in which the one alluded to had come before the public. He was far from supposing that the noble Lord to whom the letters were addressed, had any hand in their publication. Had the two noble lords by whom they were written, and to whom they were addressed, concurred in prosecuting the purloiner of them, his Lordship entertained no doubt that they would have had a good action against him for their value. Any person making comments on a private correspondence thus purloined, was of course guilty of receiving stolen goods, and, to use an old vulgar adage, "the receiver was as bad as the thief." Were such publications to be countenanced and commented on, as if the reality of their contents was unquestionable, there was an end to every degree of confidence in society, and all communication between man and man must cease. He did not suppose that the noble lord opposite to him meant any thing in what he had said: he could not, however, sit silent, while the character of an honourable, virtuous, and respectable gentleman was thus improperly introduced.

Earl *Darnley* said, that from the different tone, style, and manner which the noble and learned lord who had just sat down had for some time assumed, he had began to hope that the noble and learned lord had thought proper to lay aside that strain of virulence which was better calculated for the other side of the bar than for the deliberations of that House. His noble friend had expressed himself in the mildest possible terms of the correspondence in question, milder surely than its contents might have warranted. If he understood the noble and learned lord, however, the term that a receiver was as bad as a thief, had been applied to his noble friend; language which could in no view be deemed parliamentary, and which was highly unbecoming in that House. He himself had expressed his opinion of the correspondence alluded to in stronger terms than those used by his noble friend. He did not feel inclined to change that opinion. The noble and learned lord had said that he imputed nothing improper to his noble friend for the expressions which had dropped from him, and he begged the noble and learned lord to know, that he understood that a similar sentiment extended to him. The noble lord then proceeded to express his sentiments on the bill, of which he totally disapproved.—After some farther discussion between Lords Hobart, Harrowby, and Spencer, the Marquis of Sligo, and the Earl of Montrose, the House divided on the question for the third reading of the Bill.

Contents	- -	94
Non-Contents	-	62
Majority	-	32

The bill was then read a third time and passed.

List of the Minority.

Duke of Richmond
Duke of Beaufort
Duke of Bedford
Duke of Montrose
Duke of Leinster
Duke of Athol
Marquis of Buckingham
Marquis of Stafford
Earl of Derby
Earl of Pembroke
Earl of Bridgewater
Earl of Thanet
Earl of Essex
Earl of Albemarle
Earl Cholmondeley
Earl of Tankerville
Earl Cowper
Earl Fitzwilliam
Earl of Egremont
Earl of Guildford
Earl of Darlington
Earl of Radnor
Earl Spencer
Earl Bathurst
Earl of Leicester
Earl Talbot
Earl Camden
Earl Fortescue
Earl of Mansfield
Earl of Carnarvon
Earl of Malmesbury
Earl of Romney
Earl of Besborough
Earl Darnley
Earl of Aboyne
Earl of Carysfort
Earl of Lucan
Earl of Upper Ossory
Earl of Stair
Lord Viscount Maynard
Lord Viscount Lowther
Lord St. John
Lord Grey de Ruthyn
Lord King
Lord Borringdon
Lord Kenyon
Lord Braybrooke
Lord Grenville
Lord Mulgrave
Lord Dundas
Lord Mountfort
Lord Stawell
Lord Foley
Lord Yarborough
Lord Carrington
Lord Glastonbury
Lord Minto
Lord Lilford
Lord Berwick
Lord Bishop of Lincoln
Lord Bishop of Carlisle
Lord Bish. of Peterborough

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, April 24.

Minutes.]—A petition was presented from a number of persons interested in the manufactures and commerce of Ireland, complaining of the operation of the Exports Duty Bill, and praying relief. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. B. Weald, who had been taken into custody for disobedience of the authority of the Middlesex Election Committee, was brought to the bar, received a reprimand from the Speaker, and was ordered to be discharged on paying his fees.—Mr. Foster moved, that there be laid before the House an Account of the Consolidated Fund in Ireland, for the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1803. Ordered. The Report of the Committee to whom the Yorkshire Clothiers Petition was referred, was brought up. After some conversation between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. H. Lascelles and Admiral Berkeley, the House ordered that leave be given to bring in a bill to regulate the woollen trade in the county of York, pursuant to the terms of the report, which was then ordered to be printed.—Mr. Wilberforce presented a Petition from the Institution for Destroying the Effects and Preventing the Extension of Putrid Fevers, praying for leave to present a Petition for Parliamentary Aid. He stated the extreme utility of the Institution in reducing parochial burdens, &c. and added, that their present funds, arising from individual contributions, were inadequate to the object which they had in view. Leave granted.—The Exchequer Bills Bill was read a second time, and referred to a committee of the whole House to-morrow.—Mr. Calcraft postponed his intended motion on the subject of the allowance to subalterns in the Volunteer service till Wednesday se'nnight.—Mr. Kinnaird deferred making the motion of which he had formerly given notice, with respect to Irish Half-pay Officers, till Wednesday fortnight.—Mr. Vansittart moved, that there be laid before the House an Account of the quantity of Wine imported into Great Britain for five years, distinguishing each year, &c.; and also an account of the quantity of raw Sugar for three years, &c.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice, that on Friday he should move for a sum of money for the Caledonian Canal, and also for the Plantation Estimates.

Loyalty Loan]—Mr. *Dent* rose to make his promised motion relative to the interests of the holders of the Loyalty Loan. He entered into a minute history of all the particulars in any sort connected with the negotiation of that Loan, the passing of the act which legalized the transaction, and every subsequent event, by which he thought the faith of govt. was in the least implicated, or the interests of the holders of that loan affected. The loan was proposed on Thursday the 1st of Dec. and by ten o'clock on Monday the 5th, the names were put down for the whole amount of 18 millions. On the 23d of the same month, when the bill received the Royal assent, there was the sum of one million five hundred thousand actually paid down on the faith of the agreement which had been made with the then Chancellor of the Exchequer. There were several meetings had afterwards, and different opinions were known to have been given as to the legal interpretation of the precise terms of the act. On the whole he argued that, if the subscribers did actually expect to have a right to demand re-payment in two years after the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, it could not be deemed consistent with the honour or good faith of the nation to permit individuals to suffer by any embarrassment or doubtfulness in the formation of an act of parliament. He therefore moved, "that the said act be referred to a committee of the whole House."

Mr. *Vansittart*, in reply to the objections of the hon. mover to the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, maintained that they had pursued the line which, under similar circumstances, their predecessors, or any other ministers, would have attended to, namely, where a doubt existed as to the interpretation of an act of parliament to consult the law officers of the Crown; who upon this occasion had delivered an opinion that differed, it was true, from that of a respectable barrister (Mr. Pigot); but he must state that which came to his knowledge, that the case upon which the learned barrister alluded to had pronounced an opinion, was erroneously drawn up, and particularly with respect to the date of the definitive treaty of peace, or otherwise he presumed that no difference would have existed between that and the opinion of the law officers of the Crown.

Mr. *Burroughs* argued that the resolution of the committee of ways and means, which immediately followed the proposal made with the subscribers to the loyalty loan, was a confirmation of the bargain which they concluded with ministers, and that any deviation from that resolution in the bill that was grounded upon it must have been a mistake, for it was impossible to suppose that any breach of faith with the subscribers, could have been intended. The opinion of the law officers he maintained to be not perfectly agreeable to that which from all the circumstances was to be expected, for as they admitted the case to be doubtful, he conceived that their duty was to lean to the side of equity, and to attend to the well-founded claims of the public creditor.

Mr. *Pitt* said, that he had a great share in the origin of this transaction, and he thought it right to say that he meant to consider it merely as a question of good faith and justise. The statute upon which the difference of opinion existed, departed from the resolution of the committee which preceded it, and which, in his judgment, was binding upon that house with respect to the contract with the subscribers to the loyalty loan. Some doubts existed, he understood, as to the construction of the statute, as to the time when the holders of the loyalty loan had a right to claim payment. For himself, he had no hesitation to say, that his opinion coincided with that of Mr. Pigot, both as founded upon the justice of the case, and warranted by the letter of the act. It was stated that the opinion of that learned barrister was erroneous because it was founded upon an erroneous statement as to the date of the conclusion of the treaty of peace; but his opinion, it should be remembered, did not hinge upon any thing of that kind, but related to this question, whether the notice, which by the statute, was to precede the payment of those subscribers was to be concurrent with, or superadded to, the two years subsequent to the treaty of peace, which were to elapse before any claim should be made? From the words of the act, and from all the circumstances connected with the transaction, he was decidedly inclined to the opinion of Mr. Pigot, and to deviate from that opinion, would not, in his judgment, be to accord with the principles of good faith, which he hoped ministers would sufficiently feel it their duty to attend to. If there was any doubt in their mind as to the best mode of proceeding in consequence of the alteration in the act, from the words of the resolution, he thought it was their duty to apply for the advice of that House, and if there was any mistake, to have it rectified, but by no means to trust to any opinion against the equity of the case. The bargain was known to be concluded when the resolution of the committee was published, and any departure from that resolution in the progress of the bill, was an alteration made by one of the parties without the consent of the other. As such departure had occurred through inadvertency, he trusted that ministers would not run the risk of exposing parliament to the charge of imposition, by refusing to correct the evil complained of, a charge which was never attempted to be cast before. He begged leave to impress on the minds of the House, that almost immediately after the resolution of the committee was agreed to, by which the proposal of those subscribers was acceded to, some of them made a deposit, and many of them paid their first instalments before the bill was passed in which that resolution was altered.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* resisted the motion, and the arguments by which it was supported. He contended that good faith was not in any degree violated towards the subscribers to the loyalty loan, as they paid in their instalments with their eyes open to the terms of their bargain; the bill which sanctioned that bargain having passed in Dec. 1796, and no part of the subscription having been advanced until Jan. following. From this he inferred that no claim on the score of justice could be advanced, and if any of the parties were aggrieved, the courts of law were open for their redress. He saw no reason for an application to that House upon the subject. That application, however, he had to mention, was not sanctioned by above one-third of the holders of this loan; and even among that party very few of the original subscribers were to be found. This he mentioned in order to weaken the claim on the ground of liberality. If, however, those subscribers were to wait until the period when, according to the construction of the statute, they were entitled to payment at par, he wished it to be understood, that if they should not be paid before the 5th of April, 1805, they would then have to receive the whole of their original subscription, with not less than from 7 to 8 per cent. interest upon it from the time of the first advance. Then no loss would arise to the persons for whom so much anxiety was expressed by the advocates for the motion before the House—a motion which he trusted would not be acceded to; and he had to observe, that there was no necessity for it, for he had no doubt that some accommodation might be made with the subscribers, that by a *bonus* they would be reconciled to postpone their demand for payment until the period of peace. Sure he was that such payment could not, under the present circumstances, be made without very material inconvenience to the public, and therefore he would have no share in assenting to any propostion of this nature, particularly as there was no obligation of justice or good faith to call for such payment.

Mr. *Fox* said, he considered this a question of infinite importance, and concurred with the whole of the arguments advanced by the right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Pitt.) He stated, that it never was the custom to propose alterations in a bill, founded upon a resolution in a committee of ways and means, respecting any loan. He challenged the right hon. gent. on the treasury bench to quote one instance where any such proposition was made by him, or any other gent. who ever sat on the bench which he had occupied for so many years. This observation he made, in order to mark the respect for good faith towards public creditors, which had been uniformly felt in that House, and to shew that no one had ever before meditated any thing like an alteration in the terms of a loan particularly injurious to the contractors. It had often, to be sure, been attempted to throw out a loan bill altogether, as it might be in the Lords, but never in any case to alter the terms; that is, if the interest to the lender was proposed to be 5 per cent. no one ever moved in any stage of a loan bill, that such interest should be reduced, and for this obvious reason, that it would be a scandalous breach of faith to new-model a contract without the consent, and in a manner not subject to the control of one of the contracting parties. The contracting parties in this transaction, he considered to be the House of Commons, and the subscribers to the loyalty loan, and he trusted that that House would never, by an act of power, violate a solemn act of covenant, to which it subscribed when it agreed to the report of the committee, the resolution of which formed the bargain now under discussion. The hon. member asserted, that the contractors had a right to consider the resolution of that committee as conclusive of their bargain, and could not be supposed to have any cognizance of the subsequent proceeding upon the bill, for it would be monstrous to extend to such a case the maxim of ignorantia legis non excusat. The alteration, therefore, which took place, they could not be considered as aware of before they advanced their money. To make use, then, of such an alteration, to evade the original agreement with them, he could not but pronounce as little short of an absolute fraud. Indeed, he could not help considering the conduct which ministers seemed resolved to observe towards those creditors, as little less than bad faith personified. That they should, in the construction of an act, the meaning of which was confessed to be doubtful, take that construction which was opposite to good faith, instead of the contrary, was very extraordinary; but the right hon. gent. had said, that only a certain proportion of the loyalty loan holders had asserted this claim, and all the words he had used on that ground, to speak in the mildest manner of them, was, in fact, so much flung away. The right hon. gent., indeed, promised, that if this motion should be rejected, a negociation would be set on foot, with the persons complaining, to induce them to postpone their demand until another opportunity, and such negociation to reconcile them was, it seems to be preceded by a vote of this House to shew that ministers had the absolute power to deal with those claims in what manner they pleased—particularly if it should not be convenient to ministers to discharge them. Here the hon. member took notice of the argument of inconveniency made use of by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and strongly reprobated it as indecent and unbecoming upon such an occasion as that before the House. What, he would ask, would be thought of any private individual who should resort to such an argument to release himself from the execution of a solemn contract, who should propose to sacrifice justice to convenience? How then was the House and the public to judge of a minister who talked of convenience as an objection to the discharge of a debt legally contracted, and justly due to a certain number of public creditors.

Mr. *Tierney* observed, that unless the hon. member who had just spoken on the other side meant to introduce party spirit into every question, he saw no reason why he should have discussed this subject with so much heat, or charged his right hon. friend with intending to violate public faith. The right hon. gent. argued in favour of the opinion of his Majesty's law officers upon this subject, and the conduct which ministers had pursued. He particularly endeavoured to impress upon the minds of gent. how seriously a vote in favour of the motion before the House, might operate to embarrass the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his dealings to-morrow with the gent. whom he was to meet on the subject of the new loan. They might well speak of a material change since their last interview, if the House should give a vote that would imply that the holders of the loyalty loan should be immediately paid.

Mr. *Canning* called the attention of the House to the nature of the deposit which was usually made in bargains of this kind. If the deposit operated as an obligation on the contractors, it must be equally binding on govt. He saw no reason why the bargain should not be equally binding on the one party, as on the other.

Mr. *Pitt* declared that he had not a very distinct recollection of the terms contracted on, or the alteration that took place, but was certain that no communication could have been made to the holders of the loan in regard to that alteration. He regretted that he had not a distinct recollection, but entered into a detail of the circumstances, so far as his recollection could serve him, and concluded by stating, that on the ground that the notice should be given at the expiration of the two years from the signing of the preliminaries of peace, and the six months added to the two years, the time of payment would turn out to be pretty nearly on the 10th of Oct.

Mr. *H. Thornton* insisted that the option, if there was any, should be entirely in favour of the proprietors of the loan, whereas instead of par, to which they were entitled, they were receiving only 94 and 95.

Mr. *Morris* thought, that from the stock being at discount, the natural inference was, that the holders had not sufficient confidence in the faith of govt.

Sir *W. Pulteney* was of opinion, that govt. should raise no money, to be paid at a certain fixed day. It was this dangerous mode of borrowing money, the hon. Baronet alleged, that had ruined the French govt. and which might also be of serious inconveniency to this country.

The *Attorney General* spoke at some length against the motion, and principally contended that the terms of the loan were not to be gathered from the resolutions of the committee, but from the act of Parliament as explanatory of those resolutions.

Mr. *S. Thornton*, from the connection he had with the Bank, knew that no communication had been made in that quarter of the alteration that had been introduced into the terms of the loan by the act of Parliament subsequent to the resolutions of the committee.—A division being now called for, the House divided, when there appeared,

For the motion	- -	76
Against it	- - -	100
Majority	-	24

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, April 25.

Counsel were heard, in continuation, relative to the appeal from Chancery, Richardson v. the University of Oxford, viz. Mr. Erskine, at considerable length, on the part of the appellant. The farther hearing of the case was then adjourned till Friday.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages. These were mostly private. One public bill for amending the acts relative to the Irish linen manufacture, went through a committee, was reported, and the bill ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—Some private business was disposed of; after which the House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, April 25.

[Minutes.] — A message from the House of Lords announced that their Lordships had agreed to the Irish militia augmentation bill, and the Irish militia offer bill.—Mr. Jervis gave notice, that on this day se'nnight he should move for leave to bring in a bill founded on the fourth report of the commissioners for naval inquiries, relative to the early distribution of prize money.—Mr. Dent gave notice that he should, in the course of a few days, unless some other gent. brought the subject forward, submit a motion to the house with respect to the loyalty loan.—The house went through a committee on the Priests Orders bill. The report was received, and the bill ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—The committee on the Irish Revenue Regulation bill was ordered for Friday next.—On the motion of Mr. Bond, the house resolved itself into a committee on the acts of the 43d Geo. III. relating to the carrying of passengers in vessels. In the committee leave was given to bring in a bill to exempt from the provisions of that act all vessels employed in the Newfoundland trade. The bill was afterwards brought in, read a first time, and Mr. Bond moved, that it be now read a second time, on account of the expediency that existed for the trade to Newfoundland not being delayed.—On the motion of Mr. Western, an account of all clover seed exported from G. Britain to foreign countries, and imported from foreign countries to G. Britain, during the last 7 years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1804, distinguishing the amounts in each year, and the ports, together with the duties and drawbacks thereon, was ordered to be laid before the house.—Mr. Sec. Yorke brought in a bill to suspend the operation of the Irish army of reserve bill. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Tuesday, and to be printed.—On the motion of Mr. Foster, certain papers relating to the issues from the Irish treasury, and the barrack and ordnance department, were ordered to be laid before the House.—On the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the committee on the Aylesbury election bill, which stood for Friday, was postponed by Sir George Cornwall till Tuesday, it being understood that the business in the committee of supply will occupy a considerable time. Lord Portchester also postponed his notice of his motion until Thursday.—Mr. Wilberforce gave notice that he should, on Friday se'nnight, make a motion for the abolition of the slave trade. The object which the hon. gent. had in view was, to move for the immediate abolition.—Mr. Corry rose to move for a committee of the House, in order to state the terms upon which he had concluded the loan for Ireland; but, on the suggestion of Mr. Pitt, who observed, that business of more importance would occupy the House this evening, the right hon. gent. postponed the statement till Friday next, trusting the House would enable him on that day to transmit the necessary intimation to the govt. of Ireland.

[ARMY OF RESERVE SUSPENSION BILL.]—Mr. Sec. *Yorke* moved the order of the day for the house to go into a committee on the bill for the Suspension of the Army of Reserve act.—The Speaker having put the question from the chair,

Mr. *Pitt* rose, and addressed the house in substance as follows: In rising, Sir, to oppose the motion for your leaving the chair, it is not my intention to occupy the attention of the House longer than appears to me absolutely necessary; and therefore I have no wish to enlarge on topics connected with the general subject, which have, in the course of late debates, undergone the most ample discussion. Before I proceed to the description of the plan of which I have given notice to the house on a former day, it is my wish to say a few words on the nature and complexion of the bill which it is the object of the right hon. gent.'s motion to bring under our consideration in a committee. As far as I am able to understand it, the only effect of its adoption would be to relinquish all chance of the benefit of that augmentation of our disposeable force, which, in the unanimous opinion of all persons in this house, ought to be the principal object of attention with his Majesty's govt. It would be to relinquish all chance of the continuance of future benefit, arising from a measure which, though in many points of view impeded and retarded, has had the effect of procuring, within the space of 12 months, a more considerable augmentation of our regular force, than could perhaps have been obtained in any other way, at the time and under the circumstances in which the measure was carried into activity. It appears to me that all these chances of benefit are given up, without substituting in their room any system by which the great object of the augmentation of the regular army is to be obtained. If I understood the statement of the right hon. Sec. of State below me, there were three measures, by the adoption of which his Majesty's ministers flattered themselves that they would be able to augment the regular disposeable force of the country. The 1st of these measures was, the acceptance of the voluntary offers of a certain proportion of the Irish militia to extend their services to this country. The 2d measure had in view the augmentation of the militia of Ireland. The last of the measures directed to the great object in view, was the formation of a number of new regiments to be raised, independent of that competition which is at this moment admitted to be most fatal to the speedy recruiting of the regular army. On these different measures proposed for the augmentation of our disposeable force, it is not now my intention to enlarge; but I must be permitted to observe, that in none of them does there seem to be any thing which is at all calculated to be effectual in producing the completion of the object which, without exception, is admitted to be of the last consequence in the present circumstances of the empire. It is true, that a certain proportion of the Irish militia have volunteered their services to this country. In this offer, it is doubtful whether there is less of policy than of national advantage. Before the house can admit the policy of receiving such offers, it becomes necessary to look a little to the degree in which the interchange of the services of the militia of both countries is to be conducted, and I may add whether, in extraordinary circumstances, this interchange ought to be encouraged? It cannot, in reason, be denied, that such an interchange must depend on circumstances of special emergency, and what I maintain is, that the acceptance of the voluntary offers of the militia of Ireland at this time, is not only productive of all the evils arising from an undefined interchange of services, but can be attended with none of the advantages arising from such a measure, originating from well-considered views of national interest. On the subject of the augmentation of the militia of Ireland, my opinions are not by any means different. It will not be disputed by his Majesty's ministers, that the offers of extended services by a certain proportion of the militia of Ireland, depends for acceptance, in a great measure, on this subsequent measure. It is allowed on all hands, that Ireland cannot lose such a proportion of the means of its defence, without receiving something like an adequate return. We must understand, that the augmentation proposed is meant to form the return to which I have referred. But will any gent. in this house for a moment affirm, that a mere resolution for the augmentation of the Irish militia, will at all compensate for the loss of a considerable proportion of troops, allowed on all hands to be adequate to the defence of Ireland, combined with the regular military force. In fact, Sir, if ministers act consistently, the offers of the Irish militia cannot be accepted, unless some return be made to Ireland. By the system of augmenting the militia, this return cannot be expected for a considerable period, and therefore the one measure is not only inconsistent with the other, but utterly inefficient for any object of obtaining a greater disposeable force. No man will go beyond me in maintaining that the militia are a constitutional, a respectable, and a most useful force, when kept within proper limits, and applied to the specific object of their formation. It must, however, be with every man a question of peculiar jealousy to find the militia come in competition with the regular army under any circumstances, but more peculiarly under the circumstances in which the proposed measures of ministers necessarily placed that competition. They admit that there is a necessity for the augmentation of the disposeable force of the country. They fix on Ireland as that part of the empire where that disposeable force is to be more readily procured, and at the time they are holding this language, they are determined that the militia of Ireland shall be, to a considerable degree, increased. It must, Sir, appear singular, that when the deficiency of the quota of the army of reserve to be furnished by Ireland is materially deficient, it should be proposed to augment the militia—a species of force confessedly limited to services less applicable to our present circumstances. If new levies are to be made, why are these deficiencies in the army of reserve, or why are not the new levies to have the precedency? The mischief of competition is allowed. The professed object of ministers is to have a disposeable force, yet, with these admissions, the militia of Ireland, allowed on all hands to be limited in their terms of service, are to counteract the new regular levies for which, on a former occasion, so much merit was claimed. It is admitted that, by the measure of the army of reserve, we have obtained a very considerable augmentation of our disposeable force. In Ireland, it is proposed that the militia shall be augmented. On what principle, then, is it that the operation of the reserve bill is not suspended in that country? [Here Mr. Yorke signified that a bill was brought in for suspending the act in Ireland.] Mr. Pitt continuing his argument, proceeded to say, if the law is to be preserved in force, on what principle is it, that though there are now deficiencies in the army of reserve for Ireland, to the amount of 6 or 7000 men, the augmentation of the militia is to be preferred to this force? Will it be pretended that the augmentation of the militia will so materially contribute to the object in view, as the augmentation of the army of reserve, from which constant supplies for the regular disposeable force of the country may be fairly and reasonably expected? It is really not easy to ascertain on what ground a force, though not generally disposeable in the first instance, yet not indisposed to general service, should be lost sight of, while a species of force which, by their constitution, is confined to limited service, should be preferred. Must the system which ministers have so much favoured, as calculated to add to the disposeable force of the country, be altogether abandoned, because it might not have accomplished all that was expected from it in their sanguine expectations? I really cannot consider it in any other view than a measure inimical to that measure which ministers hold out to our observation. On the one hand, if the militia of Ireland is augmented, the levies for the regular army must, in a great measure, be suspended. On the other hand, if the levies for the regular force are to be carried forward, the proposition for augmenting the Irish militia is altogether preposterous. The language of ministers is, that they want to have men at a reduced bounty. But how is it that they carry their object into practice? They do not pretend to deny that their first object is to have men for disposeable purposes, and this they hold forth as the object which ought to have precedence of every other consideration. It is rather curious, however, to look at the mode in which they reduce the plan to practice. They wish recruits for the regulars in Ireland, and they are desirous of having an augmentation of the militia in the same country. It is in vain, Sir, to deny, that the competition in these cases is altogether unequal, and that where it is proposed to raise 10,000 additional militia in Ireland, the plan of raising a number of new regiments is quite impracticable and impolitic. On every general principle, then, I do most heartily contend, that the suspension of the army of reserve act is not at all called for on principles of necessity, of policy, or of utility. In stating this, I wish it to be fairly understood, that my opinion is founded on general principles. A great deal of argument will not be necessary to shew that those who most zealously objected to the army of reserve, ought not to agree to the motion now before the House. If they objected to the act, in consequence of the high bounties which it encouraged; if they think that the principle of the ballot which it promoted did not proceed on constitutional principles; if they are convinced that it did not proceed on constitutional principles, then, Sir, they surely cannot give their assent to the motion now submitted to our consideration. If the bill is so much liable to censure; if it is so little in consonance with the opinions of these gent. they cannot surely be satisfied with the suspension of such a measure, which, according to their own principles, ought to be totally repealed. This is a proposition which cannot be fairly denied, and therefore is it the less necessary to enlarge on it. But, Sir, if the system of the army of reserve, as now existing, can be modified; if a description of persons not at all likely to enter into the regular army can be brought into limited service; if this temporary plan of recruiting can be managed, so as to promote the great end in view, without increasing either national inconvenience or private misery, there will not, I am sure, Sir, exist a doubt that such a system ought to meet with every degree of support and encouragement. If such a system can be brought forward, it must at least, Sir, be one to which the House could not, consistently with their duty, refuse their most serious consideration. Though on the present occasion, my object in rising was to explain the outlines of such a plan, I do not at all so much flatter myself as to suppose that it will be perfect; but it is not too much presumption to imagine that it is a plan not altogether unworthy of the consideration of Parliament. Before I go on very shortly to state to the House the nature of the plan, it may not be improper merely to advert to the grounds on which the suspension of the army of reserve act ought to be considered. The first question that presents itself is, whether the reserve act ought to be suspended, or whether it might not be modified in such a manner as to render its application more advantageous? The second question was, whether, if the idea of suspending the act was entertained, this was not too little; and whether, if the idea of suspension was at all entertained, the act ought not to be totally abolished? Conceiving these to be the two great preliminary views of the subject, I hope I shall meet with the indulgence of the House, while I state the outlines of a plan on this subject, the result of long and careful examination, the effect of digested and careful comparison of the wants and circumstances of the country. Without now, then, going into any details on the subject, which, if the bill for which I mean to move is introduced, I shall have ample means of introducing, it will be sufficient for me at present to give an outline of the general plan. Allow me then, Sir, to introduce the subject generally, by saying that, under the present circumstances of society, under the present extension of commerce, under all the new openings offered to labour in all its branches, it is not saying too much to say that the encouragements to enter on a military life must be very materially diminished. Looking, then, to the difficulties attendant on the recruiting of the army; looking to the difficulties of obtaining men for unlimited service, compared with service for a short period, and on their native soil, I must be allowed to assume it as a fair supposition, that a number of men would be induced to accept of offers of limited service, who would not listen to any idea of military service for life. With this view, then, it will not be denied, Sir, that the services of those who are far from willing to enter into the regular army, should be encouraged for that limited species of service to which they are by no means disinclined. The house will not suppose that I am going too far when I affirm, that such a mode of recruiting for the regular army in a commercial country, is that most fully justified by the whole history of human affairs. Every man knows that limited service must, in the first instance, be preferred to service knowing no limitation of place or time. But while this was allowed it was not less clear, that if men once entered into the army for a limited period, military habits were soon contracted, and those, who, in the first instance, would never have thought of indefinite military service, entered into this enlarged engagement with the greatest possible alacrity. From limited to permanent military service, is therefore what every man, in the least acquainted with military affairs, could anticipate without the smallest difficulty. But, Sir, I would not even put the question on this ground. Even independent of any legislative interference, independent of the acceptance of any offers of those who, originally engaging for limited service, afterwards entered into the regular army, the House, I am sure, will agree with me in thinking, that there may occur periods of patriotic ardour, when all idea of limited service will be lost sight of; that the native courage and heroism of the English character will display itself; that Englishmen will look not alone to the safety, but to the honour, to the dignity, and to the glory of their country. Under such circumstances as these, it is not presuming too far to suppose, that voluntary offers of extension of service will be numerous. If, Sir, we can suppose that the national spirit of the people, even unassisted, will produce these effects, how much more may its influence be expected to be, when it is supported, directed, and encouraged by judicious regulations? On these principles, then, I object to the acceptance of the offers of the Irish militia to extend their service to this country, because the same object may be obtained without any violation of constitutional principles. That the extension of the services of the militia of both countries may be desirable under an emergency of peculiar danger, no man can reasonably deny. But, however the zeal and the alacrity of those making the offer may be commended, the policy of accepting must still be a ground of grave deliberation with those who pretend to guide their public conduct by any principle of wisdom or of policy. Before the services of the militia of Ireland can with propriety be accepted, we have to ascertain whether, by this measure, the general security of the whole empire is consulted. But, reverting particularly to the augmentation of the Irish militia as an addition to the military force of the empire, I must be permitted to make a few observations. The idea of disparaging the services or importance of the militia establishment, is certainly the farthest from my contemplation. At the same time, Sir, it has been allowed by its most zealous friends, that, in many instances, it has been carried to an extent inconsistent with the general circumstances of the country. With this idea I do most cordially agree, and beg leave, at the same time, to add, that in my judgment the militia of England ought not to exceed 48,000. If the number is carried beyond that, then there is a danger that the number of officers fit to discipline the different corps will not be sufficient for that purpose. The importance of regular respectable officers no man will deny; and if the augmentation goes beyond the proportion of officers which can be afforded them, unquestionably that augmentation is impolitic. My first view, then, Sir, is, that the militia of England should as soon as possible be reduced to 48,000. If we are to keep up a considerable limited force, all the descriptions of which it is composed ought to bear some proportion. The militia establishment of the country now amounts to about 72,000, and we ought to have had 40,000 of the army of reserve in G. Britain. What I would, in the first instance, propose, would be, that the militia should not exceed 48,000, and that from 40, the army of reserve should be extended to 64,000 men. In this arrangement, I should propose that there should be an augmentation to the army of reserve in England of 24,000, and that 4,000 should be the augmentation for Scotland. In proposing this arrangement, the House will understand, that I do not at all allude to any sudden and abrupt dismantling of the militia. It is equally far from my wish to interfere with their progress in discipline. All that I propose is, that the vacancies in the militia, as they successively occur, shall not be filled up for that species of the public force; and one important advantage of this arrangement would be, that competition to a material degree would be destroyed. By this arrangement, the number of persons liable to the army of reserve would be enlarged; and it would not require much labour to shew that, by this enlargement, a material advantage would be gained. I may merely call the attention of the house to the experience of last year. If, out of 37,000 raised by the army of reserve act, upwards of 9000, according to the returns on the table, had, within considerably less than 12 months, volunteered into the regular army, I am surely not presuming too much in supposing, that a similar cause would be accompanied with a similar result. In proposing to the house the permanent establishment of the army of reserve, though certainly on a very modified system, I am sensible that objections may be readily started against the proposition. But, Sir, let it be remembered, that the times in which we live are not ordinary times. When we are called to encounter extraordinary and unprecedented dangers, we must lay our account with submitting to extraordinary and unprecedented dangers. If we are called on to undergo great sacrifices, we must bear in mind the interesting objects which these objects may enable us to defend and to secure. I need not remind the house that we are come to a new æra in the history of nations; that we are called to struggle for the destiny, not of this country alone, but of the civilized world. We must remember that it is not for ourselves alone that we submit to unexampled privations. We have for ourselves the great duty of self-preservation to perform, but the duty of the people of England now is of a nobler and higher order. We are in the first place to provide for our security against an enemy whose malignity to this country knows no bounds. But this is not to close the views or the efforts of our exertion in so sacred a cause. Amid the wreck and the misery of nations, our great object was that which we could look to with just exultation, that we had continued superior to all that ambition or that despotism could effect; and our still higher exultation ought to be, that we should provide not only for our own safety, but hold out a prospect to nations now bending under the iron yoke of tyranny, what the exertions of a free people could effect; and that at least in this corner of the world, the name of liberty was still revered, cherished, and sanctified. Viewing, then, the pressure to which the measure I propose may give rise, I contend these are fair considerations. What is to be considered then is, that what is unnecessary shall be removed, that what is oppressive shall be mitigated. On these principles my whole plan proceeds. Mitigated as it may be, still the pressure must be severe. But let it be remembered, that the object is not only to repel from our shores a danger that threatens our existence as an independent nation, but to restore to Europe the chance of regaining all that is most dignified in the condition and in the relations of civilized nations. To any question of pressure, I conceive then that is a most satisfactory answer to every reflecting mind. But having said so much on the subject of the pressure attendant on the plan I mean to propose, I shall now mention generally the number which appears to me to be necessary to complete the establishment, as the foundation of a regular, permanent, military establishment. I shall go on the supposition that 60 or 70,000 men should be kept up every year, according to the proportion of the different counties, regulated on the principles of the ballot for the militia establishment. In the detail of the system there must of course be a great deal of modification; but I would beg leave to state generally, that, in my opinion, the regular army would receive an addition of 14 or 15,000 men annually by voluntary offers. In the first instance, you would be sure to procure a large number of men who could not be otherwise obtained, and the same men would be induced to enter the army on the general principles of human nature, founded on habit and experience. The ordinary recruiting of the army would not be impeded or interrupted. All the means of a defensive and an offensive system would be united. By following the system, we should not only be secure at home, but be provided with the means of holding out hopes for the restoration of States now sinking under the most odious tyranny. It has often occurred to me, Sir, that the indiscriminate manner in which volunteering from the army of reserve has hitherto been allowed, is highly ruinous to the best interests of the army. By the plan which I wish to propose, a certain degree of shape and consistency would be given even to the volunteering from the army of reserve into the regular army. What I would in the first instance suggest would be, that the quota furnished by each parish and county should be attached to the corresponding regiment in G. Britain or Ireland. If this plan were once reduced to practice, and judiciously acted on, I have no noubt that one of the greatest obstacles to the recruiting would be removed. It is obvious, that by such a plan, all the influence of domestic feeling and local connection would be obtained, if those entering into the army of reserve were connected with the particular regiment for which they must feel a peculiar predilection. But this would not happen alone in the case of recruits attached to old battalions. If supplementary battalions were formed, the same effects would result from the same considerations. Similar feelings betwixt both battalions would be encouraged, and similar ardour would be created. But, Sir, the good effects of fuch an arrangement, would not be so limited. It will not be denied that the present system of indiscriminate volunteering from the army of reserve is extremely discouraging to the officers employed in drilling the raw recruits. After he has wasted all his labour in bringing the men to some kind of perfection, I put it to the candour and the good sense of the house, whether it must not be painful to the feelings of any man to think that all his labour is to pass without reward, that those whom he has prepared to advance into the field, are to follow the banners of some other leader. It is not, however, Sir, as a painful consideration that this indiscriminate system of volunteering is to be reprobated. It is evidently calculated to undermine all discipline or attachment to officers. If soldiers are attached to officers, this feeling cannot be of long duration, because the connection is hardly formed before it is dissolved. If, on the other hand, soldiers are dissatisfied with their commanders they know that while indiscriminate volunteering is allowed, they have the speedy prospect of retiring from the control of men whom they may chuse to detest and to calumniate. But, Sir, if the system I recommend were followed, all these evils would be done away. Knowing that their connection with their officers was of a permanent nature, the men would learn both awe and regard; and the officers, firmly attached to their recruits, would spare no time to render them perfect in all the duties of a military life. The consequences that would result from this system are obvious. We should have the men in an intermediate state more efficient for the purposes of defence, and we should have them more disposed to enter into the regular disposeable force of the country. If a thousand regular troops were wanted, we should have a thousand troops of the reserve perfectly qualified to supply their place for every purpose of internal defence. We might have men for limited service, but then they would be under officers of no limited views; men who had seen service in every part of the globe, and who knew most perfectly to qualify men to advance into the field of battle with that confidence which is the best pledge of success. Indeed, in a short time the whole of your defensive force would thus become as good and efficient as your regular force; by that means the men will, as it were, become worth double their number, with a view to the defence of the country; they will be changed in a short time to ready-made soldiers; while, at the same time, the plan of regular recruiting may be enlarged and made more effectual. It thus unites several advantages in every point of view, unless, in so far as the mode in which it is to be raised may increase a competition. Considering, however, the numerous benefits to be derived by the adoption of such a plan, perhaps gent. may consent to admit of a certain degree of competition, seeing that it will be materially narrowed. It appears clearly to my mind, that by the plan I have suggested, the disadvantageous competition in the recruiting of the regular army will be avoided. As the ballot is now regulated, if it falls upon a person whose engagements in life, or other circumstances, render it unfit that he should serve, he must find a substitute, and no limit is assigned to the sum he must give to procure one; he is to sacrifice, perhaps, 40l. or 50l. and expose himself and his family to numerous privations, not for the benefit of the state, but from the impolitic plan adopted to supply its exigencies. The effect is obvious; it has occasioned a species of subscription club, which convert the matter into a sort of parochial rate, by which the important military duty of recruiting is committed to parish officers, instead of being intrusted to officers who are competent to discharge it; and being in such hands, they bid against each other without limit or discretion, to the utter ruin of the service. What I have proposed, requires, that if the person on whom the ballot falls will not serve, he shall pay a certain moderate fixed sum; but if he serves, then he shall receive the same amount he would otherwise pay. Another precaution in the scheme is, that the substitute should be found by the parish, and not by the individual; and further, the person so provided, is to be taken from the hundred, and not from the great market towns, unless under the predicament I shall presently explain. The bounty given will also, according to these arrangements, be examined by the magistrates of the respective counties, who will prevent any deviation from the limits prescribed by law. It will immediately occur on the review of this plan, that there will be no possibility of surpassing the bounty, and from the local limitation, that there will be no danger of interfering in places of extensive population, with the recruiting of the regular army.—The next consideration to which I request the attention of the House is, the supply of the vacancies, or to provide for those cases where the hundred can procure no substitute, which inability may accrue from a great variety of causes. In such circumstances, the bounty is to be made over to the Colonel, who is to pay the limited sum he so receives for the more limited service he requires; that is, that the recruiting parties he employs are to procure men for this particular service; and regulating the quantum of bounty to the nature of the duty, no pernicious competition will arise, as the larger bounty will always be given for enlisting into the regular army. There must, in a country like this, where the sources of comfort and enjoyment in life are so well understood, be a great variety of persons who will enlist for a much smaller bounty into a temporary service, but who would not, for any emolument whatever, engage for life in a military occupation. Thus, I conceive, I leave undisturbed the mode of recruiting now employed, and I add a new mode, which I will presume to be capable of doubling the supply from the ordinary sources. —Such, Sir, is the nature of the plan; the tendency, I flatter myself, is to improve and enlarge the regular army, by presenting novel expedients for the purpose, and then to conduce essentially to the means of internal defence, and external warfare. It has been justly complained, that the measures for this purpose lately resorted to, so materially interfere with each other, that they successively obstruct whatever is adopted: it has been my endeavour to avoid this error, and to combine the several parts of this extensive system in such a way, that a mutual co-operation may be produced, and that what is good and eligible in itself may be rendered better and more desirable by this connexion. Objections have been stated to the introduction at the time, of any great scheme of improvement in the service; it is, however, true that the moment of public difficulty is often the crisis of public improvement; the sense of danger inspires men with a portion of zeal and enthusiasm which enables them to surmount the obstructions by which they are surrounded, and they are capable of performing what, under other circumstances, they could scarcely contemplate. What is now recommended, seems to me beneficial, whether the country be exposed to the horrors of war, or in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace. In the present circumstances of Europe, should hostilities terminate, the permanence of such a situation would depend upon the respectable state of your peace establishment, more than on any other circumstance: this I felt, and I recommended on a recent occasion, the necessity of preserving a competent force. By the present proposal, this advantage would be secured, a body of men, with liberty to recruit into the regular army would be provided, and, without any ballot, 10 or 15,000 recruits would be ready to supply the ranks in the troops of the line, and able to act with them on the most difficult service, without disgracing their companions in the field of danger. If all or any of these benefits be unavoidably connected with the measure, the house, I am sure, will be disposed to give it an attentive consideration; but I am far from having exhausted all its merits. By the plan it appears, that the officers attached to those provisional troops would be those who are most capable of bringing their discipline to perfection, and in consequence they will be much more ready to act with the troops of the line, than the supplies from the militia, or from the army of reserve. It will not be necessary to abandon the sound maxims of state policy, by which the militias of G. Britain and Ireland are confined to their native territory, and the disposeable force of the country may be dismissed to those situations where its gallantry and conduct will redound most to the advantage and glory of the country. I have, Sir, on all these grounds, thought it right to resist your leaving the chair, to convert this house into a committee for the consideration of the propriety of suspending the bill of the army of reserve, and I hope it will not be thought that, on a question of this magnitude, I have intruded too much on your indulgence.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke.*—Notwithstanding, Sir, the respect I am always disposed to pay to whatever is suggested by the right hon. gent. who has just sat down, I must confess, after paying the most strict and minute attention to his reasoning, I have heard nothing to influence my mind to postpone the consideration of the present bill. A few observations on the grounds of the measure will explain my meaning. I before stated that two objects were proposed: 1st, to render the internal defence of the country complete, which was of the highest importance; 2dly, to augment the disposeable force so far as to enable us to annoy the enemy in his own possessions. I have the happiness to say, that the first object is completed: the 2d is the matter now to be considered, and the plan proposed for this purpose, is a temporary expedient to increase the facility of the new levies for the supply of the troops of the line. The material means of promoting this appeared to us, to be by removing the pernicious competition, and by introducing into this country a certain proportion of the militia of Ireland. Objections have been made to the latter as diminishing the security of that part of the united kingdom, and interfering with the augmentation of the regular force there. The policy or impolicy in this respect depends much upon the influence of powerful individuals to supply the deficiency thus to be occasioned; and after informing myself on the subject, by the assistance of those who are best acquainted with it, I do believe the means are competent to produce the end; and that the inconvenience to Ireland will be transitory, while the benefit to this part of the empire is permanent. Putting, then, that inquiry out of the question, it is to be considered, whether the suspension of the army of reserve act for 12 months, will, or will not, render it more easy to raise the new levies, by taking away all competition. Withdrawing the operation of this act for a time, is no acknowledgment that it was, at the time it was passed, impolitic. Certain it is, that its effects have been to raise a much larger force in a much shorter period than could have been done by any other resource; and the right hon. gent. in the course of his speech, as I understood him, had the candour to make this acknowledgment. By this act, in the short interval of 6 weeks or two months, 30,000 men were raised in G. Britain, and 7000 men in Ireland; but, notwithstanding this success in the outset, it at this time barely supports itself, or supplies the deficiencies which are daily occurring from sickness, desertion, and other causes. Thus the benefit is only nominal, while the detriment is real, in obstructing the future levies on which the increase of our disposeable force is to depend. It is not at all necessary that gent. should have made up their minds on the plans projected for those levies; but, in whatever way men are to be raised, this competition must be destroyed, or the best concerted scheme will be disappointed. If ministers should persevere in the levies, on a principle objectionable to the house, the money necessary to the execution of the measure may be withheld, and thus it must be rendered abortive. Neither is it indispensable that the house should assert the inexpediency of the proposal of the right hon. gent.; his plan may be beneficial, and yet it may be right to adopt this temporary measure, and even as preparatory to his own. It is perfectly clear, that at least the plan of the right hon. gent. is not calculated to produce the immediate augmentation required. Thirteen or 14 thousand men are wanted to supply the deficiency, and, both on his scheme, and under the existing act, it is impracticable to obtain them. In this predicament, the present scheme is suggested, which alone seems competent to produce the desired effect. The right hon. gent. states two objections to the mode in which the levies are to be conducted. First, he says, they will be ineffectual, because low bounties will not procure men, when the larger remuneration is found unproductive: 2dly, he says, that the scheme of compensation by rank is inexpedient. His first difficulty, at least, seems equally applicable to his own proposal; for if we cannot procure men with the additional inducement of rank to the officers, how will he obtain them without this incentive? The bounty proposed for the levies has been announced to be 10l. 10s. and 2l. 2s. for levy money to the officers. Gent. may suppose that it is not sufficient; for the sake of argument, let it be so: but is this the proper time to discuss that particular? to the present question it is wholly irrelevant. The object of this bill is to facilitate the means of augmenting the army, and for this end it is proposed to destroy the competition in the market; this is the only subject of enquiry, and should not be rendered obscure by extraneous matter. I hope that the house will not be contented on this occasion, with the crude observations of gent. however distinguished for their general talents, who are not versed, from education and habits, in military affairs. It was the duty of his majesty's ministers, on a step of this kind to consult his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief on the quantum of bounty; and the Duke, in concurrence with other officers of the first rank, has considered no larger compensation should be offered in the present condition of the service. Of the same source of information, I have availed myself, as to the propriety of the compensation by rank, and, therefore, I may speak to this part of the objection with the same confidence. The duty is to be undertaken by officers of the line, who are to advance only one step in rank, and the number of men is to be completed within the period of 6 months; but if any further delay be admitted, the privilege of rank is to be withdrawn. Further, the bounty, on no consideration is to be exceeded; and any officer offending by such excess, is not only to forfeit his promotion, but is liable to be tried by a court martial for the offence. The present scheme of raising men for rank, must not be prejudiced by the supposition it in any respect resembles the mischievous system adopted under the administration of the right. hon. gent. which had nearly annihilated the British army. But the right hon. gent. says, if the bill be ineffectual, why not repeal instead of suspending it. The bill has been beneficial; it may be so again under new circumstances, and it does not appear to me prudent to abrogate it entirely, before the system for the regulation of the public force has received a fair, full, and solemn investigation. Whatever may be the sentiments of gent. on particular expedients, it is the universal opinion that to increase the regular force is a most desirable object. The right hon. gent. with that powerful eloquence he has always at his command, has represented the humble condition of continental Europe, and the probability that this country will be the foundation whereon the beautiful superstructure of European liberty and happiness will be erected; and it is in this flattering expectation he has dwelt with peculiar felicity on the necessity of maintaining on the most respectable footing the British army. The right hon. gent. has observed, that among the persons in this nation engaged in the pursuits of commerce and agriculture, great numbers would elect to serve in the army, if the time of occupation on that duty were limited. I readily admit this position, and it will be acknowledged that the plan of the army of reserve, and of the militia, is consistent with this principle. The right hon. gent. made many remarks, with which I am not disposed to quarrel. He considers the militia as too numerous, and deems 40,000 in England, and 8000 in Ireland, sufficient. He would have the supplementary militia also transferred to the army of reserve, and then with these assistances, instead of 40,000 for the latter, he would have it increased to 64,000. He says, he would not reduce the militia, but he would not fill up the vacancies ; the vacancies should be carried to the account of the army of reserve. On these matters I shall not now advert, because they would lead me from the point under review ; but, in respect to the objection of the right hon. gent. to call upon the counties for the men instead of the bounty, I must observe, the impossibility of pursuing at this time the design of the act of the army of reserve, which would put the whole scheme at a stand, and deprive the country of every benefit from provincial exertion. The right hon. gent. next adverted to the form and the situation of the public force ; and many of his remarks were inapplicable, in this part of his speech, from his not being acquainted with what ministers have done in this respect. The national regiments have been very much dispersed in the countries where the men have been raised. The men raised in Scotland have been introduced into the regiment of the Marquis of Huntley, and what is called the Cameronian regiment; the Highlanders to the former, the Lowlanders to the latter. Those raised in Ireland have been very generally assigned to the 42d and the 9th regiments. The men who were considered least fit for service have been thrown into the battalion of reserve. As far as possible the men have been apportioned among their native regiments, and in the English regiments they have been very much divided, so that the names of the regiments and the counties in which the recruits were raised, correspond. The plan hinted by the right hon. gent. and followed with so much industry under the administration of Lord Shelburne, has been adopted as far as circumstances would conveniently admit; but the colonial connections of this great maritime and commercial country, have obstructed, in a great degree, the measure. In the Austrian, German, and Prussian States, it can be carried into execution with more punctuality, where it is not frustrated by exterior causes. The right hon. gent. next proceeded to his contrivance for maintaining the force he projected, and this, he said, was to be done by ballot; a ballot, it is true, *sui generis*, but still it was to be by ballot. If the individuals on whom the lot devolved would not serve, they were to pay a fine; but if they served, they were to receive the same amount they would otherwise pay, as the reward of their compliance. The object of this proposal was to put an end to the competition; but I doubt very much if it would have that effect, or whether it would supersede the subscription clubs of which the right hon. gent. complained. I am confident nothing but an act of parliament could prevent the latter, and, if it were enacted, I very much doubt its utility: it would occasion many afflicting examples of private distress, and answer no valuable purpose, perhaps, to countervail their disadvantage. The right hon. gent. says no one shall be selected as a substitute, but a person provided from the particular hundred to which the lot falls. It surely must be well known to many members of this house, that this limitation would in many parts of the country be wholly impracticable. The other plan is feasible, which provides that no man shall be a substitute who does not belong to the county where the ballot takes effect, or in some adjacent district. It is, perhaps, a painful fact, that we are constrained in many cases to have recourse to the principal scene of recruiting to the great manufacturing towns of Leeds, Halifax, Manchester, and others, which it would be eligible to reserve as much as possibly for the regular supplies. Without entering more at large into the subject, what I have advanced will be sufficient to shew that the plan of the right hon. gent. however it might be remotely and ultimately effectual, is not calculated to answer the prominent object, which is, to augment the army to a considerable extent in a very short space of time. On the contrary, the expedient to be submitted to the House is considered by the highest military authorities adequate to the completion of this important design. If it should be thought that we are too sanguine in the degree of success we anticipate, none will deny that in some degree the end will be obtained; and in proportion to this will be the capacity of his Majesty to apply the disposeable force to offensive operations. I have troubled the house too long on a question which is reducible to so narrow a point; but it seemed improper to leave the right hon. gent.'s proposition wholly unanswered. On a question that regards the permanent system of the army, it may be very fit to enter fully into the merits of his plan, both in a partial and a collective view ; but I have, at this time, reluctantly embarrassed the present enquiry with these considerations.

Mr. *Pitt* rose to explain an error into which the right hon. Sec. had fallen, as in the event of a difficulty from the locality of the levy, it was provided for in his plan. In certain cases, the bounty was given to the Colonel to procure the recruit, and all that was material to guard against was, that the bounty for the limited should not equal the remuneration for the unlimited service. This also was provided for.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, he was glad that the right hon. Sec. in answer to the right hon. gent. under the gallery, had condescended to explain, in some respect, the bill which he now proposed to offer to the consideration of the house. By the explanation such as the right hon. gent. has been pleased to give, he has certainly justified the charge that had been so frequently brought against ministers, that they had adopted no fixed or consistent plan in their operations. By the measure now intended, he tells us that he means to suspend the army of reserve, as he calls it, though no misnomer could possibly be more glaring than the appellation applied to this species of force, as the result has proved. Have we not been repeatedly told in justification of the army of reserve, that it was one of the great means of recruiting the army? Have not comparative statements been given of the recruiting service at different periods; and have we not been told that the success of the recruiting service, such as it has been, has been owing to the army of reserve? Such are the advantages which that gent. has boasted of deriving from the army of reserve; and yet he now comes forward to suspend this act, which he has formerly stated to be productive of so many advantages. He comes forward to remove, by this suspension, the pernicious effects of that competition which has been so often complained of, but which has never been till now admitted by the right hon. gent. He could not, however, allow the acknowledgment of the right hon. gent. to be a sufficient answer to the objections offered to the present bill. He could not allow the acknowledgment of their past errors to be a sufficient proof of the incapacity of ministers to conduct the affairs of the country, particularly in such a crisis as the present; he would allow it to be a sufficient proof that they had no vigour nor consistency in their measures; but he could never allow the perception of past errors, so long and so obstinately persisted in, and still professed to be adhered to in regard to principle, to be a proof of greater wisdom in new arrangements, which were so closely connected with the former, that they must partake, in a very considerable degree, of their general complexion. The measure now proposed does not go to abolish the army of reserve, which, if that system has been found inefficient, it ought to do, but goes only to suspend for a time its operation. Either the army of reserve is a good or bad system. If it is a good system, and possessed of all the advantages which have been professed to be derived from it, why suspend it? And if it is a bad system, and by creating an unfair competition, operates in hostility to the increase of the regular army, can any reason be given why should it not be totally repealed? But ministers perhaps are afraid to confess their weakness. They see at last the inconveniencies attending the present army of reserve system, but are reluctant to acknowledge, in proper form, the inutility of a system they have so often supported, and from which they have professed to derive so many advantages. They wish to abolish it, therefore, imperceptibly, and to avoid, under the pretence of a temporary suspension, the noise and eclat of a recantation. They wish to abolish it by a side wind, and at the expence of the people; as if the former system had not been sufficiently expensive, the present plan now proposed to be submitted to the house was no less calculated to empty the pockets of the people. That men could be raised in a short time upon any such system, was an erroneous idea. In the counties with which he was acquainted, he could say, from his own observation, instead of raising the men in a short time, they were obliged to act illegally in order to raise them at all. Had they acted legally indeed, they would neither have found men nor money. But if it is now allowed that men cannot be raised by the army of reserve, which was formerly stated to possess so many advantages, and which is still allowed to be efficient, inasmuch as it is not intended to be repealed, to what quarter shall we apply for the supply of men required? If govt. have not been able to raise the necessary supply of men by the operation of the army of reserve act, how shall they be able to raise the men wanted, if the field is so exhausted as to render that act ineffectual? If it was really necessary to go into a committee on this subject, it must be regarded as a proof, and a very undeniable proof, a proof which those gent. themselves recognise, that all former measures have been ineffectual. But if this be really the case; if the proper mode of augmenting our army be yet unascertained, upon what principle could the motion of his hon. friend (Mr. Fox) have been rejected the other night? Did not that motion go to the adoption of vigorous and adequate measures, and to the correction of past inadvertencies? Was it not the design of that motion to employ the collective wisdom of the House in adopting measures to the exigency of our present circumstances? But ministers, by rejecting the offer, had declared the present system to be complete, and yet they come forward to-night, and state it as necessary to go into a committee on one of the most important departments of the service, and what is still more, place this necessity on the very grounds urged by his hon. friend in favour of his motion. Had that motion been carried, they should now have been sitting as a committee, not only for investigating the best means of augmenting the regular army, but of the best means also of arranging and disposing of every species of our force. It would appear, therefore, from the arguments of those gent. this night, that they did not reject the measure proposed by his hon. friend, from a conviction of its impropriety, but merely to try their strength, and to ascertain whether it would be prudent for them to continue longer in their places. But now, having ascertained this important point, they come forward and tell us, without reflecting a moment on their former arguments, that it will be proper to go into a committee. There is certainly a gross relinquishment, both of principle and of duty, not to call it by a worse name, in the conduct of the right hon. gent. this day. But if you do not allow them to carry this measure into effect, they will tell you, you may as well deny them the supply, for in the present circumstances the one grant is as necessary as the other. Without raising men, they tell us, it is impossible to go on, and it is no longer possible to raise men on the old system. It was for this very reason he was against the measure. If the army of reserve act was no longer useful, it ought to be repealed. He would therefore very willingly give his vote for its repeal, but would by no means encourage partial measures by voting its suspension, when, upon the declaration of ministers themselves, it ought to be entirely abolished. According to the statement so repeatedly made by ministers, they intended the army of reserve as a supply for the regular army. This admission was allowed them, and they claimed no inconsiderable credit from it. If their statements then, in this respect, were true, why would they wantonly cut off those resources, and suspend a system which had for its principal object the supply of the regular army? A disposeable force, and to a considerable amount, every man will allow to be necessary; any measure, therefore, for the increase of such a force must meet with general approbation, though, at the same time, he, for one, should not wish to see any great disposeable force in their hands, from a conviction that they would be very ill qualified to make a proper use of it. But if the army of reserve act was calculated to create this disposeable force, why suspend it? And if it had a contrary tendency, why not immediately repeal it? But in suspending the army of reserve act, they propose, it seems, to create a number of inspectors in the different districts. What consequences could be expected from such an arrangement? The Lord Lieutenants of the different counties are certainly sufficient for all the purposes intended by inspectors, and even in most cases better qualified than supervisors of any description. But the gent. opposite, perhaps, wish at the present critical moment to create a greater number of places, and thus, independently of the general strength of the country, add at least to their own forces. Such an acquisition of strength was no doubt desirable, and at the present moment, perhaps, absolutely necessary. Inefficient, however, as the army of reserve act would now seem to be, its provisions had not been carried into execution, which was a still farther proof that ministers were ill qualified either to adopt new measures, or to carry existing ones into execution. They enacted without thought, and were equally anxious to suspend without reflection. By the army of reserve bill, they had required the quota of men to be raised at a certain time, or a fine to be imposed, should any county or district be deficient in their number. He should not say at present whether this provision was wise or not, but he was certain it had not, and perhaps could not, with any propriety, be carried into execution. In the county with which he was particularly connected, the number of men had not been found, but at the same time no fine had been imposed by the quarter sessions, as it was found the men could not be got. In reply to this, they will tell us most likely, they could not know the precise circumstances of the different counties, and might therefore, in some instances, overrate them. But had not they the same sources of information which any member of that House had, and were they not supposed to have more, as they had access to the aggregate information of the house, when they thought it necessary to call for it? Nor could he think at all more justifiable the mode now proposed of imposing the fine, not as the old one, but on the county at large; as, according to this provision, those who had exerted themselves in any such county would be liable, and would, in fact, be subjected to the fine, as well as those who had not raised a single man. That such an arrangement would be unfair, required no demonstration. But another material objection he had to the measure arose from the idea, that should a man be balloted, and not have actually joined his corps before this bill passed, he shall be obliged not to find a substitute, whatever arrangements he may have made for that purpose, but a certain sum of money, or to serve in person. Would it be consistent, would it be suitable to the wisdom of Parliament to make the man, in such circumstances, find the money, when he might more conveniently find a substitute, when to find the one might be possible, and the other perhaps wholly impracticable? But suppose you demand 20l. as the price of his exemption? Ah! says the balloted man, this is a vast sum, and exempts me only for a year, I will not consent to it. But, says the govt. if you will consent to pay more, it will exempt you for 5 years, and what is still more, from the militia also. What then must be the consequence of such measures? You thus cut up not only the army of reserve, but also the militia, and in the end will lock up the force of the country. Upon the whole, he would vote for delaying this measure at all events, that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) might have time to bring forward his measure, which promised as a whole to be more satisfactory. He would therefore give his vote that the Speaker should not leave the chair. In regard to the plans proposed by that right hon. gent., the present was not now the time to go into them, even so far as he had explained himself. From the answer, however, of the right hon. Sec. to those plans, so far as they had been explained, it must be very obvious that they ought to be discussed before the passing of this bill, as the measure in the contemplation of the right hon. gent. held out advantages which we have not derived from any of the measures hitherto adopted, and more than this bill even professed to be calculated to give. He did not by any means conceive, that the mode of ballot suggested by the right hon. gent. could be attended with any inconvenience. It would not necessarily cut off our recourse to great manufacturing towns for the recruiting service. While others would be more productive, those sources also would be left equally open as at present. The right hon. Sec. he thought, had not sufficiently explained how the two battalions he had mentioned were to be officered, as there must be an influx of officers, as well as men. The right hon. gent. by prescribing the period in which the number of men were to be raised for the purpose of procuring rank, had defeated, in a great measure, the object of this arrangement; but it would still appear more ridiculous, when it was recollected, that they were not only obliged to raise them within a given time, but not permitted also to give them more than a certain specified bounty. The ministers by such means were certainly cutting the throat of their own plan. If a man is limited to a certain time, he must necessarily give the greater bounty. If you, therefore, tie up his hands in both respects, you go very far indeed to prevent any reasonable hopes of success. The hon. gent. then adverted to the subscription clubs that had been noticed by both the preceding speakers. In many respects, he acknowledged he was against balloting for men altogether; but in some instances also, he would admit it to be expedient. In agricultural counties particularly, gent. from the country must know, that there would be great inconveniencies without a system of this description. The hon. gent. then concluded by giving his negative to the motion for the committee, on the principle, that if the bill passes, the army of reserve act can no longer exist; that a repeal, therefore, was more proper than a suspension, and that the measure intended to be brought forward by the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) was entitled to a previous discussion.

The *Secretary at War* declared, that he thought the arguments of the hon. gent. opposite him could not, by any fair and dispassionate observer, be supposed in the least to militate against the provisions of the bill. One argument of his was, that the measure was not calculated to produce men, but money. Unless he considered that as an argumentum ad hominem, instead of the argumentum ad rem, he thought it could not possibly be considered as any argument at all; for in a subsequent part of that hon. member's speech, he admitted, that of 40,000 men which it had been proposed to raise by that bill, there were now actually raised and embodied to the full amount of 30,000 men; and it was admitted on all hands, that of all the measures for the increase of our military strength, the army of reserve had procured the largest possible number to our disposeable force. Neither himself nor any of his right hon. friends wished to contend, that it would by no means injure the general recruiting for the line; on the contrary, they only said that it did not put a total stop to the general levy for extensive service, but admitted that it must, as all levies for limited service must, tend pro tanto to diminish the recruiting for the regulars. He had objected in such general terms, that while he condemned the operation of that act, he censured ministers for bringing forward any thing like a repeal of the law which he seemed to think obnoxious. He did not positively say which of the two he thought was best. Ministers, however, had not adopted either; they had taken a middle course, and only moved for a temporary suspension of the law, until the recruiting for other services could be completed. In his objections to the measure of suspension in itself, he had given it the mild title of a bill of false pretences. He could not see the propriety of the application of such an epithet. In this branch of his argument he seemed particularly to refer to the mode of raising money, which was provided for by the bill. When some of the counties in the West of England, for instance, had exerted themselves with the greatest alacrity, and perhaps with some degree of success, and had completed almost the whole of their quota, would any gent. stand up and say that it was an act of justice to put them on the same footing with other counties which had not displayed a similar cheerfulness of spirit, or raised a proportionate number of men? The hon. gent. had also stated the inconvenience which must result to the house from a consideration of the two measures, that of the bill which was now before the house, and that of the proposition which had been made by a right hon. gent. under the gallery. He confessed that, for his part, he plainly saw that very great inconvenience must arise from the circumstance of entertaining two questions of that nature at the same time. The one was for a temporary suspension of an act already established, and which must be considered as a matter of experiment. The other was for the adoption of a new measure, which was so extensive in itself, and so ample in its detail, as to form sufficient grounds for the introduction of a new bill, which would require the most serious deliberation of the House. A particular provision in the bill he had regarded as a job. But really he could not see how any thing like a job could be likely to be made of such a regulation. The counties that were particularly deficient in the supply of their quota of men, were to be made subject to the penal provisions of the former statute. To ascertain the sum which they were to pay for such deficiency or neglect, it was necessary to make inquiries of different persons, no one of whom could have within himself the power of making a complete return from his own knowledge. Some might be dead, or others might have deserted between the time of their being raised by the parish district, and the time at which it was expected that they had entered on real military duty; others might have been discharged after they had been sent to join their regiments. For this purpose, he thought that it was absolutely necessary that some gent. of respectability should be appointed to a service which was so essential to the public interest, and so diversified in its functions. There was one question to which the hon. gent. appeared to attach the greatest importance; that was the payment of fines by the county at large. He evidently considered that the law was intended to be the same in that respect as the militia laws. In the militia, the deficiencies were to be reckoned as so much fine upon the county, it was true. The army of reserve act also levied the penalty off the county in the first instance; but it provided that the money should be afterwards eventually paid by the parish which was deficient. The hon. gent. had stated some objections also to the instructions to officers, who had to raise a certain number of men for a certain rank in the army. That might be made a separate question, no doubt, if any hon. member should think fit so to do, but it surely had no connection with the immediate question before the house, namely, the house going into a committee on the army of reserve suspension bill. As to the justice of the case, considered on the score of propriety, raising a certain number of men within 6 months, that was an object for the officers themselves to look to when they saw the instructions. If they thought the length of time was not of sufficient duration, they could very easily avoid entering into such an engagement. The instructions, however, were not so rigidly adhered to, as totally to preclude ministers from extending the period in which any given number of men was to be raised, according as the circumstances of the case might warrant. If it appeared, upon the whole, that the army of reserve act stood in the way of those levies, or the general recruiting for our disposeable force, that circumstance could not be fairly urged as an argument against the suspension of the bill. It surely must be considered as an act of justice to these gent. to remove an obstacle which stood in the way of their raising their quantity of men within the period limited; and above all, it must be a measure of the greatest utility at the present moment, to suspend the operation of any measure which, in the smallest degree, tended to lessen the general recruiting for our armies. In a very populous district in the country, he knew it for a fact, that persons in but moderate circumstances had paid 20l. sooner than enter into the army of reserve as substitutes, which they might have done at the time, and have received 40l. He by no means wished to state that these objections were generally to be met with, but it was sufficient to shew that some temporary suspension of the law was necessary. The proposition of the right hon. gent. could only be deemed, at present, a matter of experiment. Considering the present measure in the same point of view, it most certainly was entitled to some claim of priority; and the house would recollect at the same time, that nothing was now intended to be done which would totally destroy the good effects of the army of reserve act, but that the measure was brought forward as the means of accelerating the increase of our disposeable force. If any other system was to be adopted, it might be the object of future discussion, without interrupting the progress of the present bill.

Mr. *Fox.*—Sir; it is pretty extraordinary, after all the house has formerly heard in support of the army of reserve bill, in opposition to the arguments of those who resisted it, amongst other measures, as one of those which tended to impede the recruiting service of the country, that the right hon. gent. should now come forward with a bill to suspend the operation of the act; acknowledging it to have failed, in a very considerable degree, of the efficacy expected from it, and that it so totally ceased to be productive for its purpose, that it now becomes necessary to abandon it, and resort to some other measures. Considering therefore, the army of reserve bill completely and substantially deserted by those who were formerly its most strenuous advocates, and their palpable acknowledgement, that other measures were become necessary to give any hope of effecting the purposes to which that bill was directed, the resistance now given *in limine* to the plan proposed by the right hon. gent. under the gallery, is somewhat unaccountable. Notwithstanding the necessity so strongly urged upon a former night, by the right hon. sec. for deferring the bill to this day, in order to the preparation of certain clauses which he seemed to think of material importance, yet in the whole of his answer to the right hon. gent.'s plan, and in the general view he has taken of the objects of his own, he has not thought proper to say any thing of the nature of those clauses. Before I enter more minutely into the nature and tendency of the bill, I feel it necessary to say a word or two on the conduct of those who introduced it. From the exulting manner in which this bill was first brought forward, and maintained against all opposition, one would have thought that his Majesty's ministers, after having failed in every other attempt at recruiting the public force to the extent necessary for our security, had discovered in this bill something like the philosopher's stone. According to them, the bill has done wonders unparalleled in recruiting the army: the repeal of it now is to effect still greater wonders; and the future revival of it is, I suppose, to produce the greatest wonder of all. At length, it seems, his Majesty's ministers have found out that the high bounty offered under the army of reserve act, does a little interfere with the recruiting of the regular army, for so the right hon. gent. who just sat down admits: I do not wish minutely to bind either him or his colleagues to any words that passed in former debates on this subject, "sufficient for the day is the folly thereof;" but I must remark, that when in preceding discussions, this observation was made to them, it was directly and explicitly denied. They hitherto have constantly maintained that the army of reserve was no impediment to the recruiting of the general army; and produced I know not how many accounts to prove the validity of their assertion. Now, if this really was the case, it is obvious the suspension they propose, will, in fact and in truth, effect nothing at all; and if the suspension have no effect now, hitherto, it would appear, the act itself must have been of little or no use. But let us attend a little to that argument, and hear how they explain themselves. The army of reserve, they say, has produced great and beneficial effects, but it is now worn out, and has exhausted all its force. What is it they mean by this? Is the army of reserve act to be considered as analogous to animal nature? Is it like a horse, for instance, that after long labour finds its strength and power decay? If so, I perfectly understand what they mean, when they say all the force of the army of reserve act is exhausted. I should rather, however, conceive this act would fall with more truth under a different class and description of beings; that, for example, it would bear a greater resemblance to a pump or a well, which being exhausted, are of no farther use; not that the mechanism is rusty, or out of order, so that it will not work, but the water itself, which they have been accustomed to draw, is entirely gone, and completely used. What would be the natural step in such a case? To stop the source of consumption and let the water flow in. But what do his Majesty's ministers do? They complain the source is exhausted, and yet they want it to be more productive. They stop this pump, indeed, the army of reserve, but immediately apply to the same spring another of larger draught, The army of reserve act is declared incapable of completing its original quota, which it has reached within a few thousands, and yet, according to the views of ministers, its suspension is to open a source to supply 18,000 men, on terms far more unfavourable as to quantity of bounty and extent of service. This plan, according to them, is to restore the lost powers of the spring. The machinery is to work, and the water flow. But, says the right hon. gent. who has just sat down, let us consider the order of our proceeding. To this I certainly have no objection. According to this mode we shall observe, that the army of reserve act began with raising men for a limited service, at an almost unlimited price. Now, say ministers, it has done all it can, we have got 13,000 men. Its powers are exhausted, and we can get no more. Let us, however, see, if, by diminishing the bounty, and enlarging the services, we shall not be more successful. Now, in my apprehension, Sir, nothing can be more preposterous, and contrary to all experience than this process of order, so confidently appealed to. To minds otherwise constituted than those of his Majesty's ministers, it would seem the natural course of things rather to begin with small bounty and enlarged services; and when their efforts became unproductive, then to enlarge the one and limit the other. Ministers, however, have gone exactly contrary to this mode, and set all experience and judgment on this subject at defiance. On what is it possible that they can ground any hopes of success with respect to this plan? The army of reserve act has already produced 13,000 men. Ministers have all along, on every occasion on which the subject has been discussed, said that the bill produced more men than could have been produced by any other method. How then, and by what means, when this most operative act is suspended, are they to get 32,000 men? Is it by their new plan of giving rank? If this has any effect, it must be by a corresponding increase of bounty, which they profess to forbid; in what way can it otherwise have any effect, and if that is resorted to, then that competition, under another form, is introduced, which they think it so essential to the welfare of the general service should be abolished? In fact, how can any thing else be expected? But, say they, we forbid any additional bounty to be given. Is it, however, likely, is it possible, that injunction will or can be followed by young men eager and ardent after rank, and who may have nearly accomplished their object? Within the time they allow, six months only, many active and enterprizing young men may have nearly got their quota. Can it be supposed that they will let all the expence and trouble they may have been at become of no use, for want of a few remaining men to make up their quota? Surely that conclusion can never enter into the mind of any one. Ministers themselves must know it is not likely. It is rather to be expected that officers will follow the example of an hon. friend of mine, who gave 500l. to men, half of which were rejected. With temptations so strong, it is ridiculous to say we shall order them not to increase the bounty beyond the stipulated allowance. Obedience is impossible. So inconsistent and contradictory to their own views and objects, are the plans and measures they introduce! Till this moment, when they propose to suspend its operation, the army of reserve act was always denied to have that effect on the general recruiting service for which they now contend, and on which assumption of fact, they have uniformly acted in spite of all admonition from us, until this late period of the war. With regard to the plan of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), on account of which it is proposed to defer the suspension of the army of reserve act, the right hon. gent. though he opened it with his usual ability, has not entered into so minute a detail of its particulars, as he probably will when he finally submits it to the consideration of the house. In what he has stated, however, I see many parts of which I highly approve, and perhaps some of which I may not think quite so favourably. Such as it is, ministers themselves say it is fit to be considered on some future occasion. If so, what pretence have they to proceed in their present plan of suspending the act, on which it is meant to be engrafted? By suspending that bill, they at once cut down the plan under the feet of the right hon. gent. which aims at improving and rendering it more productive and effectual. Admitting, as ministers do, that this plan is worthy of consideration, they will not wait till it is brought forward, but proceed in another plan of their own to recruit the army, and draw from the right hon. gent. the very means of establishing his. They put the right hon. gent. in a whimsical situation, which reminds me of what I have lately seen advertised, "a speech intended to be spoken." Such will be the case with the right hon. gent. if you deprive him of the means by which his plan may be rendered effectual. That plan is one which I generally approve of. In one proposition I heartily concur, that in case of ballots, it would be fit to give a bounty to the person drawn, in case he came forward to serve in person. With regard to the objection made to clubs of persons subscribing money, as an insurance against being drawn by ballot, I know not upon what principle they should be done away. When a set of men wish to bear another man harmless, I can see no reason why they should not be allowed to enable him, by a small subscription, to procure a substitute, when the bounties for recruits are small, as they ought to be. I cannot see how clubs of this description are enabled to pay a larger bounty than certain individuals who may happen to be drawn. I know no reason why these clubs should be discouraged; I always thought they could not be touched, and I have always looked upon them as highly meritorious and useful. When a man is drawn by ballot, he has a right to send a substitute to serve for him, and money must be had for that purpose; but I never heard of an act which said five men shall not pay five pounds each to procure a substitute for one among the number who may happen to be drawn; but that they are to toss up in order to determine who among them shall pay the twenty-five pounds.—Now, Sir, with respect to the bill which has been offered to you this night, some of his majesty's Ministers tell us they wish it may be postponed for the present; that they will have no objection to its being brought forward at some other time; but they do not say when that time will be. They are afraid of it at the present moment; but when they contemplate the measure at a distance, they see nothing terrible in it. This, Sir, reminds me of the dialogue between Partridge and Tom Jones, in which the latter, with a view of removing the fears which his companion felt at the idea of going to battle, tells him that all men must die sooner or later; upon which the former replied, "that is very true, but I hope it will be many a long day first." In the same manner did the ministers appear not to dread this measure, any more than Partridge dreaded death; provided it may be put off to an indefinite period. The right hon. gent. proposes, that efficacious measures for recruiting the army should be made a general ingredient in the defence of the country. But ministers say, some time or other, such a plan may be adopted; but the present is not the time for doing so. The proposition now before the house, resolves itself into this question, whether you shall give credit to the declarations of those men who have exhausted the army of reserve; and whether you think the bill they have brought before the house, will be the means of increasing the force of the country, which the other bill could not do; or whether you will adopt the bill proposed by the right hon. gent.? I cannot conceive any other ground on which the bill now before the house can be supported, except that of confidence in ministers, who are the authors of it. A right hon. gent. has said, that we ought not to object to the suspension of the army of reserve, because we opposed the measure itself at the time it was introduced. This can be no argument against the line of conduct we now pursue; for although it is possible that every proposition coming from the present ministers may be wrong, it is not impossible that all they do may not be right. I do not say that every thing they do is wrong; but the great point in which they appear to me to be defective is, that they do not stand on any system, in any of the measures they have brought forward. With regard to the subject now before the house, they appear never to have examined the proper mode of recruiting the army; they cannot take in all the principles which may belong to the subject at different times. Ministers surely cannot think, that any good will come out of their bill; and, before we proceed any further in it, I think we ought to hear what the other plan is, in order that the best possible measure may be adopted. After what the house has witnessed in the conduct of the present ministers; after having seen them like conjurors, shifting from one thing to another, acting on principles of deception; at one time preferring an army of reserve, at another, raising volunteers; then checking them, &c.; I say, after all these things, I entertain no doubt but that the house, unless it thinks these ministers supernatural, must object to your leaving the chair.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he was sensible of the disadvantages under which he must rise to discuss any subject upon which the talents of the right hon. gent. who opened this debate, had been previously employed. He had attended to the plan which his right hon. friend had this night proposed, as well as to the arguments of the hon. member who had just sat down; and the principal difficulty he felt was, to offer any thing new upon a subject which had been so often previously and recently discussed in this house; but though he should feel it his duty to oppose the motion for the Speaker's leaving the chair, he felt no reluctance that those discussions should take place, which must daily teach his Majesty's ministers to feel more deeply the military exigencies of the country, and to sift them to the bottom, in order thereby to be the better enabled to meet them with effect. He was ready to admit, that the army of the country was now become the most important part of our system. His Majesty's ministers were at no time insensible to the principle so frequently urged from the other side of the house, that it was most desirable to increase that branch of the public force called the troops of the line; but so suddenly did the dangers of the country press upon them, and so forcibly did they feel the necessity of providing effectually for our security at home, in the first instance, that they felt it a duty indispensable to adopt, without delay, every measure that promised the most speedy effect in raising every branch of the public force to its highest pitch; and this they had effected to an extent heretofore unparalleled in the annals of the country. They had by no means lost sight of the necessity of providing a disposeable force for external operation, our internal security being first provided for; but in doing this, they judged it advisable, before they proceeded to raise any new regiments, first to fill up the old. To this purpose, the measure of the army of reserve had been eminently serviceable, for in the short space of six weeks, no less than 13,000 men were added to the troops of the line by its operation. This purpose so far effected, the next step to which his Majesty's ministers proposed to proceed, was the raising of 18 new regiments. But though the army of reserve had already produced more men within a shorter given period than any measure that ever was projected, yet as it now ceased to be any further operative, it was deemed advisable to suspend its operation, and try other methods. It might be asked, why not come to Parliament sooner with a proposition of this kind, and endeavour to release the recruiting service from the impediments thrown in its way by the present bill? The answer was, because they felt it would be unpardonable to propose any alteration in a measure which had received the sanction of Parliament, until they had tried it to the fullest extent, and had the most authentic documents to prove it unproductive: and having now those proofs duly authenticated, they felt it their duty to come forward with the application. His right hon. friend had this night come forward with the proposition of a system, not merely affecting the army of reserve, but affecting every branch of the whole military system of the country; a plan so widely extensive, and comprehending so many important topics for minute consideration and discussion, that he should feel it presumption for any man to say he could suddenly make up his mind on the subject. When his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Yorke) had only a proposition upon the mere branch of the militia to propose to the house, he thought it of too much importance to call upon the house suddenly for its discussion; and he therefore felt it his duty to have the bill printed and circulated through the country, in order that it might be duly considered by the deputy Lord Lieutenants of the several counties, and all persons concerned in its operation to have the benefit of their suggestions before it came forward for adoption. How much more necessary would it be, then, for the more extensive proposition of his right hon. friend this night, to have the most full, deliberate, and cool consideration, before it could be laid before the house in the shape of a bill. Considering the importance of so very extensive and complicated a topic, he was convinced it could not be brought into operation for several months; and if, in the mean time, the operation of this bill was not suspended, very deprecable consequences must necessarily accrue to the recruiting service, which he was confident it must be the desire of every member of that house to prevent. But it was scarcely possible, he was confident, that the measure proposed by his right hon. friend this night could undergo the necessary deliberation, and be shaped into an operative measure, before the expiration of the year, at the end of which time the army of reserve bill expires. Under the existing bill 32,000 men, it was true, had been raised in 6 months; but would the House think it advisable to continue a bill, no longer found effective, at the risk of not procuring 2,000 men in 6 months more? For his own part, he always preferred a force, of the nature of the army of reserve, much before one in the shape of the militia; and he was borne out in this opinion by authorities much more conversant than he was upon military subjects. He was decidedly of opinion, that an army of 64,000 troops of reserve, with 40,000 militia, was much superior to an army of 40,000 troops of reserve, and 74,000 militia. He differed materially from other parts of the proposed plan, and especially that of suffering the militia to decrease, before an adequate force was substituted in its room; and he thought the bill of his right hon. friend near him fully adequate to the purpose of effectually promoting the recruiting service for the line. He would have no objection to the measure of recruiting by parishes, if it could be done without embarrassing magistrates or creating frauds, but still he would rather preserve two strings to his bow, least one should fail. The hon. gent. who spoke last, towards the end of his speech had charged his Majesty's ministers with frequent changes of system, and alterations of their measures. It was true, they had felt the necessity, under the pressure of public exigency, to resort to a variety of measures for the prompt increase of the public force; but when they found those measures cease to have their original effect, they had modified them as experience produced occasion. It would be presumptuous to say those measures, separately, were not liable to criticism; but he would venture to assert, that the general system pursued by his Majesty's ministers was right, and had produced a force unparalleled in the annals of the country.

Sir *James Pulteney* felt it necessary to declare his opinion upon assertions which had been made in the course of discussion on topics respecting the public force, in which it was maintained that militia troops might be rendered equal to troops of the line for home defence, and that great length of time was not necessary to give troops the necessary degree of discipline to fit them for real service in the field, for that raw levies had fought equal to veteran troops, and achieved splendid victories, particularly in Egypt, where so much glory was won by the forces of this country. He begged leave, however, to deny these arguments; from the nature of the service, it was impossible that the discipline of troops could be so well carried on in militia regiments, as regiments of the line, under veteran officers, who did not assume a military life merely for amusement, or the spur of a temporary occasion, but who embraced it as a profession, and made it the study of their lives. He considered it impossible to officer effectually an army of 60,000 militia from the gentry of the country, and thought it of the utmost importance to convert our militia soldiers, as far as possible, into troops of the line, for the effectual defence of the country, as it was not so much upon the number, as upon the goodness of our troops, that our security depended; and with respect to the behaviour of our raw levies in Egypt, he admitted that there were many very young troops from Ireland and Scotland, but that the principal part of our force was composed of veteran soldiers, of which the garrisons of Gibraltar, Minorca, and Malta, formed a principal part.

Mr. *Windham* expressed the satisfaction he felt to find his opinion as to the policy of reducing the militia, seconded by an authority so respectable as that of the hon. officer who had just sat down, and his right hon. friend who proposed the amendment. It was an opinion which he had long since declared in that house, and it was among many opinions which he had heard highly censured at the time they were originally mentioned, but which afterwards made their way, and were adopted even by their former censors. With respect to the bill before the house, he confessed that it was of such a nature that, whether the object were to continue to modify, to suspend, or to repeal it, he could not give it his entire approbation. If it could be made out that men could not be had by any other means than by the ballots acted upon under this bill, then the case would be otherwise, and the continuance of it might be an advisable measure. But, if it was asserted, that though it had produced a certain number of men, it could produce no more, why then was it not repealed? As it was not even insinuated that it would produce any more men, the mere suspension of the measure struck his mind as the most unreasonable way of disposing of it. The noble lord had boasted of the accommodating spirit of ministers, that they had occasionally yielded to different principles and systems, and that to protect themselves from being condemned by any party, they alternately acquiesced in the recommendations of each; but, in the instance of the bill before the house, they seemed disposed to take a middle course—neither to abolish an act which was complained of, and justly, as tending to injure the recruiting for the regular army, by high bounties, &c., nor to continue that which other gent. stated to be the best mode of providing men. No; Ministers resolved that this army of reserve act should be suspended; that it should neither live nor die; but that it should remain as a kind of ghost, and remain like other ghosts *in terrorem*, for the purpose of extorting money. No one could be satisfied with the purpose of the ministers, and the public must be particularly discontented. It would involve a considerable injustice, for it was not proposed to make any distinction between the district which had furnished their quotas to the army of reserve, and those which had not: and it was still farther objectionable, as it would interfere with the plan of his right hon. friend who proposed the amendment. This bill of suspension was liable to another objection, which would not altogether apply to a proposition of repeal; namely, that it would keep alive the memory, and encourage the hope of large bounties, an evil than which nothing could so materially injure any plan of recruiting for the regular army. What ministers proposed to gain from the future renewal of this bill, compared with this obvious loss, he could not imagine. But suppose they were determined to persist in the bill before the house, what argument of any force could they offer, against the delay proposed by the mover of the amendment, in order that he might have time fully to prepare the measure he had announced his intention of proposing in the committee on this bill; a measure which possibly might be such as even the supporters of the bill would be disposed, upon examination, to give way to? If the motion submitted by his hon. friend on Monday last, had been acceded to, the plan described in the course of this evening by the right hon. mover of the amendment, might have been, with every other proposition, connected with the defence of the country, discussed in the committee, which it was the object of that motion to institute, and there would have been no reason for pressing this amendment; but ministers, by opposing the former, had rendered the latter necessary, in order to examine the project of his right hon. friend under the gallery. In some parts of this plan, as he understood it from his right hon. friend, he agreed, and of others he entertained his doubts; but those doubts arose in part from this circumstance, that he took a different view of the subject, and that he agreed entirely with his hon. friend, (Mr. Fox) with respect to the plan of our defence. His opinion decidedly was, that the country should trust to a regular army principally, and, in addition to that, to what was termed an armed peasantry. This regular army, he was convinced, could find more than enough of recruits, to advance it to any necessary number if the impediments were removed which had been thrown in its way by the measures of ministers. Of this sentiment he was satisfied, that, notwithstanding all the various employments which our manufactures and agriculture furnished, sufficient recruits could be obtained without prejudice to either, and that our army might be rendered formidable in numbers, and respectable in character, particularly if the idea were adopted, which he had often mentioned in that house, and which the best military authorities recommend, of raising men for a limited period of service for a certain term of years.—The right hon. gent. repeated his recommendation, that the postponement required by the hon. mover of the amendment should be acceded to. The authority of his right hon. friend entitled his wish to the compliance of ministers and to the assent of the house, especially seeing that no sensible inconvenience could result from the delay he required; seeing also, that in the committee there would be an opportunity of fully canvassing the nature of his right hon. friend's plan, to ascertain how far it could be engrafted on the stock of the army of reserve bill. It appeared to him that it would be an injustice to his right hon. friend to resist his motion for delay, and the house should concur in the amendment if it were only on this principle, that his right hon. friend was at least proposing something against nothing—that he was endeavouring to check in their meanderings, those ministers who were perpetually opposing themselves—the ends of whose measures came jolting against each other; those ministers who were continually reeling to and fro like drunken men—who in one measure generally counteracted another, as the line of argument they adopted on one day, frequently refuted that which they pursued on the preceding; always investigating, never deciding; there is scarcely one measure they resorted to, that did not involve a renunciation of their former opinions, and an adoption of those they had opposed. It might be now said by ministers, that they knew, at the time the army of reserve bill was enacted, that it would very much injure the recruiting for the regular army; that they were aware of the evil it would produce; but why did they not say so then? No, on the contrary they denied it; and now that the consequences were felt, they used a different language. They insisted that they foresaw, but they studiously concealed their foresight; and they reprobated those who ventured to prophecy that which they themselves were now forced to confess. They who foretold these things, were described by ministers as mere theorists; and it was asserted that the practical effects would be found to refute their ideas; but who were found to be mistaken? The attempt made in this, as well as in other instances, to put down the opinions held by the hon. gent. with whom he acted, had only served to corroborate and justify those opinions; like certain plants, the more it was attempted to crush them the more they prospered and grew.—Recurring to the nature of Mr. Pitt's plan, the right hon. gent. contrasted some of its parts, particularly that respecting the regulations of bounties, with the provisions of the army of reserve act. The latter, he contended, had ceased to produce more men, not for the reasons stated, not because there was no more men to be had—for if that were the case, why expect to raise more by any other measure? No, in point of fact, the army of reserve act has met the fate that ever attends measures that are too rigorous; as it happens with penal laws, when they become too severe they lose their effect, no person being willing to execute them; so with the army of reserve act—it was so odious that no officer could be found to put it into execution. The people were adverse to it, the stomach of the country loathed it, and this was the cause of its failure. That failure, therefore, should not induce any apprehension that plenty of men were not to be had for the regular army, if the recruiting were to be unimpeded and properly conducted.—The right hon. gent. adverted to the frequent mention made by ministers of the gross amount of our public force, of the number of men in arms: but he would ask them, could they seriously mean to urge that as a claim to merit on their part? Were they aware, that they were by such mention pronouncing their own condemnation? for they had contrived by their conduct to put the country in such a state of desperation, that every man was forced to feel the necessity of struggling for his own protection—and in truth, independently of the impulse of patriotism, the alarming state of the country was such as to suggest to men the propriety of coming forward for the safety of their own lives, their family, and their property. Such had been the effect, and ministers, therefore, instead of talking of 400,000 men ready to stand forth for the country, might speak of so many millions—of in fact, every man capable of contributing any assistance to avert the public danger. But were they who created the danger, and who were incapable of directing the spirit it called forth, to repel, much less to destroy it, entitled to lay claim to merit? Certainly not.—The noble lord had stated that ministers had resorted to plans calculated to please all parties, and that they now said, "gentlemen, you have no right to complain, for we have given you all sorts of measures, and specimens of all sorts of systems." But then, added the right hon. gent. it did not follow, because ministers gave variety, that therefore they should satisfy; for though there might be good and bad in variety, it might happen that the whole of the variety would be bad—and so it did with respect to the measures of ministers. The right hon. gent. concluded with strongly recommending the adoption of the amendment, in order that his right hon. friend's plan might be examined, to see whether upon so bad a stock as the army of reserve act, any thing efficient could be grafted. At all events he was persuaded that nothing was likely to be worse.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer.*—Sir; I will detain the house but for a very short time. The right hon. gent. who has just sat down, has alluded to some opinions thrown out by an hon. general on the same side of the house, with respect to the militia; to the extent of which, although I do not fully subscribe, yet I think it in some measure necessary to advert to them, for the purpose of shewing that they are not precisely of that stamp and character described by the right hon. gent. on the floor. That hon. general, in speaking of the militia, has admitted that they were an excellent description of military force, at the same time that he asserted, that for active military operations, they could bear no comparison with the regular army. The right hon. gent. on the many occasions that he has had occasion to allude to that part of our national defence, has described it as insufficient, unmilitary, and ridiculous, (a loud cry, of No! No!) at least such was my conception of what he then said, and I am confident I am not singular in my opinion. Now, Sir, with regard to the present measure, what does that right hon. gent. do? why, Sir, he objects to the postponement of it, for no other reason that I can collect from his long speech, but that he wishes for its repeal. Other gent. and a very considerable number, I fear, object to it upon grounds more consistent than that of the right hon. gent. and his particular friends; but I trust that a little consideration of the subject, will remove from their minds much of the doubt they entertain with regard to it. What, Sir, is the object of the suspension of the army of reserve act? Why, Sir, it embraces that most desirable of all objects; that object in the promotion of which men of all parties have concurred, the augmentation of your regular army. The right hon. gent. has frequently disapproved of the operation of that act, as affecting the regular recruiting of the army. I will not go the length of saying, that it does not interfere in some respects with it, but I can never admit that it impedes it, to the extent that is asserted by him. Sir, the country has experienced very great advantages from the adoption of that act, and the subsequent operation of it. The hon. gent. has even the candour to avow it. It has produced to the country no less than 37,000 men, among which is to be reckoned a disposeable body of 12,000. These advantages it is our wish to continue to the country, and we think we cannot better arrive at that desirable end, than by a temporary suspension of what has ceased to produce the effects that it was originally formed for. My right hon. friend, the Sec. of State, wrote officially to the Lord-Lieutenants to encourage the purposes of that act, and notwithstanding all the recommendation it received from them, notwithstanding the spirit and disposition of the magistrates in every part of the kingdom to give it all the aid and advancement in their power, ever since the month of Nov. last, the inconveniences resulting from it, have by far exceeded the advantages,; although, previous to that period, the benefit derived to the country from its operation, out-balanced considerably its disadvantages, which, I admit, were neither few nor unimportant. It was not originally a measure of choice with his majesty's govt. but it was forced on them by the peculiar circumstances of the country. The immense number of volunteers, amounting to no less than 400,000 men; the 200,000 that were drawn from your population for recruiting of the army and navy, rendered it an act of necessity—of urgent, inevitable necessity, and such a measure as never would be resorted to but under the pressure of that necessity. I shall not attempt to follow the right hon. gent. above me (Mr. Pitt) through all the details of the complicated plan he has opened to you, but I have one great, and to my mind, decisive objection to offer to it, and that is, that it tends to the creation of a great and permanent military establishment. Sir, I for one, will never give my consent for placing a great portion of the community under the control and inspection of officers, who, however individually respectable, should not be vested with the power and the opportunity of continually teasing and soliciting the persons under their control, to engage for general service. There were also other causes which lately impeded the recruiting service. The time was happily unfavourable to it; I say happily, because the cheapness of provisions removed that necessity to seek for subsistence, that the lower classes of society always experience in time of scarcity, and the 200,000 men that were enrolled into the army and navy, left scarcely a disposeable person in the country. As to that part of the plan which proposes the connecting of regiments with particular counties, although I always speak with diffidence on military matters, yet I am obliged to dissent from it, because not sufficiently taking into consideration the varieties of character of the different manufacturing, agricultural, and commercial counties, I think it is likely to produce extreme inconvenience, and scarcely one practical advantage. Upon the whole, I can discover nothing in the plan to induce me to give my consent to defer the present measure. Now, Sir, much has been said by the right hon. gent. on the floor, Mr. Windham) and by those who co-operate with him, respecting the spontaneous zeal which has been manifested by the country, so much to its honour, and, I trust, as much to its advantage. Sir; my noble friend has well explained what our sentiments on that subject are. He has said, and truly said, that the zeal of the country was a voluntary aid afforded to the govt. at a critical period; and that the only merit that govt. claimed, was that of having given a beneficial direction to a great public principle. The zeal of the country, I confess, has amply conferred on ministers the means of providing for our domestic defence. But was it that spontaneous zeal, which enabled govt. to hold in blockade every one of the enemy's ports, from the Texel to the Adriatic? Was it that spontaneous zeal, which enabled the executive govt. to effect greater conquests within the first six months of the war, than have been atchieved in almost the same number of campains in former wars? That zeal I will acknowledge, and acknowledge with gratitude, has given us that description of force, which that right hon. gent. holds cheap, the hearts and hands of 400,000 volunteers; but, at the same time, I will take the liberty to say, that zeal has not given us all the means that have been so successfully applied in maintaining the honour and the interests of the empire. The right hon. gent. has often dwelt on the necessity of promoting the recruiting service. But does he, can he suppose that is to be accomplished by one mode only? Would he have been satisfied with the result of the means suggested by that? I am persuaded he would not. The right hon. gent. well knows, that it requires various measures to draw out the population of the country, and to induce a change in its habits; that the means which have been successful at one time, may cease to operate in the same way; and, therefore, that of necessity different means must be resorted to. At present, this country possesses a greater military force than any in the world, and much greater, I am happy to say, than the enemy we have most to apprehend from, can oppose to us. That force would never have existed to the extent that it does, if it was not diversified. The army of reserve act has operated a sufficient length of time, no present advantages result from it, and I therefore think it would be judicious to try what the temporary suspension of it may do, towards increasing the disposeable force of the country.

Mr. *Windham* explained, by declaring, that he had never applied the ridiculous expressions attributed to him, nor any thing like them.

Mr. *Canning*.—I shall not detain the house by discussing the merits of the question at this late hour; but, Sir, the speech of the right hon. gent. who has just sat down, has so altered the ground on which the house is going to vote, or rather has so completely disclosed what ministers studiously concealed, that I cannot forego the opportunity of exposing the real objection of that right hon. gent. to the plan suggested by my right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt.) The colleagues of that right hon. gent. have admitted that there were some things in the plan of my right hon. friend worthy of consideration, and said they might be fit subjects to be adopted at some future time; but the right hon. gent. is quite at variance with his colleagues, and sees nothing in the plan but the greatest mischief. He wishes to throw every odium and obloquy upon it, and to endeavour to convince the people of England, that its object is to raise a regular force by ballot for foreign service, contrary to the manner in which it has been commented upon by every candid man, contrary to the manner in which it has been commented upon by his own colleagues, by the whole house. He would represent it as a plan hostile to the constitution, arbitrary in its principles, and in its operation oppressive to the people. And mark, Sir, by what candid and delicate traits he attempts to give it this colouring, and maintain this construction. He says, the act will expose men raised by ballot, to be importuned to engage in foreign service. The right hon. gent. he who has just proposed a bill to enable the militia of Ireland to extend their service beyond the terms upon which they were raised, and contrary to the original nature of their establishment, now comes forward and arraigns the proposition of my right hon. friend, as an unconstitutional mode of increasing the regular force by a modification of the army of reserve. Surely, after advising the extension of the service of the Irish militia, it is inconsistent for the right hon. gent. to condemn the plan of my right hon. friend, and to say in limine, that it is a plan to raise men upon unjust pretences. I ask, Sir, if this be decent? I ask if it be not a gross misconstruction of my right hon. friend's plan? The colleagues of the right hon. gent. have not said so. They say the plan is worthy of consideration, but that this is not the proper time. Nay, my noble friend (Lord Castlereagh) says he hopes the time will come when he can approve its adoption; and the reason he assigns is, because he wishes to have two strings to his bow, and I hope the time will come when the noble Lord will realize his wishes. My right hon. friend says, he wishes to take the skeleton of the army of reserve bill, to give it body and substance, and to infuse into it life and soul: but the Sec. at War says, "no; bring forward your measure, we do not want to undermine your plan, we only mean to take away the foundation from it." But the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer differs from them both. He dislikes the whole, whether as a present or a future measure, on the ground that it is hostile to the constitution, and adverse to the liberties of the people. Those who vote for the question must be convinced that the plan of my right hon. friend is bad, and that it is therefore necessary to hurry the business through the house, in order that they may take away the foundation which my right hon. friend says is essential to his plan, and without which he cannot bring it forward. But it is not merely of want of candour I have a right to complain. It is inconsistent, surely, in ministers to praise the army of reserve bill at the very time they wish to destroy it. Their conduct, in this respect, reminds me of the story of the goose that laid the golden eggs. A foolish boy was advised to kill the bird, hoping to get a quicker and larger supply of the eggs than usual. So with the bill. It is praised as having been productive, and this is the only reason assigned for wishing to destroy it.

Mr. *Bastard* spoke against the amendment. His only objection to the bill was, that it did not go far enough; that instead of only suspending, it did not repeal the army of reserve act entirely. There were many reasons for getting rid of it, which argued much more powerfully than the most persuasive eloquence could do for its continuance. He had seen fathers and mothers, nay, whole families, in the greatest agony and distress to procure a substitute for a child, or other near relative, drawn for the army of reserve. It was a measure only to be resorted to in case of necessity; but no necessity now existed in a degree commensurate with the misery which the measure induced. Instead of being afraid of invasion, it was the anxious wish of the people that the enemy should come, because they were confident of success. For his own part, if a greater force were necessary, he would rather increase the navy than the army; and he was sure the hon. gent. (Mr. Fox), from his constitutional principles, and the jealousy which he consequently entertained of a standing army, must be of the same opinion.—The question was now loudly called for from every part of the house.

Mr. *I. H. Browne* endeavoured to vindicate, at length, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but was so much interrupted by the impatience of the house in calling for the question, that we could not collect the drift of his argument.—The question was again called for with much vehemence, on which

The *Attorney General* rose, and spoke to the following effect:—Sir; the pain that I feel in intruding myself upon an unwilling audience, can only be equalled by the pain I feel now, and should feel when I lay down my head, if I were to suffer the most unjust, the most uncharitable misinterpretation of my right hon. friend's speech to pass without notice. Had my right hon. friend used any expression that could have borne such a construction, instead of rising with eagerness, with vehemence, if the right hon. gent. has any recollection of former habits and connexions, if ever he called him friend, he must have known that my right hon. friend could not have intended to use the expression in such a sense, and he ought in candour, in justice, and in fairness, to have given him an opportunity to explain, instead of taking him up with so much precipitancy, and pronouncing such a hasty and positive censure. But I did not understand my right hon. friend to have used any expression that could have borne the interpretation which the right hon. gent. has been pleased to give of his speech. My right hon. friend said, that one set of gent. opposed the bill upon one ground, and another set opposed it upon another. Surely, there is no odium or obloquy in this observation. Men may fairly oppose the same measure from different motives; and surely to say so, does not insinuate any thing unreasonable in their conduct, or imply censure. My right hon. friend says, he considers the army of reserve as a harsh measure, which he would not look to as permanent, and therefore would resort to it only in a case of necessity, and that he would not expose men to be importuned to enlist in the regular army, a situation in which they were placed in the army of reserve. But this was far from saying, as my right hon. friend is charged, that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) wanted to raise a regular army by ballot. I shall now, Sir, say a few words upon some observations that have been made in the course of the night. It has been said that ministers, by admitting the zeal of the country, pronounce their own condemnation. If the right hon. gent. and his friends should come into office, I fancy they would not have much of that sort of condemnation; I should rather think they would have a tolerably large share of acquittal. A right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) says, he will not dwell long upon the subject, as he does not wish to deface the impression of the beautiful variety of our arguments, and that we are reeling to and fro like drunken men; but if he is constantly following us in all these reelings, if he is constantly opposing every proposition that comes from ministers, I should be glad to know how he can be consistent, how he can avoid a participation in that beautiful variety for which he gives them credit? If opposition to every measure of ministers be consistency, I will allow the right hon. gent. is as consistent as it is possible for man to be.

Mr. *Canning.*—I rise for the express purpose of saying, that I understood the words of the right hon. gent. to convey a direct censure upon my right hon. friend.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer.*—I rise to say, that there was nothing in my thoughts, nor in what I said, to warrant such an interpretation.

Sir *John Wrottesley.*—If I understand the English language, I must say that the construction is a fair one. But, Sir, I will not rely on my own opinion. I appeal to the house, whether the right hon.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech was not endeavouring to throw every odium upon the plan proposed by the right hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Pitt). I appeal to the house, whether——

The *Speaker*.—I have always understood, that when an hon. member disavows sentiments imputed to him, it is not customary to renew the imputation.

Sir *John Wrottesley* resumed. He said, he conceived himself perfectly in order in mentioning what he did, as the right hon gent. had certainly said that the measure was arbitrary, unconstitutional, and tended to dragoon men into the army. There might be a beautiful variety in the system of ministers, but there was something disgusting in their arguments. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Addington) had used the army of reserve act, as he had used the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), he had used it as a boat to carry him safe over, and then deserted it.

Sir *R. Buxton* forcibly described the evils of the army of reserve act in its operation, and supported the motion.

Lord *De Blaquiere* rose amidst a loud clamour for the question. He said, if gent. were not disposed to hear him, he had better not speak: but that he should have difficulty to bring himself to believe, that at a crisis like the present, when every thing that was dear to man was at stake, there should be any member in that house who was not willing to sacrifice another half hour of his rest to the furtherance of the urgent business which was before them. If, said he, by any exertions or labour of mine, I shall add a single file of musketeers to the army appointed to defend us, I shall think myself more than paid for all the trouble I have had.—But first, his lordship begged leave, in one short word, to animadvert upon what the King's Chancellor of the Exchequer had said on the speech delivered so many months ago by his hon. friend (Mr. Windham.) He (Lord de Blaquiere) was in the house, and treacherous as his memory at his time of life might be supposed, it would not, he trusted, desert him upon this occasion. He had the most perfect recollection of what passed, and that nothing of what had been imputed to his right hon. friend, had ever been uttered from his lips, he undertook most distinctly to assert. That his right hon. friend had reprobated the mode with which the militia system had been arranged and conducted by the ministers of the crown, he to the fullest extent admitted; but that any thing like a sentiment casting directly or obliquely any reflection upon the body of the militia of the kingdom, he did most explicitly and unequivocally deny. Gent. he said, ought maturely to weigh such charges, even when taken up at the moment, before these accusations were made; but under all the circumstances, lapse of time, party spirit, and other aggravations combined, he had no hesitation to say and to assert, and he appealed to the house and to the chair, that the charge was not only unfounded and indecorous, but unparliamentary.—He meant to oppose the bill, and upon these grounds. His Majesty's Sec. of State had observed, that the use of the army of reserve had gone by, they could get no more men: if so, if this was the fact, wherefore the necessity of bringing in this bill? The army of reserve could get no more men, consequently could not create the competition complained of.—To raise men for the disposeable force of the country, and which plan would soonest and best effect that purpose, was the point at issue. By the statement of the right hon. Sec. it appeared, that sooner than 6 months not a single company of these new levies could be called into service. Was this the case with the plan suggested by the right hon. member (Mr. Pitt)? Was there a man in the house who would believe, that with the sense, spirit, and exertions of that right hon. gent. he would require even half that time for the purpose? The plan of the right hon. member (Mr. Pitt) was simple, expedient, and practicable. It required not his transcendant eloquence to enforce it. Something very like a majority of that house were already impressed with a due sense of its merits; many days could not pass without its being brought into effect. But, said the noble Lord, what I contend for is, that by the measure proposed you will not only fail in raising men for an augmentation to the regular army, but you will cripple that army, so as to make it far less equal to those great exertions in your defence, which at this moment you are so justly entitled to depend upon. Will you expect these levies are to be made under the present terms? Will it be possible to suppose that officers will get men, without giving money to the recruits? Is it not a mockery upon the understandings of men to suppose it? Is it not holding out a premium to the gallant soldier to disobey the orders under which he acts, when you tell him, he shall not obtain his rank, unless he gets his men, which we all know are not to be got without high bounties, and acting in the teeth of those orders which tell him he shall give none? That he shall not get a step in his profession, unless he violates those principles which have met the fullest reprobation of both sides of this house, and to the withstanding of which is not in the withstanding of human nature? You will, therefore, under the system stated, get no men. But this is not the worst. Have hon. gent. considered, that under the terms stated by the right hon. Sec. more than 400 officers of the line are to be taken out of the line, and locked up in villages, as recruiting serjeants, for the next 6 months to come? Four hundred officers, the best in your service, for the best they will be; the illustrious person at the head of our army, with the constant care and attention he has ever shewn to its welfare and discipline, will suffer none but the most experienced and deserving to avail themselves of the advantage, consequently upwards of 400 of the very best of the officers of your army are to be taken out of it, at the moment, perhaps, of all others, when their services could least be spared; and that for a period of 6 months it is not left in the power of the crown, under the conditions proposed, to supply the vacancies. Sir, this I look upon to be fatal to the scheme proposed, were there nothing else objectionable in it; but I will enlarge no farther.—Another word, said Lord de B. and I have done. From every corner of the house, listing for a term of years is pressed by every gent. who has spoken upon the subject. We, the only country in Europe who resist the policy—we, who boast of our freedom, will be served by nothing but slaves. Shew me the law, he desired, which compelled the practice. He believed there was none; and as to its practicability, he begged the house to indulge him in the recital of the few remaining words he had to say. In the year 1760, his Majesty's 17th regiment of dragoons was raised. He was appointed a field officer to it, and on his shoulders was principally lain the levy of the regiment. It was raised in London, and having received from the Sec. at War, to whom he applied, no order to the contrary, he listed all the men for 3 years. In 1763, being with the regiment in Scotland, he re-inlisted them all again, with very few exceptions, and at very small bounties, for 3 years more; and in the year 1766 he re-inlisted them in the same manner again for 7 years more. The regiment was then sent to America, and he believed it to be perfectly well known, that no regiment in his Majesty's service was ever more distinguished for gallantry and conduct than the 17th dragoons. The house would make the application; it was too late to say more. He was thankful for the attention it had condescended to shew him. He should of course vote for the amendment.

Mr. *Jarvis* defended the conduct of ministers. He gave the credit of the spontaneous zeal of the country, in a considerable degree, to ministers, who had shewn such wisdom, moderation, and love of the constitution, as to conciliate the affections of the country, which he was confident were in unison with their feelings and intentions.

Sir *Robert Williams* requested to know, whether the plan proposed would tend to relieve parishes from the heavy burden of the army of reserve.

Mr. *Pitt* said, he had been so much misunderstood by several gent. and particularly by the learned gent. near him (Mr. Jarvis), that he hoped the house would permit him very shortly to explain one or two points. It seemed to be understood by some gent. that he meant to adopt the plan of the army of reserve, without any mitigation of its present hardships. He must have very much failed in expressing his meaning if he did not distinctly state that it was one of his objects to mitigate the hardships of that bill, both as it related to individuals and to parishes; that instead of a ballot, which would compel a man either to serve in person, or to pay a large bounty, that the ballot should be so distributed, that the person drawn might be excused from serving, on paying a small fine, which was to be laid out in giving bounties for general recruiting; or if the person did choose to serve, that he should receive a bounty for it. The difference between him and his Majesty's ministers was this: he wished to establish a permanent measure, which should be less severe in its operation than the army of reserve bill, while they wished to renew it on a future occasion, without any mitigation whatever.—After a few words from Mr. Sec. Yorke, the House divided, when there appeared,

For Mr. Pitt's motion - 203
Against it - - - 240

Majority - 37

List of the Minority.

Anson, Thomas
Antonie, W. Lee
Adair, Robert
Adams, W.
Bagenel, W.
Bailey, George
Bankes, Henry
Binning, Lord
Bertie, General
Barclay, George
Barham, Foster
Bootle, Wilbraham
Barne, Snowdon
Brandling, C.
Berkeley, Admiral
Beach, Hicks M.
Beresford, Lord G.
Beresford, J.
Brooke, Lord
Byng, George
Best, Serjeant
Blaquiere, Lord De
Bouverie, Hon. E.
Bradshaw, R. H.
Bligh, Thomas
Burroughs, Wm.
Barclay, Sir Robert
Bourne, Sturges
Brodie, J.
Bruce, P. C.
Cooke, Bryan
Creevey, T.
Courtenay, John
Canning, George
Cartwright, W. R.
Cowper, Hon. E.
Caulfield, Hon. H.
Craufurd, Col.
Chapman, C.
Codrington, C.
Calcraft, John
Cavendish, Lord G.
Cavendish, W.
Carbery, Lord
Coke, Edward
Combe, Harvey
Dalrymple, Sir H.
Dennison, J.
Dickenson, W. sen.
Dickenson, W. jun.
Dupré, J.
Dundas, R.
Dundas, Right Hon. W.
Dundas, Hon. C.
Dundas, Hon. L.
Dundas, Hon. G.
Dundas, Philip
Dent, John
Dillon, Hon. H. A.
Elford, Sir Wm.
Ellis, C. R.
Euston, Earl of
Eliot, Hon. W.
Eliot, W.
Everett, T.
Ferguson, James
Fitzharris, Lord
Foster, John
Fox, Hon. C. J.
Foljambe, F. F.
Francis, Philip
Fitzpatrick, General
Fitzhugh, Wm.
Folkestone, Lord
Graham, Col.
Graham, Sir J.
Gregor, Francis
Gunning, G. W.
Garland, G.
Gower, Lord G. L.
Grenville, Right Hon. T.
Grenfell, Pascoe
Hammet, John
Hill, W.
Hamilton, Lord A.
Henderson, A.
Hippesley, Sir J.
Hardiman, E.
Harrison, J.
Heathcote, Sir W.
Hulkes, J.
Hope, Alex.
Hutchinson, Hon. C.
Hughes, W. L.
Jeffery, J.
Jekyll, J.
Joliffe, Hylton
Johnstone, George
Kinnaird, Hon. C.
Kensington, Lord
Kirkwall, Visc.
Lascelles, E.
Lascelles, H.
Leigh, R. H.
Lenox, Gen.
Long, Rt. Hon. Charles
Latouche, P.
Latouche, John
Louvaine, Lord
Lowther, John
Lowther, James
Langton, Gore
Laurence, Dr.
Lawley, Sir R.
Lambton, R. John
Leland, General
Macdowal, A.
Manning, W.
Milbank, Sir R.
Mostyn, Sir T.
Marsham, Lord
Mildmay, Sir H.
Morpeth, Lord
Maddocks, W. A.
Milner, Sir William
Morland, W.
Mackenzie, Gen. A.
Manners, John
Montgomery, J.
Moore, Peter
Moore, G. P.
Mundy, E. M.
Newport, Sir John
North, Dudley
Norton, C.
Osborne, John
Ossulstone, Lord
Ord, William
Pelham, Hon. C.
Poyntz, W.
Peel, Sir R.
Penn, J.
Penn, R.
Petty, Lord H.
Pierse, Henry
Pitt, Right Hon. W.
Porchester, Lord
Portman, E. B.
Praed, W.
Preston, Sir R.
Phipps, Hon. E.
Plumer, Wm.
Pytches, J.
Popham, Sir H.
Rochford, G.
Ryder, Hon. R.
Russell, Lord Wm.
Rooke, General
Rose, Rt. Hon. G.
Rose, George H.
Rutherford, G.
Scott, Claude
Scott, S.
Scott, Jos.
Sinclair, Sir John
Sloane, H.
Sneyd, N.
Shakespeare, Arthur
Smith, S.
Smith, G.
Smith, John
Smith, Wm.
Spencer, Lord R.
St. John, St. And.
Stanhope, Spencer
Smith, Asheton
Somerset, Lord E.
Stanley, Lord
Stewart, Sir James
Temple, Earl
Thornton, H.
Thornton, S.
Thornton, Robert
Turner, Edm.
Thellusson, P. I.
Tarleton, General
Townshend, Lord J.
Villiers, Hon. J. C.
Ward, Robert
Ward, Hon. J. W.
Whitbread, S.
Wilberforce, Wm.
Wyte, M.
Walpole, G.
Williams, Sir R.
Windham, Right Hon. W.
Wynne, Sir W. W.
Wynne, C. W.
Wrottesley, Sir J.
Wigram, R.
Western, C. C.
Wharton, John
Winnington, Sir E.
Wood, George
Young, Sir Wm.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, April. 26.

The several bills before the house were forwarded in their respective stages. Among these, the Irish Linen Manufacturers' bill was read a third time and passed, and a message sent to acquaint the Commons thereof—The Earl of Aylesbury, and Lords Clive and Seaforth were sworn, and took their seats.—Certain Accounts from the East India Directors, laid annually before parliament, were presented by Mr. Owen, and ordered to lie on the table.—Some private business was then disposed of, after which their Lordships adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, April 26.

[Minutes.]—The house met at four o'clock, and proceeded to ballot for a committee to try the right of election in the heard, when the following names were returned as appearing on the reduced list:—R. Gervas Ker, Esq. Js. Martin Lloyd, Esq. Joseph H. Strutt, Esq. H. Juddrell, Esq. John Princep, Esq. Sir Rob. Barclay, Bart. Right Hon. W. Windham, Lord Vis. Loftus, M. Russell, Esq. Sir Mat. Bloxam, Hon. C. Kinnaird, C. M. Ormsby, Esq. Rob. Holt Leigh, Esq.—Nominees, Hon. C. J. Fox, and Wm. Sturges Bourne, Esq.—Mr. Irving, from the office of the Inspector-General of the Customs, presented "an Account of the Duties received on the export of Linens from G. Britain since the commencement thereof; together with the amount of Bounties paid thereon;" also, "an Account of the quantity of wine imported into, and exported from, G. Britain in 5 years, ending 5th Jan. 1804; distinguishing each year, and how much remained under bond on the 5th Jan. in each year;" and also, "an Account of the quantity of Raw Sugar imported into, and of raw and refined-sugar exported from, G. Britain in 3 years, ending 5th Jan. 1804, and of the duties paid, and drawbacks and bounties received thereon." Ordered, that the said accounts do lie upon the table.—Mr. Owen, from the Directors of the E. India Comp. presented a paper, intitled, "Return to the act of the 33d of his present Majesty, cap. 52. sec. 126, requiring certain accounts of the revenues, charges, &c. of the E. India Comp. to be laid before both houses of parliament."—Mr. Owen also presented, "An Account of the dates of all dispatches transmitted by the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the E. India Comp. to the several Presidencies in India, relative to his Majesty's message to parliament of the 8th of March, 1803; and to the rupture with France, together with an account of the receipt of those dispatches in India; and also, an account of the dates of dispatches sent by the Court of Directors of the E. India Com. or the Secret Committee of the same, to the island of St. Helena, with reference to his Majesty's message to parliament of the 8th March, 1803, and also to the rupture with France, together with the dates at which the same were respectively received." Ordered to lie upon the table, and to be printed.—On the motion of Lord W. Russell, the house went into a Committee on the Statute Duty Bill. When the house resumed, the report was brought up, and the bill ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—The House went into a Committee on the Newfoundland Ships Bill. The clauses were agreed to without amendment; the report was received, when the house resumed, and the Bill was read a third time and passed.—Mr. Vansittart presented, "an Account of the amount of the Exchequer Bills outstanding on the 18th April in the years 1798-9, 1800, 1, 2, 3, and 4;" also, "an Account of the amount of the Exchequer Bills in the hands of the Bank on the 18th April in the same years." Ordered to lie upon the table, and to be printed.—The Clergy Orders' Bill was read a 3d time, passed, and ordered to be sent to the Lords.—The Militia Adjutants' and Militia Officers' Bill were read a second time, and committed.

[POOR OF IRELAND.]—Sir *John Newport* rose to make his promised motion respecting the situation of the poor of Ireland. Twenty-eight of the 32 counties of Ireland had not yet sent in the returns ordered by the house, of the monies levied in that country. The established system of the poor laws was, he said, so interwoven with the law of the country, that perhaps it might be unnecessary to make any observations upon it; but in Ireland, where there were no laws for the support of the poor, and legislation had never interfered about them, farther than to punish vagrants, it would be now necessary to consider what legislative provision ought to be made in Ireland, for the employing the poor, supporting the aged and infirm, and the maintenance of orphans and foundlings. He should not himself propose at present any specific plan; but concluded by moving, "That a committee be appointed to revise the laws nows existing in Ireland with respect to the maintenance of the poor, and that the said committee should report their opinion and observations thereupon to the House." This motion was carried without opposition, and a select committee appointed for the purpose.

[ARMY OF RESERVE SUSPENSION BILL.]—The house resolved itself into a committee on the army of reserve suspension bill.

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* stated, that it was fit that some reasonable fine should be levied on the counties which were deficient in supplying their quotas according to the former act. The tribunal to which he should propose to refer the returns made under that act, was to consist of the deputy lieutenants and the magistrates for the county, and their report should, of course, be sent up to the War Office. The right hon. secretary explained minutely the various other provisions of the bill. It was then read in the committee, and several amendments were made. The house having resumed, the report was brought up and ordered to be received to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, April 27.

Counsel were heard in continuation relative to the Scotch Appeal, James Hunter, Esq. *v.* the Earl of Kinnoul, and others, viz. Mr. Adam, at considerable length, as leading counsel for the respondents. The farther hearing of the case was adjourned till Wednesday next.—The Earl of Peterborough was sworn and took his seat.—The Eight Millions Exchequer Bills Bill, the Million and a Half Exchequer Bills Bill, the Irish Militia Bill, English Militia Bill, Militia Pay Bill, Militia Adjutants' Bill, Militia Officers' Bill, Newfoundland Ships' Bill, and three private Bills, were brought up from the Commons, and read a first time.—The bills on the table were forwarded in their respective stages; after which, the house adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, April 27.

[Minutes.]—Mr. Johnson, from the office of the Chief Secretary of Ireland, presented, "Returns of the number of ballotted men serving in the Militia for the Counties of Carlow, Longford, North Down, South Down, and Waterford, being the only corps, which, on the embodying of the Militia in Ireland, received ballotted men." Ordered to lie upon the table.—On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, the 8 Millions Exchequer Bills' bill, the 1 Million and a half Exchequer Bill's bill, and the Militia Pay Bill, were read a 3d time and passed.—Mr. Vansittart moved, "That there be laid before the house, an account of the application of 500,000l. granted for the service of Ireland, for the year 1803." Ordered.—The Militia Adjutants' bill, and the Irish Militia Pay bill were read a 3d time and passed.—Mr. Corry presented a petition for leave to bring in a bill to enable the Archbishop of Dublin to sell the official Palace to govt. for the purpose of making Barracks. Leave was accordingly given, and a committee appointed to prepare and bring in a bill conformably to the said petition.—Sir J. Anderson brought up the report of the committee appointed to take into consideration the petition from the Company of London Bakers. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Corry having moved that the order of the day be read for a committee of the whole house on the Irish Revenue Regulation Bill, moved the postponement of the said committee till this day se'nnight, which was agreed to accordingly.—A message was received from the Lords, announcing their concurrence with the Irish Linen Manufacture Regulation Bill, and also to five private bills.

[Volunteer Consolidation Bill.]—The *Secretary at War* moved, that the amendments made by the Lords in the Volunteer Consolidation bill be taken into consideration. Upon which,

The *Speaker* reminded the house, that the course here was to follow the precedent of the year 1757, and the whole matter would afterwards come before the house for its consideration.

Mr. *Whitbread* considered this as a matter likely to involve points essentially connected with the privileges of the Commons, for which reason he thought that the report ought to be printed. This produced some conversation between Mr. Whitbread and the Secretary at War.

The *Speaker* observed, it was important that the house should come to a right understanding, as to the principle which should regulate its future proceedings on this bill. He took it to be clear, that the rule of rejecting a bill in toto, was only on account of amendments made by the Lords in a bill of supply: where a bill was in the nature of enacting penalties, or the like, it was the custom of the House to disagree to the amendments made by the Lords, touching these points, but not to reject the bill in toto, on account of such amendments, unless it was a bill of supply.—After some farther conversation between Mr. Secretary Yorke, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Curwen, the report was ordered for further consideration on Monday, and to be printed.

[Irish Accounts.]—Mr. *Foster* rose to complain, that certain papers, for which he had some time since moved, respecting the public accounts of Ireland, and the making out of which could not cause any delay, had not yet been returned. He did not wish to make any motion upon the subject; but if they should not be forthcoming in a very few days, he must be under the necessity of moving some measure to enforce the orders.

Mr. *Corry* answered, that some papers had arrived from Ireland this day, which he did intend to have presented. He could not now accurately state what those papers were, or whether any of those alluded to by the right hon. gent. were amongst the number. They would be laid before the house on monday; and he ventured to say, at all events, he should be enabled satisfactorily to account for the delay complained of.

[Marines.]—Admiral *Berkeley* said, he had attended the house almost daily for some time, in hopes of seeing some of the Lords of the Admiralty in their places in the house, to obtain an answer to a question he wished to ask relative to a paper which had some time since been laid before the house, but he had not seen one of them. He now saw one of his Majesty's ministers, who might, perhaps, be prepared to answer the question. He wished to know, whether the 15,000 marines were to be considered as over and above the 84,000 seamen that had been returned? If ministers were prepared for this question, he hoped some of the Lords of the Admiralty would come down to answer it.

Mr. *Tierney* expressed his readiness to satisfy the hon. admiral. The 15,000 he could assure the gent. were exclusive of the other. The one is stated, the right hon. gent. added, from the navy office, and the other from the weekly returns; but the two are to be added, making in all about 100,000.

[Hanoverian Troops.]—Mr. *Fox* rose, in pursuance of a notice he had given on a former day respecting a return of the transports employed for conveying Hanoverian troops to this country, and the date of the order for employing them, together with the date of the embarkation of such troops. He thought there could have been no difficulty in the way of obtaining such a return; but he understood this day, from an authoritative quarter, that there was an objection to the granting of it. He wished, therefore, to know explicitly, if that was the case.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it did not appear to him, from any thing which had been offered by the hon. member on this subject, that he had laid any adequate ground before the house, to shew the necessity for producing such a return; and until such a ground should be clearly made out, he certainly should entertain objections.

Mr. *Fox* then gave notice, that he should bring forward a motion on this subject on Wednesday next.

[Irish Loan.]—Mr. *Corry* moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider further of ways and means for raising a supply granted to his Majesty.—The house having resolved itself into a committee, the right. hon. gent. rose and said, he felt it unnecessary to trespass long upon the time of the house, by going at any length into a statement of the estimates for the expences of the year in Ireland, a great part of which having been already voted. It was necessary for the present only to state, that as the permanent charges upon the Irish establishment for the years past had in some degree exceeded the appropriated funds, it had been thought proper to borrow a loan of 1,250,000l. to be raised in Ireland, to make up the deficiency. It was impossible at this moment for him to state minutely the particulars of the increased expenditure of the public service for Ireland, both here and in that country. It would be impossible for him, at this moment, to go into a general statement of the charges on Ireland; for, though a considerable portion of the supplies were voted, a considerable number of the services remain yet to be voted in G. Britain as well as in Ireland; and until the whole supply is voted, it is impossible to ascertain distinctly what may be necessary for the one as well as the other. It was now his purpose at this time to move for a loan of the small sum of 1,250,000l., which sum had already been contracted for in Ireland, subject to the approbation of parliament, for which it was his intention to make provision in the ways and means, when that subject came before parliament. He should state the terms of the loan, in order to follow it with a motion, if it should be the pleasure of the house to adopt the contract; and it would be for him, on a future day, and that not a distant one, to state the whole of the charges which will fall on Ireland for the year, and the ways and means for answering those charges. He should now, however, state the terms of the loan, that gent. might have an opportunity of knowing how the matter stood; it was a loan of one million and a quarter, to be funded in the 5 per cents.: the 5 per cent. interest to be paid in Ireland, to commence from the 25th of March last, and discount to be allowed, according to the custom of G. Britain, on anticipated payments, at the rate of 5 per cent.—The bidding was taken on the 20th of April inst. in Dublin. He should state the terms of that bidding, and the contract which govt. was ready to enter into, subject to the approbation of parliament: for every 100l. the subscriber was to have 112l. 7s. 3d. in stock. The money to be raised was 1,250,000l. The capital to be created amounted to no more than 1,404,000l. The interest on the 100l. money was at the rate of 5l. 12s. 4d. per annum. A sinking fund was created of one per cent. to reduce the capital, which gave the whole charge of interest and sinking fund of 84,271; so that the contract was 89l. for 100l. stock. It was unnecessary for him to give any detail of the advantages of these terms which he had now to propose; he should only state, that on the day on which this bidding was taken at 89l. in the 5 per cent. stock in Ireland, it was only at 90l. so that the bidding was within one per cent. of the market price of stock. He trusted it was unnecessary for him to say more on this subject; but it might be satisfactory to the committee, that he should add this one circumstance, that as far as he understood, the price of the 5 per cents. in the market in London, on that day, (a thing hardly to be accounted for), was not more than 80l. 10s. It was to him an astonishing circumstance, and the consideration of that price in Ireland upon this bidding, and the price here, shewed that this was as advantageous a loan as it was possible to expect under the present circumstances. He should not trouble the committee with any farther observations, meaning to go into the detail, in the course of next week, of the whole charges of Ireland, and of the ways and means of defraying them. He concluded by moving, "That a sum not exceeding 1,404,000l. be granted to his Majesty, for the service of Ireland, for the current year, to be raised by loan."—Agreed to.

[Supplementary Army Estimates.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, that the house do resolve itself into a committee of Supply, and that the several estimates relative to the army services, be referred to the said committee.

The *Secretary at War* said, that it was now his duty to state to the committee the supplementary estimates which were to be included in the general estimates of the year. The only item which he should at present forbear to state was, the expence of the militia of Ireland, which was not, as yet, ascertained. The first sum which he should propose to be voted, which was not provided for in the general estimates of the year, was 730,000l. for the expence of the volunteers. The next article would be for the expence of the new augmentation to be made to the military force, the principle of which had been already so much discussed in the house, that he should feel it unnecessary to make any farther observations on it at present; he should only state, that the estimated expence of making this augmentation would be 200,000l. which was allowing 130,000l. for G. Britain, and 70,000l. for Ireland; there would be also a considerable expence in keeping up the foreign corps, which were now to be considerably augmented. Besides the regiments of Meuron, Rolle, and Dillon, the Queen's German regiment had received considerable augmentations of late: it was now intended that it should be the foundation of a German legion, consisting of 5000 men, of which 4000 were already procured, and from the existing circumstances, this legion was attended with one peculiar advantage, that those who joined it were not raw recruits, but veteran soldiers. The whole of the foreign corps at present, including some black troops in the West Indies, amounted to 7 or 8000 men; but this number was intended to be considerably increased. There was also included in the estimates which he now presented, the expences of recruiting of the general staff, and of supernumerary officers. There was another article in which there would be a considerable increase in the expences of this year, namely, in making allowances for the lodging of the soldiers in Scotland, who had hitherto been billeted upon the inhabitants indiscriminately, to their great inconvenience. There was also an increase this year in the expence of the barrack department of Ireland, from 334,000 which was the estimated expence of the last year, to 461,000l. which was the estimated expence of the present year. He had also to state the expences of the Royal Military College, and of the Royal Military Asylum. The latter now required an expence of 32,600l. to compleat the buildings that were necessary. The plan of it went to take in 1000 children of soldiers, although the present number there did not exceed 200. As to the Royal Military College, it was found that, although by its original institution, military men were to pay the annual sum of 40l. for the children there, yet even this sum, small as it might seem for that sort of education which was there given, and infinitely smaller than what those who were not of the profession were obliged to pay, was yet too great for the means of many officers of low rank; it was, therefore, now the plan that the children of the officers of very low rank in the army should be educated there gratis, and that there should be a scale of payment proportioned to the rank in the army of the officer who should send his children there. At present there was no sufficient building in Great Marlow to contain all the boys, and they were obliged to lodge about the town, which was a considerable inconvenience: 11,280l. would be wanting this year, for the purposes of this institution. He then proceeded to state the expences of the barrack department, which he allowed were extremely high; but when it should be recollected, that in the course of the year they had provided accommodation for 56,000 troops near the sea coasts, it was not to be expected that a measure of such magnitude could be accomplished without a considerable degree of expence. As to the expence of the building of those barracks, he thought that no contracts had ever been entered into for buildings, where the contractors were more completely under the check and control of the barrack master. The contracts were all made precisely according to the form of that which, in consequence of a motion of an hon. Admiral (Berkeley), was now on the table. The payment stipulated was on the value of the materials, and of the ordinary price of labour; whereas extra labour was generally required by the barrack master, in order to have the barracks soon finished, and yet nothing could be demanded for this extra labour on the footing of the contract; it was certainly due in point of justice, but not till the contract was properly executed. This was certainly a powerful check upon the contractors. Although the expence of building or hiring so many barracks was necessarily great, yet, on the other hand, it must be admitted that it would save a great deal of money, not only in the lodging of soldiers, but in the encampments which it would otherwise be necessary to make: for instance, in Kent or Essex it would be hardly necessary to form camps, if good cantonments for the soldiers were already provided. The contract was now before the House, and was framed from a plan which met the approbation of military men of the first experience. The works were to be subject to the control of a barrack master, who was to judge and check every proceeding of the contractor, and without whose certificate no money was to be paid to any contractor. Besides this, the public would be completely guarded against any loss for waste of time, extraordinary wages, or debts contracted, as the work was to be measured, and both that and the materials paid for at the ordinary rate of the vicinage where such buildings were to be erected, unless it were in very remote situations, where extraordinary expedition should be required, and where it would be but just to make a reasonable allowance, when the contractor was unavoidably subjected to extraordinary expence, either in conveying his men to a considerable distance, or paying an extraordinary price for materials or labour. Having stated thus much for the satisfaction of the committee, he should be ready to give any further explanation which gent. might require. The right hon. gent. concluded with moving, "That a sum, not exceeding 98,635l. 12s. 2d. be granted to his Majesty, for the charge of recruiting and contingencies for the land forces of Ireland, from the 25th Dec. 1803, to the 24th Dec. 1804."

Mr. *Francis* remarked on the inconsistency in the reasoning of the right hon. gent. in respect to the barracks. The expence had exceeded all reasonable computation, and deserved the serious attention of the house; the extent of the charge did not at all correspond with the expedients stated to have been resorted to for the purposes of public economy, and if some satisfactory explanation were not given, he should think it right to submit the abuses which had prevailed to the attention of the house.

The *Secretary at War* said, among the more weighty charges on the barrack establishment, was the construction of barracks on the coast; and it was conceived that this measure, on a variety of accounts, would save a very considerable expence in adjacent encampments. It is rather premature to give any decisive opinion on the total charge in this important and necessary service, as the accounts are not yet made up, by which that opinion must be guided. With regard to the execution of the works, if the right hon. gent. entertained any doubts on that subject, it would be candid if he would advert to some particulars from which those doubts originated: he confessed he had understood nothing of the kind from the barrack office, and he trusted that the hon. gent. on further inquiry, would discover there was no just ground of complaint. The payments in that department were conducted with the greatest regularity, at the same time securing the interest of the public, and providing for the exigencies of the contractor. The terms on which the engagements are made, admit the latter to the benefit of instalments, and he is also entitled for money on account, in the progress of his undertaking; but 12 per cent. is retained until the conclusion of the business, to apply to any defect that may be discovered either in the quantity of the materials, or the structure of the edifice. No payment is made, excepting it be authorised by a certificate of the officers appointed to survey the buildings, and bad materials are ordered to be removed, and unsubstantial erections to be pulled down. No day-work is charged at a fixed price, but the price is regulated by the rate of labour paid in the respective counties where the service is performed. With these precautions, it is not possible to suppose much neglect can arise, or that the public money is employed without a corresponding advantage from its application.

Col. *Craufurd* said, that in the present thin attendance he should not make any remarks on the nature of the propositions submitted by the right hon. the Sec. at War; but conceiving that ministers had now presented the ne plus ultra of their exertions for the defence of the country, he should take the earliest opportunity of delivering his sentiments upon all they had done, and all they appeared capable of doing.

Mr. *William Smith* lamented the magnitude of the burden in the barrack department, and considered that, contrary to what the right hon. gent. had stated, the present plan was subject to objections, both on account of the public and the individual. He would mention a single fact, by which it would appear that the interest of the last was not very sedulously consulted. A small contractor delivered in his account, and was surprised to find a gross deduction made in it. He applied to the barrack office to be informed of the particular items to which the deduction referred: it was in vain that he remonstrated; he could obtain no explanation, and he was at last told, that if he would not take the amount thus reduced, he might bring his action. Although the deduction exceeded the amount of his profit, yet the whole affair was so small, that he could obtain no redress by bringing an action at the expence of 50 or 60l. The hon. member was of opinion, that the large discretionary powers given to the principal barrack officers, was neither consistent with public policy or private convenience; but at least it would be expected, where they have such extensive confidence reposed, that they would use it with some moderation, and not only avoid injustice, but the appearance of it, by explaining to a creditor their objection to his claim.

The *Secretary at War* explained, that the general character of the officers to whom the barrack department was assigned, would incline him to avoid hastily concluding that they were culpable in the particular to which the hon. gent. adverted. All the corrected accounts he had seen in the course of his official duties, had the ground of objection stated on the face of the account against the item to which it applied. If the hon. gent. would privately communicate the circumstance of the grievance to which he adverted, the matter should be examined, and any just ground of complaint should be immediately removed. At the same time he begged to observe, that all men who dealt with the barrack office, entered into contracts with their eyes open, as they were perfectly apprised of the discretionary power with which the barrack board was invested. It was not such a discretion, however, as was likely to be abused from the character of those with whom it rested.

Mr. *William Smith* stated, that the man to whom he had alluded, had come twice from the Isle of Wight without being able to get his account settled.

The *Secretary at War* then moved, "That it be the opinion of the committee, &c. that the following sums should be granted for the following purposes, from the 25th of Dec. 1803, to the 24th of Dec. 1804:" viz.

	Great Britain.			*Ireland.*		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Recruiting and Contingencies for Ireland - - -				98,635	12	2
Gen. and Staff Officers for ditto -				61,037	3	9
Full Pay to Supernumerary Officers	32,530	0	7	934	6	5
Officers - -	158,214	7	0	8,844	14	3

	Great Britain. £.	s.	d.	*Ireland.* £.	s.	d.
Allowance to Innkeepers, &c. -	347,000	0	0	108,464	9	3
Half Pay and Mil. Allowances -	150,000	0	0	44,801	0	11
Ditto, American Forces - -	50,000	0	0			
Ditto, Scotch Brigade - -	1,000	0	0			
Out-Pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals - -	169,826	12	2	29,377	10	1
In-Pensioners of ditto - -	29,981	1	5	15,863	12	0
Widows' Pensions	21,801	11	5	6,000	0	0
Barrack Departm.	2,183,930	9	0	461,887	6	10
Hospit. Expences				23,538	9	3
Volunteer Corps, further sum for 1803 - -	500,000	0	0			
Ditto for 1804 -	570,000	0	0			
Foreign Corps, (12559) -	559,413	2	5	22,549	17	6
Royal Mil. College	11,280	1	2			
Royal Mil. Asylum	32,600	0	0			
Garrison Companies in the West Indies and America (311) -	8,884	19	2			
Augmentation of the Forces -	130,000	0	0	70,000	0	0

The above resolutions were put and unanimously adopted.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that the excess last year in the Extraordinaries of the army would not appear, under the existing circumstances, at all extravagant, when he stated it to be 339,207l. 18s. 7d. He then moved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that there be applied to the extraordinary expences of the army for the year 1804:

In Great Britain - -	£. 1,400,000
In Ireland - - -	600,000
Printing of Journals, Votes, Bills, Reports, &c.	16,623
Printing 1750 Copies 57 Vols. of the Journals	2500
Reprinting of Journals, Indexes, &c. -	10,000
Publishing Records - - -	1767
Alien Offices - - - -	8589
Prosecutions relating to Coin, 1803 -	1609
Ditto 1804 -	1700
Repairs of Military Roads in North Britain	5000
Works done at the two Houses of Parliament, and at the House of the Speaker	12,345
Public Record Office - -	741
Repairs at the King's Bench Prison -	3010
Lazaret at Chetney Hill - -	30.000
Board of Agriculture - -	3000
Civil Establishment of Upper Canada -	8050
——————— Nova Scotia -	7165
——————— New Brunswick -	4650
——————— Prince Edward's Island	2300
——————— Cape Breton -	2040
——————— Newfoundland -	1715
——————— Bahama Islands -	4100
——————— Bermuda Islands -	580
——————— Dominica -	600
——————— New South Wales -	10,049

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* again rose, and addressed the committee to the following effect:—The only remaining resolution I shall now submit to the attention of the committee, relates to what has been called the Caledonian Canal, intended to connect the Eastern and Western seas by Inverness to Fort William, for which the sum of 25,000l. has been already granted. It will be immediately seen, that this is a concern of too much magnitude to be undertaken by individuals. This vast intersection of the country is not to be on the contracted plan of ordinary canals for inland navigation; it is intended to be conducted on a superior scale, and to admit the passage of frigates of 32 guns. There are many local considerations connected with this subject, which should not escape the attention of the committee. In the year 1801, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury directed a survey to be taken of that part of the Highlands. The spring and ensuing summer were employed on this duty. During the last session the report was made, and the house in consequence adopted the measure. Commissioners were then, under the same authority, appointed, who pursued their inquiries with great diligence and ability, and they were assisted by a gent. perfectly conversant in undertakings of this kind, from whom they derived the most valuable information. The report was directed to two principal objects, the importance and the practicability of the work. The expence was stated at from 4 to 500,000l. The zeal of the country has been so great to forward the project, that in many instances the land for the canal has been offered free of all expence. Among the motives, I must not omit to notice the considerable emigrations from the Highlands, which this improvement is calculated to prevent. I beg it may not be supposed that this emigration is in any degree to be attributed to the neglect of the great landed proprietors. A variety of causes have conduced to incline the Highlanders to abandon their native soil, and it is the duty of govt. as much as possible, to remove these, that this gallant and valuable body of men may be disposed to listen to the dictates of their own patriotic feelings. This great national work will provide employment for a great number of the people of that country, and it is expected that the blessings of commerce and of the arts will emanate from the same spring, and diffuse not only the means of bare subsistence, but the comforts, conveniencies, and luxuries of life. I think I should detain the house improperly, were I to dwell longer on the importance of this measure. I shall therefore conclude with moving, "That 50,000l. be granted towards defraying the expences of making an inland navigation from the Eastern to the Western sea, by Inverness and Fort William."—The resolutions being agreed to, the house resumed, and, on the motion being put from the chair, the report of the committee of supply was ordered to be received to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, April 28.

[MINUTES.]—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee to which the petition for the sale of the Archbishop of Dublin's palace had been referred. Referred to a committee of the whole house on Monday.—A petition was presented from the debtors confined in the gaol of Dorchester, praying relief. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committees of supply and ways and means. The resolutions were severally agreed to, and bills ordered accordingly.—On the motion of Mr. Sec. Yorke, the Militia Officers' bill was read a third time, and passed.—Mr. Vansittart moved an instruction to the committee on the Inverness and Fort William Canal bill, that they should make provision in the bill pursuant to the 33d resolution of the report.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, April 30.

[MINUTES.]—The Duke of Manchester, Lord Southampton, Lord Torrington, and the Earl of Moray, took the oaths and their seats.—The several bills on the table were forwarded in their different stages.—Lord Hobart, in pursuance of the address to his Majesty, lately moved by the Earl of Carlisle, laid on the table the dates of the different dispatches that had been transmitted to our settlements in India, relating to the King's message of the 8th of March, and up to the actual commencement of hostilities.—Earl Spencer moved for an address to his Majesty, for the production of the dates of the dispatches forwarded by govt. to the governor at St. Helena, prior and succeeding the date of his Majesty's message of the 8th March. Lord Hobart suggested, that the usual mode of moving for papers would be the more proper, which was, that the proper officer be ordered to lay before the House, &c. To such a motion he had no objection. The noble Earl shaped his motion according to the suggestion, and it was agreed to.—Lord Hobart gave notice, that on Wednesday next he should move that the thanks of the house be given to the officers who have so highly distinguished themselves lately in India. On his Lordship's motion, the Lords were ordered to be summoned for Wednesday next.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.]—The order of the day for summoning their lordships, in reference to the motion of the Marquis of Stafford, respecting the defence of the country being read,

Lord *Hawkesbury* immediately rose, and addressed the house. He informed their lordships, he was actuated by an anxious wish to prevail on the noble marquis to postpone his motion. He assured the noble marquis and the house, that he had reasons of the highest and most weighty importance, which impelled him most forcibly to make this request. These reasons, it was true, were of that delicate and peculiar nature, that he could not, at the present moment, consistently with his duty, enter into them further; but he could assure their lordships, on the pledge of his own personal character, both as a minister and a lord in Parliament, that, were they known to the house, they were of such a nature as would induce, he was certain, the noble marquis to postpone his motion to some future day, which might be most agreeable and convenient to him. As to his own part, he had no inclination to hint even at any other day, but left it entirely at the discretion and pleasure of the noble marquis, confident that, under the circumstances he had alluded to, he should find the noble marquis inclined to comply with a request which, according to the usage of Parliament, had, under similar circumstances, never been refused.

The Marquis of *Stafford* said, that important as he thought his present motion to the interests of the country, and highly desirable as he conceived it was, that it should be brought forward as speedily as possible, yet, from the information then given by the noble Sec. of State, and the pledge he had made that the reasons for postponing it were of that high import, which rendered it at the present moment extremely inconvenient and improper to reveal, he should certainly give way to those reasons, though unknown to him in any other way than from the assertion and pledge of the noble lord, and agree, for the present, to postpone his motion to some future day.

Lord *Grenville*.—After what has just transpired, my lords, I think that something farther should be stated, fairly to induce my noble friend, under all the circumstances of the case, to postpone his motion. The occasion of so many noble Lords assembling this day, upon a question of the last importance to the country, and after one postponement has already taken place, should be duly considered. Upon such an occasion, therefore, I think some more distinct information should be given by the noble Sec. of State, whereon such a request could be reasonably founded. Were it merely a matter of personal accommodation, no man in this house would be more willing than myself to accede to the proposal; but if your lordships agree with me in the general opinion, that the postponement is desired on the part of his Majesty's govt. for more important reasons, I must confess I think it more consistent with what is due to the dignity and character of this house, that upon such a solemn occasion as the present, such a fact, if it be the case, should be distinctly stated. At the same time I am inclined to conclude, as the noble lord does not seem willing to rest his proposal upon the ground of personal accommodation, that the motive for his making it must be such as I have adverted to. And if it be true, that the cause arises from any circumstance relating to the public administration of affairs, I think no man can doubt that the House of Lords will not now, as it always has done, feel desirous to evince, as far as depends upon them, the utmost desire on their part not, in the smallest degree, to embarrass the King's paternal endeavours, that the public affairs of the country should be properly administered. In such a crisis as the present, the public advantage should more especially be predominant in your lordships' consideration; and under this impression it was, that my noble friend very properly adverted to what might be the general feeling and opinion of the house upon such an occasion. Upon the ground I have stated, and from a belief that his Majesty's ministers are, upon an occasion of such solemnity and importance, incapable of trifling with the country or with Parliament, I am content, with the view that Parliament should shew its dutiful attention to the laudable wishes of the Sovereign, to acquiesce, on my part, in the requisition of the noble Sec. of State; but at the same time I must say, I feel it incumbent upon me, under these impressions, to propose that the house do adjourn until the day which shall be fixed for the discussion of my noble friend's motion.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, that after having stated, that peculiar circumstances existed, which rendered it highly advisable that the noble marquis should defer his motion to a future day, he did not think it very candid on the part of any noble lord, considering the situation in which he stood, to call on him for an explanation of the circumstances. He would state again to their lordships, and he would state it not only upon his official credit, but upon his character as a man, that the circumstances he alluded to were neither light nor trivial, but weighing sufficiently upon his mind to induce him to make the application he did to the noble marquis. He could not concur with the noble baron as to the propriety of an adjournment; he saw no necessity for it. There was nothing in the state of the country, or of public affairs, to justify such a measure: on the contrary, it would be productive of extreme inconvenience, should the whole course of public business be stopped, as it most certainly would be, should the proposition of the noble baron be adopted. He had said every thing that he thought necessary, upon every consideration of public prudence, to induce the noble marquis to postpone his motion; if he should not succeed, it would be the subject of regret to him, and in that alternative, he would not hesitate to meet the noble marquis, and to enter fully upon the subject.

The Earl of *Carlisle* wished that the noble sec. had spoken more plainly and explicitly, as to what his reasons were for requesting his noble relative to postpone his motion. He observed upon the extraordinary attendance of their lordships, and the great public expectations that were raised upon the occasion. He knew but one circumstance which ought to weigh with the noble marquis, and the rest of their lordships, to cause the postponement of the great question that it was intended to submit to them; a circumstance which he was persuaded would send every noble lord, and every man in the house, home contented and rejoiced, and that was, the certainty that his Majesty's ministers were about to retire from the situations they filled at present. If an arrangement of that kind were in contemplation, he would most willingly agree that the motion should be postponed.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he had already given all the reasons which it was in his power to adduce, consistently with his duty; and as those had been sufficient to induce the noble marquis to consent to postpone his motion to a future day, he could not conceive on what grounds other noble lords could object to what the noble marquis had, with so much liberality, agreed. If, however, the noble marquis who made the motion wished to persist in it, he had no objection to meet him in the discussion of it.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* enforced the propriety of adjourning the consideration at least of questions of public importance, during the period that it might be expedient to postpone the discussion of the motion of the noble marquis.

Lord *Harrowby*, in considering the point before the house, adverted to the very solemn declaration made by the noble Sec. of State, which, to a certain degree, he thought, should operate in inducing their lordships to concur in postponing the discussion. He at the same time deprecated the idea of suspending the transaction of all public business in the interval, and, upon this view of the subject, he hoped a motion for an adjournment would not be pressed.

The Marquis of *Abercorn* said, he thought the question had already been very fairly determined. The noble Sec. of State had come forward with an assurance to the house, that reasons of the highest importance induced him to come forward as one of his Majesty's ministers, and request the noble marquis to postpone the motion, of which he had given notice to be brought forward on the present evening, to some future day, which should be most convenient and agreeable to himself. The noble marquis, with that degree of candour and liberality which so happily characterised all his actions, had almost instantaneously consented to the postponement of his motion, which had been since objected to by the noble Baron (Lord Grenville) on the other side of the house, with a degree of inflexibility to which he was but too prone. For his own part, he was no way personally interested in the question, farther than having been induced to come out of the country, in order to attend the discussion of it. The frowns or smiles of the noble baron were alike equal to him; but he thought the independence of the noble marquis was such, that he might certainly, if he chose it, postpone his motion, without the leave or consent of the noble baron, who appeared so strenuously to oppose it.

Lord *Melville* said, that he was perfectly aware of the usage of parliament as to the postponing of any motion, when the same was requested by his Majesty's ministers, either on reasons adduced, which shewed that it would be dangerous or inconvenient to the public interests to bring it forward at that particular moment, or that it was personally inconvenient to his Majesty's ministers, or to any other noble lord who wished to take a part in the discussion, to attend on that particular day. In either, or any of these cases, his lordship said no man would be more ready than himself to accede to a proposition so generally confirmed by the usage of parliament. In the present instance, however, his noble friend had not mentioned any instance of personal inconvenience to himself, or any other of his Majesty's servants. He had only said he had reasons for his request, which he pledged his character were of the highest importance. To such a pledge, he was as willing as any one to pay the most implicit deference, from the respect which he had always entertained for his noble friend, but he begged the house to recollect, that there were other measures then before the house relative to this very subject, the defence of the country; and he begged leave to submit it to their lordships, whether it would not be necessary and advisable that these should not be brought into discussion till such time as the present motion was disposed of. He thought, therefore, with his noble friend near him (Lord Grenville), that if their lordships did not think it necessary to adjourn for the few days the question might be postponed, some engagement should at least be entered into that no question of the same nature should be brought forward, nor any other that might in its nature and consequences produce the same difference of opinion that the present motion was likely to do.

The *Lord Chancellor* quitted the woolsack, and after making some general observations upon what had transpired, and adverting to the shape which the discussion now assumed, expressed his opinion, that sufficient grounds existed for their lordships to exercise their good sense and discretion, and concluded by saying, "upon the point under consideration, I shall say no more, being determined, for my own part, to fulfil as long as I have a drop of blood in my veins, my duty to his Majesty and to the country, for these terms, my lords, mean the same thing; to do my duty to his Majesty is to do my duty to the country, and to perform my duty to the country, is to perform my duty to my sovereign. And upon my most awful sense of what I think my duty to both, my conduct has been, is, and shall ever be, regulated, and this paramount consideration now induces me to go the length of joining my noble friend in recommending the noble marquis as far as the opinion of an humble individual may be deserving of attention, to postpone his motion."

Lord *Grenville*.—What has fallen from me, my lords, has, in some points of view, been certainly much misapprehended. I did think, by what fell from my noble friend, that he wished to collect the sentiments of other peers before he should agree to postpone a motion of such great and peculiar importance. I have no particular desire to press the idea I have thrown out. All I wish is, that some reasons should be assigned to parliament and the country, to form a sufficient and honourable ground of action on the present occasion; and, at the same time, that parliament should shew itself sensible of the importance of the moment, and its determination in the present awful circumstances, to perform its duty to the King. With respect to the proposition of adjournment, did it appear that any inconvenience on the score of individual or private interest, should arise, I should be one of the last to press it. Taking this question in its most enlarged and important sense, I think the idea, as stated by a noble viscount, was accurate and conclusive. As far, however, as private business may be concerned, I think parliament ought certainly to proceed. But, my lords, I beg to suggest the propriety of a distinct understanding, as to what shall be the course and nature of such discussions as might intervene between the period and that on which my noble friend's proposition shall be discussed. If it should be now postponed, I think it should have the priority, as to every subject of the kind, or of those which may be connected with it. That priority it now possesses, and such, in fairness, I think it should continue to hold, and in this view, I think the suspension of all public business of the kind is of peculiar importance, the more so, my lords, when we refer to the very essence and nature of my noble friend's proposition, which is the consideration, generally speaking, whether enough has been done for the defence of the country, or whether that which has been done, is well and rightly done, on the one hand, or on the other, might not want improvement or correction? I hope it will be answered, whether or not such an arrangement, with respect to future discussions, as I allude to, might be understood as acquiesced in on the part of ministers, particularly whether the discussion of my noble friend's motion, if now postponed, shall not have a priority over that of every kind of business connected with it, and also, with respect to such discussions, as important difference of opinion may be likely to arise in.

Lord *Hawkesbury*.—With respect, my lords, to what has lately fallen from the noble baron. I do not, under the circumstances of the case, think it either proper or just, to enter into such an engagement as he calls for. I cannot, however, refrain from saying, that I believe this is the first time that ever such a proposal as I have had the honour to make, combined with the solemn declaration with which I accompanied it, was so received or treated in any house of parliament, or by any number of individuals. I regard it as a melancholy omen, that a faction should be so strenuous in pressing a motion upon the house. I shall candidly and unreservedly speak my feelings and my sentiments; and I again press the consideration, that if the noble marquis, from his view of the feelings and sentiments of the house, thinks it more expedient to proceed with his discussion, I am ready to meet him upon the question. At the same time I must say, that under the circumstances of the case, it cannot be fairly assumed that ministers will be likely to press the discussion of any business on which important differences of opinion may probably arise. But this I conceive to be no ground for calling for a general suspension of business, particularly of private concerns, in parliament. However, I explicitly state, that I shall enter into no engagement upon the point. Considerations of the kind would, I think, be best confided to the feeling, the honour, and the wisdom of the house.

Lord *Mulgrave* expressed his astonishment at what had fallen from two members of his Majesty's govt., as to the point of arrangement of intervening discussions. It seemed as if their wish was, to "keep the word of promise to the ear, but break it to the hope." He had hoped that a positive pledge would have been given, that no business should be brought forward, save such as was indispensably necessary. With respect to the idea that he, or those noble lords with whom he acted ever entertained the design of suspending private business, or of stopping the progress of necessary money bills, he would declare they never entertained such an idea. He must, however, express his astonishment at the language used by the noble secretary of state, which implied a charge which neither the character of his noble friends, nor the general tenor of their public conduct, ever afforded the slightest countenance to; namely, that they were a faction. A faction!—why were they called so? Because they were not to be persuaded to give in to a fallacy? Because they were not inclined to give credit to a bare assertion, made in gentle and mild terms by the noble and candid secretary? Unless ministers would pledge themselves that the noble marquis's motion should have the priority of all other public business, he should oppose the delay.

Lord *Grenville* said, he looked on what had fallen from the noble sec. of state as a virtual acknowledgement, that no business should be brought forward that was connected with the present motion, or that might create discussions of a similar tendency, and as he did not wish to impede in any degree the public or private business then in its progress through the house, he should not make the motion of adjournment to which he had alluded, nor further oppose the postponement of the present motion.

The *Marquis of Stafford* then, after observing generally his reliance upon what fell from the noble sec. of state, moved, that the order in question be discharged, and the same renewed for Friday next.

Earl *Spencer* urged several arguments of a similar tendency to those made use of by his noble friends who had preceded him in the present conversation, relative to the motion being postponed. He condemned severely the expression of "a faction" that had been applied to him, and his noble friends near him, which, he hoped, however, had been inadvertently used. He looked on what had last been said by the noble sec. of state as a virtual engagement that no discussion of any business should be brought forward that might lead to differences of opinion, similar to those connected with the present motion, and for that reason only he should abstain from any farther comment on the subject.—The question was then put on the Marquis of Stafford's motion, which was ordered accordingly. His Lordship moved that the Lords be summoned for Friday next. Ordered.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, April 30.

[Minutes].—Mr. Serjeant Best brought up a bill for the relief of certain Incumbents of Livings in the City of London. Read a first time, and ordered for a second reading.—Mr. H. Browne brought up a bill for making further provision, and maintaining an inland navigation from the Eastern to the Western sea, by Inverness and Fort William in Scotland. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time.—Mr. H. Lascelles brought up a bill for the better regulation of the Woollen Cloth Manufacture in the County of York, which was read a first time, and ordered for a second reading.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, "that there be laid before the house an Estimate of the probable annual produce of the duties imposed by an act for granting to his Majesty, until the 6th of May next, after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, a contribution on the profits arising from property, trades, and offices, so far as the same can be made out." Ordered.—A person from the Treasury then presented the account at the bar. Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—Mr. Dillon, in consideration of the paramount importance of the business, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to bring forward this day, proposed, with the leave of the house, to postpone his motion relative to the exemption of Catholics in the Irish Militia regiments who had volunteered their services to this country, from penalties of the statute of Geo. I. to Thursday next.—Lord Castlereagh presented Accounts of the dates of the Dispatches sent by his Majesty's ministers to the different Presidencies in India. Ordered to lie on the table.—Lord Castlereagh then gave notice, that he should on Wednesday next, call the attention of the house to the late brilliant successes of the British arms in India.—Mr. Secretary Yorke moved, that the order of the day for the further consideration of the Lords Amendments to the Volunteer Corps bill be put off till Wednesday. Ordered.—Mr. Foster moved, that the petition of the Linen Manufacturers of Ireland be referred to a committee of the whole house to-morrow. Ordered.—Mr. Foster brought up a bill for directing certain public accounts in Ireland to be laid annually before the house. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—The house went into a committee on the report of the petition of his grace the Archbishop of Dublin. The report to be received to-morrow.—Mr. Vansittart moved, "that there be laid before the house an Account of the amount of the drawbacks allowed to common brewers, under the 42d of the King, distinguishing each year and quarters." Ordered.

[The Budget.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, that the order of the day be read, for the house resolving itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider further of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty. The order having been read, the right hon. gent. then moved, that the several accounts of Customs and Excise, presented to this house in this session of parliament, and of the produce of the war taxes, be referred to the said committee. Ordered. The Speaker having left the Chair,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose, and addressed the committee as follows: Sir; it is my duty now to lay before the committee, the ways and means which I think it incumbent on me to recommend, towards raising the supplies voted for the service of the present year. But before I submit these ways and means to the consideration of the committee, it is necessary for me to advert to the system adopted last year for discharging the expences of the country during the war. It seemed then to be the general opinion, that no system was so advantageous as that which should prevent the evil of any accumulation of the public debt, and at the same time enable the country to maintain its exertions, however long the contest may continue, which it has been compelled to enter into in support of its honour and independence. The means which were then resorted to, were calculated for the maintenance of public credit and great national exertion, as long as the enemy may be disposed to continue the struggle into which his inordinate ambition and unreasonable pretensions have forced us. It was on these principles that I recommended to the house, and on these principles that the house, at my recommendation, acceded to the ways and means adopted for raising the supplies in the last year. I stated, Sir, when I had last the honour of addressing the committee on this subject, that if towards raising a supply of 26,000,000l. for the service of the year, the house should be of opinion to raise 10,000,000l. by war taxes, it would be possible to provide for the public service, without any addition to the public debt, by the aid of the supply which I was justified in calculating on, as the probable surplus of the consolidated fund, and the sums in the hands of the commissioners of the public debt, and the sums derivable from the commissioners for the redemption of the land tax. That this system was calculated to produce the effects attributed to it, nobody will deny; that it has produced the happiest effects is most unquestionable. It will be recollected, Sir, that when the country at the commencement of the last war, experienced an interruption of its commerce, and a considerable pressure on the large stock of West India produce then on hand, had it not been for the application of a considerable part of the capital for the support of commercial credit, infinite mischief and extensive ruin must have ensued. I am ready to agree in the necessity of affording such relief in case of pressing emergency; but I contend that it never should be afforded except in case of real emergency. The loan which was then granted by the country to rescue a great part of the commercial interest from ruin, but which at the same time locked up a large portion of the means of the country, and rendered it unavailable for the public service, was, I am sure, wisely given by this house in that instance, but it created too great a confidence in the merchants of the country to look back generally to parliament for aid in difficult times. It was necessary to discourage this idea, and to teach the merchants and manufacturers to look to themselves, to act with caution in their prosperity, and to form for themselves resources on which they might rely, if times less propitious should ensue. I have adverted to this, Sir, because I wish it to be understood, that all commercial difficulties are now removed, and the small amount of the loan last year, and the system then adopted, had a considerable share in enabling the commerce of the country to go on, without any claim of aid from the public purse. I am not desirous, Sir, to take up the time of the house with recapitulating the benefits resulting from this system generally, but I am desirous of shewing that the principle has been attended with a success equal to what the most sanguine expectation could calculate. I come now, Sir, to the ways and means for the service of the last year, which consisted of war taxes estimated at 12,500,000l. of which 8,000,000l. was calculated on the additional duties of customs and excise, and 4,500,000l. from the duties on property. I stated at that time, that it was necessary to make a large allowance for a probable defalcation from the estimate, in consequence of the lapse of time before those taxes could be brought to bear, and I stated, that if the actual produce should amount to 10,000,000l. my hopes would be, in this instance, fully gratified. In the course of the discussion, which took place in the various stages of the latter measure, the house determined to grant very considerable exemptions, and all income under 150l. a-year, arising from the public funds, was freed from contribution. This necessarily involved a large deduction from the produce originally looked for from this tax. I do not mean to question the wisdom of the resolution adopted by this house in that instance, but merely to state, that its practical effect has been to diminish very considerably the produce of the tax, to an amount which, when I state it at one million, I am sure I state it rather below than above the fact. Thus the tax on property, which I originally estimated at 4,500,000l. could not, after this exemption, even on my own principles, be expected to produce more than 3,500,000l. Adding these 3,500,000l. to the new duties on excise and customs, estimated at 8,000,000l. the whole was 11,500,000l. But when I had calculated on a real produce of no more than 10,000,000l. from the full estimate of 12,500,000l. it could not be expected that after the reduction I allude to, a greater sum could be realised than 9,000,000l. I will now state the grounds on which I calculate the produce of the other part of this supply. The actual amount of the additional duties on exports and imports, malt, wine, and foreign teas, for the last 6 months, was 2,221,600l. There was a very large sum outstanding on all the articles but tea; the whole produce of the half year, including the outstanding, was 4,389,200l. which, for the annual estimated produce of 8,000,000l. gave ground to calculate an actual produce of 8,778,400l. I do not, however, think it justifiable to take it at the full amount. The stock in hand of malt and wine has been perhaps over-rated, and the retail dealers in malt and wine have been relieved, where the burden was oppressive; the stock of foreign spirits has been also probably over-rated, as well as the arrears outstanding for part of the stock on which these arrears are calculated, may be re-exported. But upon the best consideration, taking every probable deduction into the account, the whole together will not amount to more than 578,000l. which being taken from the produce of 8,778,000l. calculated for the year from the produce of the half year, leaves a residue of 8,200,000l. which may be fairly calculated on as the real annual produce. Now, Sir, I will state the grounds on which I rely for the future produce of the tax on property; and, first, I have the satisfaction to state to the committee, that the tax attaches to property of the first class, to the amount of 120.000,000l. instead of 80,000,000l. which was the amount of the property assessed under the income tax. When the commercial assessments are added, the amount will be double. The gross assessment amounts to 6,000,000l. annually, and allowing for deductions and exemptions, I am sure I do not exaggerate the probable amount, when I state it at 4,800,000l. That being the case, I am entitled to calculate that these taxes, which I estimated at first at 10,000,000l. which, upon a deduction for the diminution of the property tax, I calculated at 9,000,000l. will in future yield a produce of 12,500,000l., as upon the data I have stated, they amount to not less than 12,000,000l.; that is, 8,200,000l. arising from the customs and excise, and 4,800,000l. from the property tax. The inference I draw from this is, that it holds forth a strong inducement to persevere in that system which was so wisely adopted in the last session. I had further stated, that the actual increase of debt in the last year was 3,500,000l. which may be reduced to less than 2,000,000l. as more than that amount should be allowed for the general deficiency before the war taxes became productive. I was represented as over sanguine in calculating for the first half year of the war taxes at 4,500,000l. I admit there have been great and unfortunate delays, with respect to the tax on property, but there were similar delays with respect to the income tax; but I have the satisfaction to say, that on the 30th of April, the produce of the war taxes was only 112,000l. short of what I calculated it, with all the circumstances of disadvantage under which they had laboured. Another apprehension had been entertained, and apparently on reasonable grounds, that the adoption of such a system would interfere materially with the produce of the permanent taxes. I admit that a fair experiment has not yet been made on this head: in six months, 4,388,000l. has been collected from these taxes; but till the completion of the year, it cannot be exactly known what their effect will be on the permanent taxes. But when gent. recollect the circumstances of last year, the stagnation of commerce during the negotiations, and on the commencement of the war, the aggregate was extremely satisfactory; it would be more abundantly so, if the causes I have alluded to had not operated. It may be more satisfactory to compare the produce of the permanent taxes, taxes imposed previous to the year 1793, in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, and the produce of the same taxes in the year ending Jan. 5, 1804. In the former they had produced 15,425,000l. in the latter they had produced 15,400,000l. being a difference of only 25,000l. and this is a comparison with the most favourable year before the war. I am justified in stating the produce of last year as high as I have done; for though only 14,984,000l. was paid into the Exchequer, I am entitled to add 416,000l. for drawbacks on sugar not belonging to the year. The drawbacks are payable only on the certificate of the British consul at the port to which the consignment is made; and as the presentation of these certificates is very irregular, the payment of the drawbacks fall heavier at some times, and in some years, than in others. And thus it was that in the last year 416,000l. was paid on this account beyond what ought to fall within the year; I am therefore justified in adding that sum to the amount of the permanent taxes of last year. But that is not sufficient to ascertain whether the permanent taxes will be affected by the war taxes. I wish now to compare the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, with that ending the 5th of Jan. 1804, deducting all the taxes imposed in 1802 and 1803, as I wish the comparison to be exclusive of them. The permanent taxes amounted on the 5th of Jan. 1803, to 28,209,000l. and on the 5th of Jan. 1804, to 30,676,000l. deducting the duties imposed in 1802, which were 1,957,000l. and those imposed in 1803, which, including the former, amounted to 4,782,000l. the account will stand thus. Total amount of the permanent taxes in the year ending 5th of Jan. 1803, 26,252,000l. in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1804, with the addition of the drawbacks I have alluded to, 26,369,000l. exceeding the last year in the whole amount of the permanent taxes. In addition to this, I might state a further sum, in consequence of the outstanding excise and customs, on the 5th of Jan. 1804, from the whole of which I am justified in saying, that the produce of the permanent taxes is increased. There is no indication of their having suffered by the pressure of the present war; and we have, besides, the experience of the last war, during which the increase of the permanent taxes arrived at an unexampled height, by means of the measures adopted by Parliament, which not only added to the resources of the country, what they themselves produced, but also invigorated every other part of our financial system. I have stated these preliminaries, and offered these observations, for the purpose of justifying the system the house entered into last session, and for the purpose of encouraging and imploring them to adhere to it steadily, as a solid basis of public credit, a sure ground of confidence at home, and of respect abroad, which must have the effect of shortening the contest in which we are engaged, from the conviction which it must produce, that our finances are not to be exhausted either by the enemy's hostility, continue how long it may, or by the magnitude of our own exertions:—Having made these few preliminary observations, I now proceed to state the supply and ways and means of the present year.

SUPPLY.

Navy (exclusive of 325,000l. ordnance sea service) -		11,715,000
Army (England) - -	15,256,000	
—— (Ireland) - -	3,887,000	
		19,143,000
Ordnance (England) -	3,693,000	
——— (Ireland) - -	369,000	
		4,062,000
Vote of credit, including 300,000l. for Ireland -		2,500,000
Miscellaneous (England) including 40,000l. for services not yet voted -	617,000	
Ditto (Ireland), including 50,000l. to be voted for civil contingencies -	266,000	
		883,000
Irish permanent grants -		400,000
Joint charge for England and Ireland		38,703,000
Add England separate charges.		
Toulonese ships - -	265,000	
Deficiency of malt duty -	115,000	
American awards - -	412,000	
Exchequer bills, V. C. 1803	1,500,000	
		2,292,000
Total supplies		40,995,000
DEDUCT ON ACCOUNT OF IRELAND.		
2-17ths of the above sum of 38,703,000l. - -	4,553,294	
2-17ths of 1,346,043l. for Civil List and other Charges on the Consolidated Fund, not relating to the Public Debt - -	158,358	
		4,711,650
Leaving to be provided on account of G. Britain - -		36,283,318

I will here, with the permission of the committee, re-state what I have on a former occasion on the subject of exchequer bills outstanding, exclusive of 3,000,000l. in the possession of the Bank, to pay for the renewal of the charter in 1806.

Exchequer Bills on Aids 1804, to be replaced by a like amount on Aids, 1805:

Per act 43 Geo. III. cap. 36, part of 4,000,000l. - -	3,000,000
Per act 43 Geo. III. cap. 147, Bank -	1,500,000
Ditto - - 93, -	5,000,000
	9,500,000

WAYS AND MEANS.

I come now to the ways and means for raising the supply, which are as follow: malt duty, already voted, 750,000l.; duty on pensions, offices, &c. 2,000,000l.; surplus of ways and means 1803, already voted, 1,370,000l.; war taxes, arising from the customs and excise, 8,200,000l. I think it necessary to state, as some objections may be started to the estimated amount of the property tax, that it is calculated, not according to the full produce of two years, which, at 4,800,000l. each year, would produce in two years 9,600,000l. I deduct from the produce of two years what is now received, 363,000l. and the probable arrears, 5th of April 1805, 2,000,000l. and thus diminish the amount on the whole 9,600,000l. by a deduction of 2,363,000l. I calculate, therefore, on a produce from this tax, on the 5th of April, 1805, of 7,237,000l. but shall take it at a round sum of 7,000,000l. I see no reason to doubt its realising this statement, which I look upon as extremely moderate. This, added to 8,200,000l. amount of war taxes on customs and excise, will give towards the supply of the year, 15,200,000l. Deduct 760,000l. to complete the grant of 1803, there will remain an amount of duties arising from customs, excise, and property, of 14,440,000l. which may be calculated upon as the probable produce of the war taxes on the 5th of April, 1805.

NEW TAXES.

If the house feels the benefit of the system adopted last year, I hope it will not be disinclined to invigorate the war taxes by an addition of 1,000,000l. It will be recollected by the committee, that in the ways and means of last year, a duty of 20l. per ton was proposed to be laid on wine; but, in consequence of representations, it was deemed proper to reduce it to 12l. The duty, however, continued to be charged to the individual in proportion to the original proposition. The effect of the original proposition would be only to charge a duty of 4d. a bottle, and that duty had, in point of fact, been charged on the consumer, though only 12l. a tun had been laid on by Parliament. I now propose to charge the original duty of 20l. per tun, which would yield an addition of 200,000l. I also propose an addition of 12¾ per cent. on all imports, exclusive of tea, wine, and cotton wool; and as an additional duty on sweets is necessary, being the material from which British wines are manufactured; but it is thought better to charge that duty on the raw material. I would also propose a double duty on raisins, as countervailing the wine duty. The addition from the whole of these sources will be 800,000l. making, with the 200,000l. already stated, an addition of 1,000,000l. to the war taxes, which will raise their amount from 14,440,000l. to 15,440,000l. on the 5th of April, 1805. That cannot be calculated for every year. It is necessary to deduct from it the difference between the probable annual produce of the property tax, and the 7,000,000l. which I assume it will produce on the 5th of April, 1805.

SURPLUS OF CONSOLIDATED FUND.

I come now to the surplus of the Consolidated Fund, which I estimate at 5,000,000l. on the 5th of April, 1805. I shall be ready, when called upon, to state why I do not take it at so large an amount as in the last year, and why it may be fairly taken at 5,000,000l. The house is aware that the produce of the Consolidated Fund for the last year was calculated at 6,500,000l. but, in fact, it realized only 5,100,000l; in 5 quarters it had produced 6,100,000l., but in the 3 quarters following, it fell below what I estimated it at. I see no reason to impute blame to myself for having, upon these grounds, called upon the house to vote 6,500,000l. I detailed my reasons to the house, and the house approved of them. I could shew, beyond a doubt, that the deficiency from the amount voted, has arisen from the suspension of the payment of certain duties, and the increase of drawbacks, the amount of which may very fairly be added to the surplus of the Consolidated Fund. I look forward to a probable amount next year of 5,000.000l. I will add to these what is usual as a part of the ways and means, a lottery, the profits of which will be 250,000l. A vote of credit, G. Britain, 1,700,000l.; Ireland, 800,000l. making together 2,500,000l. for the united kingdom; and lastly, a loan, concluded for this day, ten millions for the service of G. Britain, making altogether for the united kingdom 36,510,000l. being an excess of ways and means above what was wanted for the supply of 273,000l.

LOAN.

I come now, Sir, to state the terms on which I have this day closed an agreement with some of the most respectable monied gentlemen. The amount of the present loan for the united service of G. Britain and Ireland, is 14½ millions. For the separate service of G. Britain, the amount is 10 millions. It was proposed, then, that the contract should be in the 3 per cent. consols, when the agreement was thus made: 100l. three per cent. reduced, and 82l. three per cent. consols, for 100l. money, making a capital in the reduced 10 millions, and in the consols 8,200,000l. with the usual bonus of 5 per cent. discount for prompt payment.—I hope, Sir, that the terms of this agreement will prove satisfactory to the house, whilst the readiness with which gent. who have great stake in the country have come forward, and the facility with which the bargain has been made, will evince that the credit of this country stands high, and holds out a fair prospect of its continuing so to do. The amount of the interest to be provided for will be 550,000l.; to this add for the charge of management, 80,090l. and the 1 per cent. stock created for the redemption, 106,100l. requiring, in the whole, provision to be made for an interest of 736,190l.—I now proceed to state to the committee the mode proposed for raising the sum requisite for discharging this interest. In the course of the last session, arrangements were made for consolidating some of the leading branches of the public revenue in the excise, customs, and assessed taxes; but it was found impossible, at that time, to apply them to the article of stamps. From this source, therefore, I hope, that without any considerable pressure being felt, a provision may be made to obtain a sum sufficiently large to answer the new demands on the public purse. I propose, then, to impose additional duties upon stamps, already chargeable on legal proceedings, and on the transfer of property. Great inconvenience has already been felt from the variety of stamps already in use; their number is stated to exceed 300, and owing to this multiplicity, the mode of applying them is not well understood. It is proposed, then, to reduce and class them into about thirty, whilst, by giving facility to proceedings in the courts of justice, by certain arrangements, I hope to be able, in a great measure, to countervail any pressure that may be produced by an addition of taxes. It is of importance not to propose any considerable addition of duty; for whatever can alleviate the expences incurred in courts of justice, must be a matter of great public advantage, and therefore, to stamps of this description, I do not propose any considerable addition. With respect to stamps for the security and transfer of property, I am of opinion that a considerable augmentation of revenue may be derived. At present, the stamps are comparatively high on the transfer of property of small amount; but the instrument ought to bear some relation to the value of the property. My hope is, that all the intricacies which at present prevail in this branch of public revenue, may be obviated, and at the same time an additional revenue of 800,000l. may be obtained. This, then, appears to be in itself a fit subject for taxation, whilst it will cover the interest and contingent expences of the present loan; and I would farther state to the committee, that after the most attentive consideration which has been given to this subject by able men, I feel confident that a very considerable addition to the revenue may be obtained, with the concomitant advantage of affording great facility to the public.—I will now only farther trespass upon the time and attention of the committee by recapitulating the amount of the supplies which have been voted:

Navy, exclusive of 325,000 Ordnance Sea Service - - -		11,715,000
Army (G. Britain) -	15,256,000	
(Ireland) -	3,887,000	
		19,143,000
Ordnance (G. Britain) -	3,693.000	
(Ireland) -	369,000	
		4,062,000
Vote of credit, including 800,000l. for Ireland - - -		2,500,000
Miscellaneous (England) including 40,000l. for services not yet voted -	617,000	
Ditto Ireland, including 50,000l. to be voted for Civil Contingencies -	266,000	
		883,000
Irish Permanent Grants - -		400,000
Joint charge for G. Britain and Ireland		38,703,000
Add separate charges for England.		
Toulonese ships - -	265,000	
Deficiency of malt duty, 1802	115,000	
American awards - -	412,000	
Exchequer bills, 1803 -	1,500,000	
		2,292,000
Total supplies -		40,995,000
Deduct on account of Ireland - -		4,711,652
Leaving on account of G. Britain -		36,283,348

WAYS AND MEANS.

Malt duty - - - -	750,000
Duty on pensions, offices, &c. -	2,000,000
Surplus of ways and means, 1803 -	1,370,000
War taxes - - - -	15,410,000
Surplus Consolidated Fund to 5th April, 1805 - - - -	5,000,000
Lottery - - - -	250,000
Loan - - - -	10,000,000
Making in all	36,510,000

The committee will observe, that though in the present instance, the ways and means do not accomplish the object of preventing all accumulation of debt, the accession this year will be under 4,000,000l. But the committee will understand, that if they should adopt the provisions which I have placed under their consideration, there will be ways and means sufficient to meet what I consider the average amount of the war expences, independant of any unforeseen occasion, such as loans or subsidies, leaving out of consideration, what is temporary, and adapting the system to what is permanent. If the system which I recommend be adopted and continued, and if 1,000,000l. be added to the war taxes, and the war should continue for 3 years, with the accumulation of the sum in the hands of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, we will have arrived at the end of these 3 years at a point, when all addition to the public debt will cease, and the debt will be diminishing even under our present expence. Thus we shall have to carry on the contest, if it should continue beyond that period, under the circumstance of a diminution rather than an increase of debt. I am encouraged, besides, to hope for a diminution in several branches of the public expenditure, in those of ordnance, barracks, and charges for volunteers. In the present year, the sum required for these services was 7,679,930l. The expence of the ordnance in 1800 was 2,058,000l.; in 1801, 2,066,000l.; this year it is 3,693,000l. being an excess of 1,633,000l. This, I confess, is a very considerable excess, but it arose from causes of unavoidable, though temporary necessity. For the purchase of arms in particular 6 or 700,000l. have been expended. But so large a distribution having been made, and the arsenals being now supplied, it is not likely that the expenditure under this head will hereafter be so considerable. With respect to the expences under the head of volunteers, a considerable diminution will take place in this branch also. The expence of volunteers in 1800, was 574,000l.; in 1801, 600,000l.; and in the present year, 1,800,000l. In the next year it will be for the wisdom of the house to determine whether, in the improved state of discipline to which they shall then have attained, it will continue to afford the same allowance as before. But at least there will be a reduction in the article of clothing, as it is given for 3 years, unless the house shall be of opinion to alter its arrangements on this point. With respect to Barracks, the expence under this head, was in the year 1800, 479,000l.; in 1801, 465,000l.; in the present year, 2,183,000l. In this department, a very considerable diminution cannot fail to take place, unless there continues a necessity for the extension of the barrack system, which is not likely to happen. I therefore contend, that the ways and means which I have stated, contain provisions for the probable charges of the country, and if the war should continue for 3 years, that they will be sufficient to support our present expences undiminished, at a point at which our debt would diminish instead of increasing, without impairing our means of carrying on the contest. I congratulate the house and the country on these unquestionable proofs of our ability to contend with our present difficulties. The present situation of the country affords a grand display of public spirit, opulence, freedom, and power. On the combined effect of these blessings I rely for the sufficiency of our means to maintain, single-handed, the contest in so just a cause, as long as the domineering spirit, the unbridled ambition, and the implacable animosity of the enemy, shall render it necessary for us to continue it.—The right hon. gent. then concluded with moving, "that towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty, it is the opinion of this committee, that 14,500,000l. be raised by way of annuities, of which 10 millions to be charged on the part of G. Britain, and 4,500,000l. on the part of Ireland." The resolution was put and carried: after which the several other resolutions, agreeably to the foregoing statement, were put and carried.—The house being resumed,

Mr. *Fox* said, that it was not for the purpose of making any opposition to the financial statement of the right hon. gent. that he now rose. What he wished to advert to, respected the motion which he had given notice to bring before the house on Wednesday next. He said he had learnt from persons who were well skilled in the state of the public concerns, that this was not the most proper time for discussing the affairs of the country; and he had just understood that an important motion to that effect, which was to have come on in another place that same evening, had been put off, in consequence of a suggestion from a noble lord in office. The reasons for such a postponement must, undoubtedly, be well known to his Majesty's ministers; what he wished now, therefore, to know was, whether the same reasons existed against his bringing forward the motion of which he had given notice for Wednesday next? This, he asked, not so much as a matter of convenience to himself; but he thought that it was also a matter of importance for the house to know whether there was the same intention on the part of his Majesty's ministers, of postponing discussions of that nature for any number of days?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, that the same considerations which induced the postponement of the motion alluded to, undoubtedly applied to similar proceedings in this house, and upon those grounds he hoped the hon. gent. would not be unwilling to abstain from bringing forward the subject for which he had given notice for Wednesday, under the present circumstances. He could assure the hon. gent and the house, that his Majesty's ministers would also avoid submitting any measure that could have a tendency to provoke the least difference of opinion.

Mr. *Fox* acquiesced in the wish expressed by the right. hon. gent. and accordingly postponed, *sine die*, his notice respecting the orders given for transports to convey the Hanoverian troops to this country, which stood for Wednesday; at the same time he expressed his hope, that the motive for the delay proposed by ministers would not long continue. When it should cease, he begged it to be understood, that he should hold himself entitled to the right of priority.

Lord *Grenville Leveson Gower* asked, whether it was the intention of ministers to move the postponement of the order of the day which stood for to-morrow, relative to the army of reserve suspension bill?

Mr. Secretary *Yorke* answered in the affirmative, but observed, that he hoped there would be no objection to enter into the consideration of the amendments made by the Lords in the Volunteer Consolidation bill.

Lord *Porchester*, on the grounds alluded to, consented to postpone the motion of which he had given notice, with respect to the dates of the orders sent out to India at the commencement of the war.

Mr. *Calcraft* also felt it his duty to postpone his notice respecting additional allowance of pay and cloathing to the volunteers, and took occasion to submit to the right hon. the Secretary of State, whether, as the volunteer consolidation bill was a measure upon which considerable difference of opinion existed, it was not of that class of proceedings, which ought also to be postponed at least till Friday?

Mr. *Yorke* said, he had no wish at all about it. The house then resumed, and the report was ordered to be brought up to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, May 1.

[Minutes.]—Counsel were heard in continuation, relative to the appeal from Chancery, Richardson, *v.* the University of Cambridge, viz. Mr. Attorney General, and Mr. Richards, on the part of the respondents. The farther hearing of the case was adjourned till Friday.—The Earl of Suffolk observed, he had to call their Lordships' attention to a circumstance of the greatest importance, and worthy the serious consideration of parliament, whoever may be minister; he alluded to the volunteers; many corps of which were now calling out into permanent service, but they were called out, without any fixed arrangement or plan with respect to their discipline or command. He thought a regular system, with respect to those points should be adopted, in order to render the corps duly effective; it was his intention yesterday to have submitted a motion on this head had an opportunity offered. His lordship merely referred to his intended proposition of yesterday, which went to the establishment of a regular system for the discipline of such volunteer corps as may be called out, and to the appointment of officers to command them, &c. The noble earl made no motion in the present instance.—The Marquis of Sligo presented petitions from the Earl of Belmore, and certain other Irish peers, respecting the exercise of their right of voting, &c.; which were ordered to be referred to the committee of privileges.—Lord Hobart stated, that understanding it would be productive of considerable inconvenience, should he bring forward the proceeding to-morrow, of which he yesterday gave notice, he would therefore propose, that the order for summoning their lordships for Wednesday be discharged, for the purpose of renewing it for Thursday. Having moved to this effect, it was ordered accordingly.—Their lordships, in a committee of the whole house, went through the two Exchequer bills, the Irish Militia Officers', and other bills, which were severally reported, and ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—The other bills before the house were forwarded in their respective stages.—Mr. Althorpe, from the Commissioners of the Thames Navigation, presented, an Account of the receipts and disbursements for the year 1803; which was ordered to lie upon the table.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, May 1.

At four o'clock, the Speaker proceeded to count the house, when finding that there were not 40 members present, an adjournment consequently took place till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, May 2.

[Minutes.]—Counsel were finally heard relative to the Scotch Appeal, Hunter, &c. *v.* the Earl of Kinnoul and others, viz. Mr. Alexander on the part of the respondents, and Mr. Romilly, for the appellants, in reply. On the suggestion of the Lord Chancellor, judgment was postponed till Monday next.—The various bills before the house were forwarded in their respective stages. Among these, the Exchequer Bills' bill, the Militia Adjutants, and the Newfoundland Ships bills were read a third time and passed; and messages sent to acquaint the Commons therewith.—The farther consideration of the claim to the Ross Peerage, which stood for to-morrow, was postponed till Tuesday.—Mr. Owen, from the East-India House, presented copies of the Dispatches sent to the Officers commanding at the island of St. Helena, relative to his Majesty's message of the 8th March, and to the subsequent rupture with France. These documents were, on the motion of Lord Walsingham, ordered to be printed.—Some private business was then disposed of, and the house adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 2.

[MINUTES.]—The report of the Budget was brought up. An amendment was made, altering the date of payment for one instalment of the Loan from the 21st to the 20th. The resolutions were all agreed to, and bills ordered accordingly.—Mr. White reported from the Stirling Election Committee, that the following names appeared upon the reduced list: John Osborne, Esq. The Right Hon. G. Rose, T. Thornton, Js. Farquhar, Esq. F. Gregor, Esq. J. Buller (of Exeter), Esq. Sir R. Peel, Bart. David Pearson, Esq. The Hon. G. H. L. Dundas, W. Dickinson, Esq. T. Babington, Esq. C. W. W. Wynne, Esq. Sir C. Talbot. Nominees, Thomas Creevey, Esq. and James Graham, Esq.—The consideration of the motion respecting the Officers serving in India, was postponed to to-morrow.—The motion on the Slave Trade was deferred till next week.—The report on the Lords amendments to the Volunteers' bill, was put off till Monday.—The Aylesbury Election bill till Friday, the motion respecting Prize Agency till Monday, the Liskeard Election Committee till to-morrow se'nnight, the Irish Public Accounts bill till to-morrow, the consideration of the Irish Linen Trade Petition till Tuesday next, and the Army of Reserve Suspension bill till to-morrow.—On the motion of Mr. Foster, it was ordered, that the Committee to whom the course of Exchange with Ireland had been referred, should have leave to report their minutes to the house from time to time.—A message was brought down from the Lords, which stated that their Lordships had agreed to the two Loan bills, the Militia Clothing bill, the Militia Subalterns' Allowance bill, the Newfoundland Ships' bill, the City of Dublin Watch bill, and three others of a private nature.—Mr. Williams presented the 6th report of the Committee of Naval Inquiry, which was ordered to be printed and to lie on the table.—Accounts were presented from the office of Inspector General of Imports and Exports, which were also ordered to be printed and to lie on the table.—Mr. Irving, Inspector General of the Imports and Exports, presented, "An Account of British and Irish Linens exported from G. Britain, distinguishing the Linens manufactured in G. Britain and Ireland respectively, from the Union to the 5th Jan. 1804, and distinguishing each year;" and also, "An Account of the quantity of Malt carried coastways from England to Scotland, and from Scotland to England, in 6 years, ending 5th Jan. 1804, and of the rate and amount of the Duties paid thereon, distinguishing each year;" and also, "An Account of all Malt charged with duty in Scotland, in 6 years, ending 5th Jan. 1804, and the rate and amount of duties paid thereon;" and also, "An Account of all Strong Beer, Table Beer, and Small Beer, charged with Duty in Scotland, in 6 years, ending 5th Jan. 1804, with the rate and amount of Duties thereon;" and also, "An Account of all Clover Seed exported and imported during the last 7 years, ending the 5th Jan. 1804." Ordered to lie upon the table, and be printed.—Sir G. Cornewall presented a petition from the Debtors confined in Hereford Gaol, praying relief. Ordered to lie on the table.—Two petitions were presented against the Hants, Sussex, and Dorset Insurance bill. Ordered to be taken into consideration on the second reading of the bill.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, May 3.

[MINUTES.]—Previous to the transaction of the public business, a Committee of Privileges sat, in which some proceedings took place relative to the petitions of Lord Rossmore, and other Irish Peers.—The Royal assent was given, by commission, to sixteen public and 33 private or local bills; the Commissioners were, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Walsingham, and Lord Auckland.—The house then adjourned during pleasure; and after a short interval, the Lord Chancellor again took his seat on the woolsack.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.]—The Marquis of *Stafford*, on seeing the noble sec. of state in his place, expressed his wish to be informed, whether the same causes existed which on a former evening induced the noble lord to require of him to postpone a motion of considerable importance which he then intended to make.

In case the same causes still prevailed, it was his intention to propose that its consideration should be farther postponed till Monday.

Lord *Hawkesbury* declared, that the same reasons which had induced him on a former night to apply to the noble marquis to postpone his motion, operated at this moment. He therefore hoped that the noble marquis would again postpone his motion. Should he insist on bringing it forward, the noble lord would unquestionably be ready to meet the discussion; but, as he had already said, causes existed which rendered the agitating any business of importance improper at present.

Lord *Melville* said, that nothing was farther from his intention than to give any unnecessary trouble to the noble sec. of state or to the house. If, however, ministers did not chuse to explain what were the obstacles to the discussion of the important question intended to be brought forward by the motion of the noble marquis, or what were the causes which rendered a postponement of that motion advisable, he must be allowed, in agreeing to the desire of the noble sec. of state, to put his own interpretation on those obstacles or causes of delay. He begged it, therefore, to be understood that, in consenting to the application of the noble sec. he proceeded on an impression that the causes for postponing any measure of importance which were generally at this moment stated to be the true cause of delay, were those which actually operated in inducing the noble sec. to apply for having the motion of the noble marquis postponed. Under this impression he should agree to the delay proposed.—The question being about to be put,

Lord *Grenville* rose, and stated, that he heartily agreed in what had fallen from the noble lord who spoke last. If causes similar to those which were generally understood to exist did operate at present, he should agree with that noble lord, on the precise understanding that these were the actual causes of delay, in concurring in the proposed postponement of the motion. If it was true that his Majesty was at this moment employed in exercising that paternal care over his people, which was generally understood to engage his attention; if he was endeavouring to meet their wishes, and in the most effectual way to provide for their safety and independence, by forming a better administration of affairs, it would indeed be highly unbecoming and improper to throw any impediment in the way of his paternal exertions. But, was it fair, was it open or candid, that this gratifying circumstance should be concealed from that house and from his people in general? Was it proper that no disclosure of a matter so great and important should be made, but that the postponement of measures of the last moment should be grounded on causes which could not be revealed? Under this impression, and on the understanding, expressed by the noble lord who spoke last, he agreed that the motion of the noble marquis be postponed till Monday. If no satisfactory declaration, however, were then made, he, for one, should esteem it his duty, and the duty of the house, to oppose any farther postponement of the motion.—The order for Friday was then read and discharged, and on the motion of the Marquis of Stafford, was ordered to stand for Monday.

[VOTE OF THANKS TO THE ARMY IN INDIA.]—The order of the day for a vote of thanks to Marquis Wellesley, and to the other civil and military officers in India, and to our forces there, for their great zeal and courage manifested in our late successes in India being read,

Lord *Hobart* rose to move a vote of thanks from that house to those gallant officers, and to the non-commissioned officers and privates who had so zealously supported the cause and contributed to the glory of this country in the East Indies. In moving this vote, he did not mean to extend it to the policy of the war, but merely to confine it to the military successes with which, in its operation, it had been crowned. Neither was it his intention to confine the vote of thanks to the noble governor-general, but to extend it to the other civil and military governors in the different establishments, and to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates in our armies. His lordship then went through an enumeration of the different splendid successes which our troops had experienced in that quarter, which, he said, might more reasonably have been expected to have been performed in three campaigns than in three months. He said he was the less inclined to trouble their lordships at length upon the subject, not only from his confidence that what he should have to propose would meet the unanimous sense of every lord present, but from the consideration that there were others present better qualified to do justice to the subject than himself, and who would doubtless deliver their sentiments upon the occasion. In illustration of the brilliant and unprecedented success of the campaign, his lordship read an extract from an authentic document, which specified the fortresses taken by the British armies, and the number of pieces of ordnance, of different descriptions, together with the quantity of military stores, taken in the interval of a few months; the noble lord did not enter into the consideration of the political part of the noble marquis's conduct in these respects, as the information which would enable their lordships to form a correct opinion upon that head, was not then before the house. He concluded by moving, "that the thanks of this house be given to the Most Noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General, for the zeal, energy, and ability manifested by him in the administration of the military resources of the British empire in India, during the recent war in that country."

Lord *Grenville* rose, not to oppose the motion, but to give it his entire and hearty concurrence. He was glad the noble sec. of state had kept back the consideration of the political part of the noble marquis's conduct, and, on the present occasion, only adverted to that which had reference to the military operations in India. Indeed, such a distinction he should have claimed on behalf of the governor general, as the documents of information which would enable their lordships to form a correct opinion upon the subject, were not yet before the house. This information was now in possession of ministers, and when it was brought forward, he felt convinced, that the more closely or minutely the subject was investigated, the more laudable and meritorious would every part of his noble friend's administration of the affairs of India appear. Long and early habits of personal intercourse of friendship with the illustrious subject of the motion before their lordships, enabled him to know his talents, his information, his virtues, and truly to appreciate his great and general merits. It was not the force of personal friendship or partiality impelled him, inexpressible as that was, to speak thus of his noble friend; it was the thorough knowledge and firm conviction of what he advanced. His lordship, then, in order to obviate the necessity of his troubling the house a second time upon the subject, adverted to the conduct of those who, he knew, were to be the subject of subsequent motions, the governors of the other presidencies, and the truly gallant and meritorious commanders of the British forces in India. In considering this part of the subject, he glanced at the energy and promptitude displayed by the governor general, in adopting such measures as annihilated, within an interval of time incredibly short, the existence of two French auxiliary armies in India. He noticed the great and obvious improvement, of late years, in the discipline and tactics of the hostile troops in India, which rendered them a much more formidable enemy to the British, than they had been in former wars. The conduct of the commanding officers, particularly Gen. Lake and Wellesley, had their due share of the noble lord's applause. They, as well as the British army in general, manifested what he always hoped would be the characteristic of British armies, valour, military and scientific skill, and above all, justice and clemency in the hour of victory, and a disposition to lighten the evils of that greatest of all human calamities, war. After expatiating upon these, and a variety of other topics connected with the subject, his lordship concluded by declaring his most cordial assent to the motion.

Lord *Mulgrave* could not withhold his sentiment of approbation of the vote now proposed. To the exertion, skill, and bravery of the chief object of it we were indebted, not for the successes which had attended our arms in this war merely, but for part of those in the last.

Lord *Melville* did not wish, however well his sentiments had been expressed by other noble lords, to give a silent vote on this occasion. He had the honour to enjoy a situation in the affairs of India, when the noble marquis, to whom the present vote applied, was appointed to the situation in India. That noble marquis had the satisfaction of thinking, that his exertions both in the former and during the present war, had been equally meritorious; that he had in two different places destroyed an immense army of the enemy. He (the noble viscount) was therefore unwilling that a report of this vote of thanks should reach the noble object of it in a far distant part of the world, without knowing that his conduct was approved by those who had been instrumental in placing him in that situation.

Lord *Hawkesbury* added his share of applause to that of the noble lord who preceded, as to the meritorious conduct of the noble marquis, and in terms of the warmest admiration, adverted to the gallantry displayed by the commander in chief in another part of the country in which the victories were obtained, and which had been alluded to by his noble friend. On the services performed by that gallant officer, he particularly commented and extolled, as well in India, as other parts of the globe.

The Earl of *Limerick* followed, and spoke warmly in support of the motion. In the course of his speech, he highly panegyrised the conduct of Gen. Lake, particularly in America, while serving in the army of a noble marquis not then in his place.

The Earl of *Camden* also strongly supported the motion, and took occasion handsomely to descant upon the professional merits of Gen. Wellesley.—The question was then put, and the thanks of the House were voted nem. dis.

Lord *Hobart* then proposed the thanks of the house to Lord Clive, for his very meritorious conduct as governor of Fort St. George, in the late war against Tippoo Sultaun, &c. These were voted nem. dis.—His lordship afterwards proposed the thanks of the house to Jonathan Duncan, Esq. governor of Bombay; to generals Lake, St. John, and Wellesley; and to the several subordinate officers, &c. which were severally voted, nem. dis. by their lordships. After which it was ordered, that the Lord Chancellor do transmit the same to the governor general, &c.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, May 3.

[Minutes.]—A message by the black rod, required the attendance of the house in the house of lords, where the royal assent was given by commission to the 8,000,000l. Exchequer Bills bill, the Bankers' Indemnity bill, the Rape Seed Importation bill, the British Militia Pay and Clothing bill, the Militia Adjutants' bill, the Irish Militia Offer bill, the Irish Militia Augmentation bill, the Irish Linen bill, the Priests and Deacons Orders' bill, the Scotch Bank Capital Augmentation bill, the Dublin Police bill, the Temple Bar Improvement bill, and several private bills, with which the Speaker, on his return, acquainted the house.—Sir Edmund Hartopp presented a petition from the debtors confined in the county gaol of Hereford. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Ker presented a petition from the linen manufacturers of Belfast and Lisburn in Ireland, against the 4 per cent. duty on the exportation of linens. The petition stated, that the number of yards of linen exported from Ireland in the year 1796, exceeded 46 millions; that the number exported last year was little more than 37 millions, being 9,272,948 yards less than in the year 1796, and that this deficiency had been occasioned by the ruinous operations of the duty. The petition was referred to the committee of the whole house, to which the other petitions on the same subject were referred.—Mr. Rose reported from the Stirling Election Committee, that the sitting member, the hon. C. E. Fleeming, had been duly elected, and that the petition was not frivolous nor vexatious.—Mr. Adams, from the Navy Board, presented, An account of the number of men and troops employed on board the fleet, from the 31st of Dec. 1793, to the 15th of March, 1794; also from the 15th of March, 1803, to the 15th of March, 1804. Ordered to lie on the table.—The lords' amendments to the East India Dock bill were agreed to, and Mr. Williams ordered to acquaint their lordships thereof.—Mr. Bankes moved the order of the day for a committee of the whole house on the petition for building a new court house in Westminster. The house having resolved into the committee, Mr. Rose in the chair, the prayer of the petition was agreed to; and on the house being resumed, the report was received, and leave given to bring in a bill pursuant to the resolution of the committee, Mr. Rose and Mr. Bankes being ordered to prepare and bring in the same.—Sir John Frederick brought up the report of the committee, to whom the petition for erecting a bridge between Staines and Egham had been referred. The resolutions were agreed to, and a bill ordered accordingly.—Mr Rose moved, that there be laid before the house, an Abstract of the returns that had been obtained under the act of last session, for procuring returns relative to the expence and maintenance of the poor of England, so far as the same had been made to his Majesty's sec. of state. Ordered.—Mr. Corry brought up the bill for authorising the sale to his Majesty and his heirs of the Archbishop of Dublin's palace in Kevin Street, Dublin, and for directing the application of the purchase-money, and of other sums, to provide a see-house for his Grace. Read a first time, ordered to be read a second time.—Mr. Dillon, under the existing circumstances, hoped for the permission of the house to defer his motion relative to the situation of Catholics in the Irish militia to a future day. The hon. member did not fix on any particular day.—Mr. Fox rose to say, that he did not intend to bring forward his motion relative to the Hanoverian transports to-morrow, but that he should postpone it till Monday; and he wished it to be understood, that he did not pledge himself to bring it forward on that day.

[VOTE OF THANKS TO THE ARMY IN INDIA.]—Lord *Castlereagh* rose, pursuant to notice, to propose a vote of thanks to the Marquis Wellesley, and to the officers and soldiers concerned in achieving our late successes in India. The noble lord accounted for the postponement of this motion to a period so long after the intelligence of several of the brilliant victories in that quarter had reached this country, by stating, that govt. waited for the full official details, in order that the name of no meritorious officer should be omitted; that in this mark of distinguished acknowledgment, the services of no man should be overlooked, who had any claim to participate of the honour meant to be conferred by a motion of this nature, a motion which he begged to be understood as distinctly confined to the military transactions, from which he wished to separate every thing of a civil or political nature, every thing connected with the cause and origin of the war. This would form a subject for future discussion. Whatever might have been the policy which prompted to the commencement of the war, he felt it was due to the magnitude of the question, and to candor towards the hon. gent. on the other side (Mr. Francis), to make it the ground of a special examination, and not at all to blend it with the motion he had now the honour to submit to the house. From that consideration, therefore, he should confine himself, on the present occasion, to a military view of the subject; and he would not call upon the house to pronounce any opinion upon the other part of the transaction, which it was not at all his desire to prejudge. Although impressed with the persuasion, that nothing in his power to urge could advance the military merits of the several officers engaged, he would not attempt to chill the feelings of the country, which must have been so strongly excited, and so highly elated, by the narration of the brilliant exploits which had been performed; exploits which owed so much to the previous arrangement and preparation of Marquis Wellesley. Although he conceived the wisdom of the original contrivance, and the skill and bravery of the execution, to be much beyond the reach of any panegyric he could bestow, yet there were two or three prominent features in this transaction, of which he could not decline to take notice; and first, he observed that Marquis Wellesley, after having made ample provision for the security of our Indian empire, and after having sent a considerable detachment to reinforce our troops in Ceylon, was able to bring into the field against Scindia, &c. no less a force than 55,000 effective men. This served to shew the vigorous exertions of the noble marquis, and the knowledge of the fact must be grateful to the country, as it afforded a proud display of the extent of our military resources in that quarter of the empire. Another meritorious point in the conduct of the govt. of India, was the prompt and judicious distribution of this force. Immediately after the rupture, the troops commenced their operations at different and opposite points of the enemy's territory. Every part of the plan of attack manifested such a degree of skill and arrangement on the part of Marquis Wellesley, as particularly entitled his lordship to the attention of parliament and the gratitude of the country: but such judgment and vigilance could not excite surprise, when it was recollected that they were evinced by the same personage who gave such signal proof of the superiority of his mind, in the detection and overthrow of that inveterate enemy of the British interests in India, the late Sovereign of the Mysore. Another distinguished trait in the character of this war, the noble lord observed to be the time in which such important acquisitions to the fame of our arms and the security of our empire had been obtained. It appeared that all had been done in the space of three months, during which Gen. Wellesley had conquered every thing from Scindia in the Guzerat and the Dekan, while Gen. Lake had subdued an immense tract of territory in another quarter; and on the whole, those officers, with the other detachments of our force, had made more extensive conquests, and obtained more decisive victories, than could be found to have been atchieved within the same space of time in the annals of military history. If the force with which our army had to contend consisted merely of the natives of India, formed and arrayed as they ordinarily are, our glory would not, he confessed, be by any means so high; but it was to be remembered, that the Mahrattas were a power materially different from the other native powers of India, and that in this instance they were not only disciplined but officered by Europeans. Having noticed the success and the length of the campaign, as matter equally of surprise and triumph, the noble Lord expressed his hope that the house would excuse him for detailing some particulars of its progress, although he felt it would be impossible to describe it altogether in terms of adequate justice. In the course of the war, there were eight places of great military strength and importance captured by our army, four of which were taken by escalade, and in a manner, he could venture to say, from the best information, not to suffer by a comparison with the most renowned attacks of the same nature which occurred on the Continent during the last war. The operations of our army, however, were not confined to sieges or storming parties. They had equally distinguished themselves in another species of warfare. They had fought no less than four pitched battles, in two of which Gen. Wellesley commanded; in the others Gen. Lake. To compare the nature of these victories, he felt was not the way to do justice to either of the gallant officers, for there was a peculiar merit belonging to each. Their cases, and the circumstances connected with them were distinct and separate. The victory of the 23d of Sept. was particularly honourable to the courage and skill of Gen. Wellesley. It was now known to be a fact, that with the 4500 troops he commanded, he defeated a force not less than ten times that number, and this defeat was the more astonishing, as this superior force was not only formidable from number, but from discipline; it was acquainted with tactics, and, as it was capable of the varieties of military evolution, it actually changed its position five different times in the course of the engagement. In fact, the fate of that day was decided by the persevering bravery of our troops, and the result put us in possession of 100 pieces of cannon. In the battle of the 30th of Nov. the noble lord stated, that Gen. Lake also had to contend with a disparity of numbers, for the force of the enemy amounted to three or four times more than that which he commanded; and, in addition to this disadvantage, our army, within 48 hours before the engagement commenced, marched 65 miles. The house would feel the extraordinary merit which belonged to an army that, under such circumstances, could conquer; and particularly when it was recollected, that our troops left their artillery behind them, and owed their victory to their bayonets. The enemy's army, in this engagement, the noble lord stated to be quite familiar with regular discipline; that the greatest part of their battalions were under the command of European officers; and that their artillery was as well served as that of any of the powers engaged in the last continental war. In alluding to those two officers and their deeds in particular, he hoped it would not be supposed that he meant to throw the other officers and their troops into the back ground, as nothing could be more remote from his intention. Their achievements were such as, he had no doubt, would remain for ever impressed on the annals and the feelings of their country. When calling upon the house to proclaim and record its admiration and gratitude for such an army, the noble lord repeated that he did not mean to look for any thing that could have a tendency to justify the policy of the war, and, without entering into its merits, would congratulate that house and the country on one collateral effect of it—that it had produced the complete disorganization of the whole force of Scindia, which had been trained up and organized to annoy our possessions, to form a diversion in that part of our empire in favour of an old, jealous rival, and now an inveterate enemy, whose emissaries were employed to propagate their perfidious and envenomed views among the chiefs of the Mahratta confederacy, and to communicate a knowledge of discipline to the Mahratta troops. Another salutary effect of this war, must be to advance the military character of our country; a thing, by the bye, of the utmost consequence in the present times; for, in the military age in which we live, the high reputation of our army was essential to our security. It was a valuable part of our general character; and it must be matter of proud contemplation for the country that, growing as it was in wealth, and in that luxury which was its general concomitant, no national debility had followed; our people had lost nothing of the energy which uniformly characterized G. Britain; on the contrary, that energy seemed to improve as danger pressed, and the laurels which our troops had collected in the course of the last war, were, by such events as those to which he alluded on the present occasion, refreshed and invigorated. The monument of fame which was raised by the British army in Egypt, had been farther exalted by the British army in India. There was no part of the world that had not witnessed our glory; and was it to be supposed that, if any occasion arose, that glory would not be equally conspicuous at home? He felt that it would be a presumption in any individual to wish that such an occasion should occur—to express a desire for a contest with the enemy on our own soil; but he would say that, after all the pompous and insulting menaces of that enemy, he could trace nothing in the state of our preparations in the spirit of parliament or the people, which could lead him to wish that the enemy should not come. If he should come, sure he was, that there was no ground to fear for the result. It was obvious, that the genius of Englishmen, which could urge to such extraordinary exertions in distant colonies, when acted upon by all the important considerations which prompt to the defence of liberty, independence, family, and home, would rise to exertion and glory of a still higher nature. Should that day of trial come, he was confident that our army would not be contented with emulating even their countrymen who have fought in Egypt and India, but that the result of the contest would be the source of joy, exultation, and gratitude, not only in their own country, but throughout the whole civilized world. The noble lord concluded with moving the thanks of the house to the Most Noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, Governor General of India, for the zeal, energy, and ability, with which the military resources of his govt. were applied in the late war with Scindia and the Rajah of Berar; also, that the house do attribute the result of that war in a great degree, to the vigorous and comprehensive measures adopted by the govt. of India, and to the system of promptitude and efficiency by which the armies were brought into the field.

Mr. *Francis*.—Mr. Speaker; the motion made by the noble lord puts me under great difficulty, and if it prevails, I think, will reduce the house itself to a similar difficulty in its future proceedings on the subject of the war in India. I shall state it fairly as it strikes me, and leave it to the candid consideration and impartial judgment of the house. When I attended yesterday, in consequence of the notice given by the noble lord, it was with an expectation, well warranted by the terms in which he gave it, that nothing was intended but a particular vote of thanks, in which I should have heartily concurred, to parties and for services of which he cannot think more highly than I do. I believed and I expected that the motion would be confined, as I still think it ought to be, to persons and to actions, concerning which there could be no difference of opinion, I mean the eminent gallantry and skill with which all the military operations against the Mahrattas appear to have been conducted. The memory of the brave men who have fallen in these conflicts, is entitled to every mark of honour which this house has the power of conferring. The services of the survivors have an equal claim to the gratitude of their country. Whether so many valuable lives have been unprofitably lost, or in a quarrel which ought, or ought not to be avowed by parliament, or whether such great exertions have been made with a sufficient consideration of the policy, the justice, and the necessity of the war, are questions which it was not advisable nor in any shape necessary to be brought this day into debate. The noble lord's motion forces them to a discussion without necessity, and in effect decides them without knowledge. The merits of the war itself ought to have been left untouched and entire for future deliberation. By this motion that question is prejudged; or at least the use and effect of that deliberation is precluded. It is impossible for parliament to go with a free and unbiassed mind to examine the wisdom or the justice of a war, to the author and director of which they have already returned their thanks in such exalted terms, first for the plan, and then for the success of it. The noble lord has been very cautious, as he says, not to confound the two questions. He has drawn a line of distinction between the merits and services of Marquis Wellesley in his military capacity, that is, for the plan and operations of the war, which cannot be too highly applauded, and the justice or policy of the war itself, which, he says, are still left open to the examination, and possibly to the censure of parliament, when the evidence comes before them. This I hold to be impossible in practice. When once this house has pronounced that the plan, the execution, and the success of a great measure deserve your highest approbation, you cannot tread back your steps; you cannot say to the same man, under another character, as if he played two parts in the same performance, that the principles on which he acted deserve your severest condemnation. I put the case as a bare possibility in argument, and not meaning to utter a word, or to breathe a thought in prejudice of that part of the question which the noble lord says is still reserved for a free discussion. On a former occasion, when this subject was first introduced, I flatter myself that the manner in which I urged an inquiry into the causes of the war in India, existing then, and indeed still existing, without the knowledge of parliament, had given general satisfaction. I said not one word in disparagement of Marquis Wellesley; nor shall I now. No other evidence of the merit of his measures is within our knowledge, but that his measures have succeeded. On that principle, in fair and honourable argument, if his measures had been defeated, we must have condemned him on the principle of his conduct. The noble lord, who extols the care taken, and the extraordinary provisions made by Marquis Wellesley to guard against defeat and to insure success, in one instance forgets himself: he says that one of gen. Lake's victories was obtained by a handful of men against an immense disparity of numbers. That, indeed, I allow, is saying a great deal for the skill of the general, and for the valour of the army; but it is not saying much for the precautions taken, and the means furnished by the civil govt. Whatever the event may be, no govt. has a right to expect, or to calculate upon the probability that a handful of men will succeed against a very superior force. In the first action under gen. Wellesley, on the other side of India, I know with certainty that his army was in the greatest danger, and that if that most gallant charge made by our cavalry, in the front of which col. Maxwell fell, had not succeeded, our army would in all appearance have been lost. I agree with the noble lord, that the dissolution of the French force under M. du Perron, which was attached to the service of Scindia, may be a considerable advantage. Whatever it may be, it was collateral and incidental. If I am rightly informed, it was not reduced by force, but came over to us by private negociation and agreement. The noble lord talks with triumph and exultation of the rapid progress of our arms, and the immense acquisitions of territory we have made in the Guzzerat and elsewhere. He forgets that the positive law of this country, founded on the best considered principles of policy and justice, and confirmed by the advice of every man in this country, whose authority deserves to be regarded, forbids any farther acquisition of territory in India. Prima facie, a British governor, who makes war for the acquisition of territory, offends against the law, and is bound to justify himself on the case before he can be acquitted.—On the whole, Sir, it is my opinion, that this motion of thanks to Marquis Wellesley, ought to be deferred. I have no personal object to obtain, or even wish to gratify, in the part I have taken on this subject, unless it is to preserve the consistency of my own character, and to adhere to the principles with which I set out in the govt. of India, and from which I never have departed. Thanks given without knowledge or deliberation, do no honour to those who give, or to those who receive them. They have no root, and cannot live. Let the evidence come before us. Let the noble lord's conduct be examined, and then if it should appear that the war in which India is involved, was not voluntarily on his part, that it was founded in justice and necessity, I shall be as ready as any man to join in the thanks proposed by this motion. The thanks of the house of commons, founded on due examination, and including all the considerations that belong to the question, will then proceed with dignity. Their impression will be deep, and their effect lasting. I therefore think that the motion ought to be postponed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* agreed with the hon. gent. who spoke last, that thanks without a knowledge of their being deserved, reflected honour neither on the giver nor the receiver; but he contended, that sufficient grounds were laid in this instance to justify the vote proposed to the noble marquis. This motion, in fact, was sustained by the same principles upon which all similar votes of thanks rested. The house was fully apprised of the splendid exploits alluded to, and it was proposed to thank the noble marquis not in his civil, but in his military capacity; not as governor general of India, but as captain general of the forces. To his combination and arrangement in that capacity, it was known that the glorious issue of the campaign was, in a great measure, to be attributed. As to the allusion of the hon. gent. to what he called the imprudence of the governor general, in exposing Gen. Wellesley to fight the enemy with such unequal numbers, that fight was the result of an accident against which no foresight could have guarded; and Col. Stevenson was at the time within half a day's march of the general with a reinforcement of 10,000 men. The reference to the law, as restraining us from extending our territory in India, the right hon. gent. stated to be very incorrect; as the act which passed in 1794 prescribed only that we should not commence a war in India for the sake of conquest; but to maintain, that in the course of a war we should make no conquests that might tend to secure ourselves, or facilitate a peace, was a proposition too extravagant to be listened to. He professed his wish to abstain from any allusion to the legitimacy of the war, until the house should be in possession of the means of fully examining and fairly judging upon it; and called for the approbation of the house to the services of the noble marquis as a military commander, not as a civil officer.

Mr. *Fox* was extremely sorry to have any difficulty in acceding to the present motion; but, in his opinion, it was in all reason and all argument, impossible that such a motion should be sanctioned. He considered it a new principle to vote the approbation of the house to any but those actually engaged in the exploits, which it from time to time had thought proper to distinguish by that honour. It was, however, stated, that Marquis Wellesley had set the army in motion. He might have given commands to that effect, but if such connection with an army were to be admitted as a claim to parliamentary thanks, the commander in chief of this country would have a right to be included in any vote for any achievement performed by the British army; and upon the same principle the Admiralty should have participated of the thanks voted to Lord Howe and Lord St. Vincent, for their glorious victories in the course of the last war. He hoped the two questions would be kept distinct, and that the execution would not be blended with the arrangement. It was, indeed, contended, that all this had been done in the character of captain general; but was it a matter of doubt that the title of captain general was, in this instance, entirely of a civil signification, and the person who filled it, however respectable in other points of view, was a person of a perfectly civil education, without any military experience whatsoever; a person who could not be trusted with the command of the army. The noble marquis must be sensible of all these things, and if the thanks of the house were voted to him on this ground, he would think tke house was laughing at him. He felt himself under the necessity, from a regard to the consistency of the house, and from motives of respect for the noble marquis, to protest against mixing him in this vote. He should therefore move the previous question upon this resolution.

Mr. *Wallace* stated, that the votes of thanks to the Marquis Wellesley, on the capture of Seringapatam, and the conquest of the Mysore, to Lord Clive, governor of Bombay, and Mr. Duncan, governor of Bombay, for their services in contributing to these achievements, were proofs that the practice was not new. But whether there were precedents or not, he thought it impossible to contemplate victories, such as should animate every British breast, and to refuse to associate in the thanks which were bestowed on them, the men whose wisdom and prudence had contributed most to them.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, the vote of thanks to Marquis Wellesley, on the occasion alluded to by the hon. gent. who spoke last, was founded on the sagacity with which he had discovered, and the promptitude and ability with which he had defeated, the intrigues of the French and Tippoo; merits belonging to his civil capacity, and distinct from a military character. He feared the Mahrattas would prove more dangerous enemies, now that they were dispersed, than when, by a mode of warfare unused to them, they were united in large bodies, and ventured on pitched battles: his apprehension was increased by the fact of there having been no intelligence from Gen. Wellesley for 20 days before the last dispatches left Bombay. Perhaps the dispersed armies, by cutting off his supplies in the hilly country into which he had entered, had compelled him to raise the siege which he had undertaken, and to retire with loss. If the house were in the alternative of voting its thanks now, or being precluded from voting them altogether, he should concur in the vote, though not acquiescing in all that had been said in support of it. But that was not the case now: the ancient and customary mode of voting the thanks of the house was not immediately on each victory, but at the end of the campaign, as was evident from a reference to the votes of thanks to the Duke of Marlborough. No mischief could arise from delay, while much mischief arose from haste. It sometimes happened, from too great precipitancy, that a person received a vote of thanks, whom it was afterwards thought necessary to remove from his command. He would not mention names, but the case of Copenhagen must be fresh in every one's memory. The expedition to Holland was also an instance of the rashness of voting the thanks of the house too hastily. On these principles, he should vote for the previous question.

Mr. *Wilberforce* expressed himself in the warmest terms of approbation as to the conduct of the British troops in India; but at the same time observed, that he confessed he did not like the question in its present shape. He could not possibly bring his mind to approve of the conduct of a governor general, at a time when the propriety or impropriety of that conduct was yet unascertained in the most material points. We had no knowledge whatever of his reasons for going to war in the first instance, and the campaign had not yet come to a termination, from which a general conclusion could be drawn. He was as far as any man from thinking to the prejudice of the noble lord, who had so far conducted our affairs in the East with such extraordinary success; but as there were no grounds before the house upon which he could be able to form an opinion, he could not say that the greatest crimes had not been committed in the course of that war, or in the provocation to the war. He knew that mankind were in general too prone to ambition, and too much gratified with adulation. As he was at present but groping in the dark, and had no means of seeing the whole of the question clearly before his eyes, he felt himself under the necessity of putting hypothetical cases. If it should turn out, which he was far from supposing it probable that it would, that the governor general's conduct was extremely improper, that he acted with injustice towards the natives, or in defiance of an act of Parliament, was it not possible that future governors general might be induced to adopt schemes of aggrandizement, with a view to obtain similar honours to those which were to be conferred, in the present instance, on a person of whose rectitude he had not the smallest doubt, but as to the propriety of whose conduct the house had not the smallest means of judging, otherwise than as to his direction of our military operations so far? War was one of the greatest evils that could befal mankind, and he trusted that the house would pause before they gave the sanction of their vote of approbation to a war, which, however splendid in its progress, might possibly afterwards appear to be unjustly forced upon those with whom we were contending. Supposing even, as he could do nothing else but conjecture on the subject, supposing that the resolution of going to war had been formed a long time previous to the commencement of hostilities, that would materially detract from the merit of the transaction; as a great portion of it consisted of the promptitude and alacrity with which the whole was executed. He had not the smallest hesitation in saying, that it was not only his hope, but also that it was his most firm belief, that on a fuller investigation the conduct of the noble lord would appear to have been most strictly consistent with justice and with honour, and that it would be such as was highly creditable to the nation. But as he did not like to thank by halves, as it was his disposition to be inclined to thank with his whole heart, he wished that the proposition of a vote of thanks had been postponed, until he had such an opportunity that he could feel himself most conscientiously justified in giving it his support.

Mr. *Hobhouse* declared, that he was extremely sorry to see that any misconception should have arisen in the mind of the hon. gent. who had just sat down. He had supposed the war in India to be a war of aggrandizement, and he had spoken as if it had been in contemplation for some years. There were no such facts before the house, nor did any of the circumstances warrant such conclusions. The question before the house was only directed to the military operations of the war; and though he might lament the evils of war in the same way as the hon. gent. had done, yet seeing that neither the justice nor the policy of the war were involved in the least in what was submitted to the house, he could not at all find himself justified in withholding his vote of thanks from the persons who had achieved so much for the honour and glory of their country. The house had done the same or more in the vote of thanks to our officers and troops at Egypt; they had received the thanks of the house for the manner in which they effected their landing, and they were afterwards thanked by the same house of commons at the end of the campaign. The hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) who lately moved for the production of papers relative to the affairs of India, had then displayed his usual candour. He was sorry to see him now prejudge the question. He thought that there was a most strong mark of genius in the conception of such extensive plans, and in the direction of every part of the operations, in such a manner as to be most completely in unison, notwithstanding their vast distance from each other. He was always inclined to give praise where praise was justly due, and therefore he gave his most hearty support to the original motion.

Mr. *Wilberforce*, in explanation, said, that he had neither spoken of the war as having been many years in contemplation, nor had he said that it was a war of aggrandizement. Having no facts before him, upon which he might be enabled to argue, he had put these hypothetical cases, which he was sure the house would recollect that he had used with a considerable degree of caution.

Mr. *Grey* said, that he was surprised to hear the interpretation that had been given to the words of his hon. friend (Mr. Francis). From the turn which the debate had taken, and from the length to which it had been extended, he should not have troubled the house with any observations upon the subject, were it not that he felt himself bound in justice to his hon. friend, to rise for the purpose of rescuing him from the imputation which had been thrown upon him by the speech of an hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Hobhouse). His hon. friend was not known at any time to be deficient in candour, and he denied that in this instance he had prejudged the question. In the course of a very long and able speech which had been delivered by the noble lord who opened the debate, he had dwelt for some time upon the circumstance of the great acquisition of territory which had been obtained by the late successes in India. He would appeal to the house, then, if it was not fair for his hon. friend to answer, that such wars appeared, prima facie, to be objects of suspicion. All wars in India, by which conquests may be obtained, are doubtful in their nature, and the house should see the justice of such wars before they proceeded to a vote of thanks. Another hon. friend of his (Mr. Johnstone) had also been misrepresented; he did suppose not intentionally, but certainly he was misrepresented. He had observed that it had been the ancient practice of the house to give a vote of thanks only when the campaign was ended, and when something was seen to have been established with some degree of security by means of the conquests which had been obtained; and he lamented that a different sort of practice had crept into the proceedings of that house. To that an exception was taken by another hon. member, and he had quoted the precedent of the vote of thanks to our troops in Egypt. That could hardly be said in a serious manner to be among the ancient proceedings of that house. His hon. friend had declared, that he thought it to be irregular for the house to pass a vote of thanks to the governor general of India, in his military capacity only, as abstracted from any idea of his civil situation, and in support of that the vote of thanks to Gen. Wellesley for his conquests in the Mysore was referred to. He here read the words of the vote from the Journals of the house, the substance of which was, that the house returned him thanks for the uniform wisdom and moderation of his conduct in opposing the enemy, and also for the penetration, ability, and vigour which he had displayed in counteracting the intrigues of the French. This precedent was equally inadequate to the support of the position which it was called in to strengthen. Moderation must unquestionably refer to his conduct in his civil capacity. His penetration and ability in counteracting intrigues, which were also objects of the commendation of that house, could not be fairly reckoned among the duties of a soldier. It was therefore evident, that such a vote of thanks was not confined solely to the view of military conduct. The vote to Mr. Duncan might be said to be in some degree a precedent for the vote which the house was then called upon to pass; but even that was not completely applicable. In the present case, the house might give their thanks for conduct that was exceedingly meritorious, or they might, for aught they knew, express their approbation of conduct which they might hereafter be induced to censure. He thought that it would be a much more prudent line of conduct for the house to avoid the adoption of any resolution which might possibly create embarrassment in their future proceedings. Thanks had been voted to Mr. Hastings for the ability and vigour which he had displayed in a transaction, for the injustice of which that house had afterwards felt it their duty to impeach him at the bar of the house of lords. Though it was not the business of soldiers to think, but to execute, he should wish that the thanks of that house should not be given even to our troops, for their bravery in the performance of an action which, though it was a duty in them to execute with alacrity, and though it should have been achieved in the most splendid manner, might eventually be proved to be founded in injustice, and contrary to the written laws of our country. It was a painful task for him to dissent from a vote of thanks as the reward of valour; but with the scanty information that was now before the house, he thought that the most just, the most honourable, as well as the most candid line of conduct that he could pursue, would be to abstain from passing any judgment upon the case, and to give his support to the motion of his hon. friend.

Sir *Theophilus Metcalfe* agreed, that if the war was on our part a war of aggression or injustice, then there should be no vote of thanks, not even the shadow of thanks. As the hon. gent. on the bench below him (Mr. Wilberforce) appeared to him to have cast some reflections on the war, and as the hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Francis) had, on a former night, made use of the allusion of the tender wolf and the violent lamb, a figure better understood in India than in this country, he thought it necessary to say a few words in justification of the war. The constant intrigues of Scindia with the French, and the number of Frenchmen in his army, who kept up a constant communication with Paris, were alone sufficient proofs of his hostility to the British power in India.—[Here Mr. Fox called the hon. bart. to order, as it had been understood that the discussion of the grounds of the war was not now to be gone into. The Speaker stated this to be the understanding; but Sir T. Metcalfe claimed a right to state the reasons which justified his vote.]—The Mahrattas had always been our inveterate enemies. It was a fact, that for 100 years back, the Mahrattas had been the constant disturbers of the peace of India. Scindia, in pursuance of this plan, but with a particular spirit of hostility towards us, had entered into intrigues with the French, and his plans were ripe for execution—[Here the hon. bart. was again called to order by Mr. William Smith, who said he only wished it to be understood, that if the hon. bart. went into the general question, it was open to every one; but when it had been agreed not to go into it, he thought it wrong to deviate from that understanding. Gen. Maitland rose to shew that the hon. bart. spoke to order, but was called to order himself by Mr. Bankes, as going also into the general question.]—Sir Theophilus resumed. He referred gent. to a book published by the noble marquis, on the subject of the causes of this war, for a full and ample justification of the grounds on which it was entered into. This book was now in the hands of many individuals; he supposed the hon. gent. below him (Mr. Wilberforce) had seen it; it would soon be published here, and would form a valuable part of the library of every political man. He allowed that this vote of thanks was for services done in the capacity of governor general, not that of captain general. It had been said that Gen. Lake had an inferior force: the fact was, that the force was so well apportioned, that there was no where a man too many, no where a man too few. The extent of the country which was the scene of hostilities, was also to be considered; it was above 1000 miles square. There was not a voice in Indostan, civil or military, native or European, which did not give the first credit to the noble marquis. The hon. bart. then stated, as a proof of concert in the plan and operations, that the fort of Barrach was taken by Col. Woodington, at the same time that Gen. Perron was surrendering to Gen. Lake. As a proof of the high state of discipline of the seapoys in our service, and their zeal and devotion, he stated that Gen. Lake's great victory was gained without any other European assistance than that of the 76th regiment, of which one half was lost in the action. As a proof of the decisive nature of the victories gained, he stated that 700 pieces of cannon were taken from the Mahrattas, and that they had not now 20 pieces in their possession; but what was of still more importance, the French power in India was entirely dissolved. All this, he said, was to be attributed, in the first instance, to the noble Marquis Wellesley.

Mr. *Grey*, in explanation, disclaimed for himself and his hon. friends any intention of casting the smallest imputation on the marquis of Wellesley.

Mr. *William Smith* looked upon the vote of thanks for the conquest of the Mysore as no precedent for this; for the grounds there stated were of a civil nature, inclusive even of moderation, and the contest was terminated.

Mr. *Rose* said, he should vote for the original motion, thinking that it would not prejudge the question of the justice of the war; while passing the previous question would cast a reflection on the marquis Wellesley.

Mr. *Francis* did not consider an appeal to a publication made in India, even if it was in every member's hands, as a ground for a preliminary vote.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* stated, that it was the wish of his noble friend in India, that every document which could facilitate inquiry into his conduct, should be laid before the house.—The previous question was then put, and negatived without a division, and the original motion agreed to nem. con; as were also the following: "That the thanks of this house be given to the right hon. Lord Clive, governor of Fort St. George, for the zeal and energy with which he concurred to promote these successes.—To Jonathan Duncan, Esq. governor of Bombay, for the zeal and vigour with which he had employed the resources of that presidency.—To Gen. Gerard Lake, commander in chief of his Majesty's military forces in India, for the eminent judgment, the active spirit, and invincible intrepidity which he had displayed, and which had so highly contributed to secure those brilliant victories, which would maintain the honour of the British nation, and give additional lustre to the glory of the British arms.—To Major Gen. St. John, and Major Gen. Wellesley, for their eminent and brilliant services; and also to the officers serving in the different regiments in the armies engaged, both European and native.—That this house doth highly approve and acknowledge the conduct of the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers of the different corps, European and native, and the commanders of the different corps are desired to signify the same to them."—It was ordered that the Speaker do transmit the resolutions to the Marquis Wellesley, desiring him to communicate them to the governors general, and other officers, referred to therein.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, May 4.

[Minutes.]—Counsel were finally heard relative to the appeal from the court of Chancery, Richardson *v.* the University of Oxford, viz. Mr. Erskine, at considerable length on the part of the appellant, in reply, the Lord Chancellor quitted the woolsack, and made a variety of observations upon the legal hearings of the case, as it then stood, for the consideration of their lordships: these resolved into the question, whether the court was right in granting the injunction, until the case came to a final hearing? He continued to entertain the opinion he formerly did, as to the decision of the court below, which he considered to be well founded. The noble and learned lord moved accordingly, and put the usual question for a revisal of the decree.—Lord Ellenborough rose and delivered his opinion upon the case. He agreed in what was laid down by his noble and learned friend.—After a few observations from Lord Grantley, the question was put, and the decree ordered to be confirmed.—The bills upon the table, chiefly of a private or local description, were forwarded in their respective stages. —The Statute Duty bill, the Militia Officers' Qualification bill, the Leicester County Rate bill, and a few private bills, were brought up from the Commons, and read a first time; after which the house adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, May 4.

[MINUTES.]—Petitions were presented from the debtors confined in the county gaols of Norfolk and Salop. Ordered to lie on the table.—The Leicester County Rates' bill was read a third time, and passed. — The English Loan bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow. — On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, the Customs Duty bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday next.—On the motion of Mr. Vansittart also, the Wine Duties' bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow. —The Irish Annuities' bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow. — The Statute Duty Regulation bill was read a third time, and passed. —Mr. Foster brought up the report of the minutes from the committee on the Irish Currency, which was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.

[AYLESBURY ELECTION BILL.] — Sir *George Cornwall*, in pursuance of an order of the day, moved, that the house do go into a committee on the Aylesbury Election bill.—On the question being put by the Speaker,

The Marquis of *Titchfield* rose to give his negative to the measure. He did not think any sufficient case had been made out of a nature to warrant a proceeding such as the bill went to provide. A great deal had been said in a former discussion on the evils arising from corruption in elections for members of Parliament. He was ready to grant all that could be said in this respect, but the argument he thought did not apply in the present instance, as it had not been by any means proved that the majority of the electors had been guilty, as pretended to be stated. It was merely a supposition, for which there was no sufficient evidence before the house. Because a number of the electors had been guilty of corruption, there could be no sufficient reason for depriving the rest, who were innocent, of their rights and privileges. Unless, therefore, a proper case against the borough as such, could be made out, he could not give his assent to the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Sir *George Cornwall* contended that the bill was necessary, as it had appeared that several hundreds of the electors were implicated in this corruption, and he could see no better means of restoring the purity of election in the borough of Aylesbury.

Mr. *Rose* entered at considerable length into the question, in which he endeavoured to shew the propriety of resorting to the method proposed, as the most natural and constitutional mode. He then reviewed the manner in which boroughs had been treated in similar cases, from the time of Charles II. downwards, noticing the different cases of Stockbridge, Shoreham, Hindon, and Shaftesbury. If ever there was an instance that was peculiarly flagrant, it was the present. Two hundred electors had assembled at a public tavern, where they received the money publicly. In almost every other case, some regard to decency had been shewn; but here there was none: so that of 417 voters, a large majority were clearly bribed. Mr. Bent was an utter stranger to the place, and had no sort of hope but by dint of money. They had even carried a funeral procession through the town for the other candidate, because he did not pay at the same rate.

Mr. *Francis* did not think the measure proposed by the bill the most effectual way of checking the evil complained of. Had it been the purport of the bill to deprive those of the right of voting who had abused their privilege, or did the punishment, by extending the franchise, fall only on the present persons who were deemed guilty, there could perhaps be little objection to the measure, but as it must affect those to come also, who could have no share in the corruption complained of, he would give his vote against the motion.

Sir *John Newport* contended, that the bill went to remedy the evil complained of, by providing a pure body of electors. Those who do not exercise their right of election, by a wise act of the legislature are deprived of it, and ought not the house much more to take it away from those who had made a bad use of it? It had been stated that the preamble does not justify the bill. The preamble, however, stated, that if some remedy be not applied, the evil in all probability will go on. In acceding to the motion, therefore, you act from the opinion of your committee. The instances of corruption on which the opinion of that committee was founded, were of a very open and flagrant nature, and were by no means of a new standing. John Wilkes used to say, that the people of Aylesbury were very good friends to him, for they always preferred his guinea to any other man's twenty shillings. Would the house therefore leave it in the power of every pretended reformer to say, that they were either unwilling, or had not within themselves the power to reform? It was unnecessary, he thought, to multiply instances in which the house had interfered in similar cases. He would admit of influence arising from family connection with a borough, and from benefits of patronage of long standing, but deprecated that influence which arose from money only, and by which a man, who had never seen the borough before, and who could have no interest in its welfare, might carry the election against those who were its natural protectors.

Mr. *Hurst* was decidedly against the motion. Its natural tendency, he thought, was to unhinge the constitution. From the grounds on which the franchise of a borough rested, he argued it could not be legally and constitutionally taken away more than the privileges of that house. The greater part of those besides, he insisted, who had taken the money, were not voters, but belonged to the mob. Would they, therefore, take away the rights of the borough, because the minor part of the voters may have been guilty of a misdemeanour? He resisted the idea, that Mr. Bent had nothing to recommend him but his money. He knew that gent. and believed there never was a better man. He was a merchant in the city of London. Instead of being objectionable, he thought a mixture in the representation of the country must be attended with advantages.

Mr. *Rose* disclaimed every idea of saying any thing to the prejudice of Mr. Bent. He meant only that that gent. had nothing to recommend him at Aylesbury, and insisted, that in one instance, out of 270 voters, 220 had taken money.

Mr. *Lee* said he would give his vote in the mean time for the committee, but unless the bill underwent some changes, he should think it his duty to oppose it in its future stages.

The *Master of the Rolls* opposed the principle of the bill, which, he considered monstrous, inasmuch as it went to punish the majority for the acts of the minority. He complained of the supporters of this measure having so often shifted their ground. He wished that the gentlemen would abide by some principle, and let that principle be fairly stated to the house. Instead of this, however, they at one time support the measure on the ground of delinquency. If you oppose them in this, they tell you that it will prevent corrupt practices hereafter. He wished them either to maintain what they alleged to be the fact, that the majority of the voters have been guilty of bribery, or to adhere to the other principle, that it would prevent it for the future. He observed, that, according to their mode of reasoning, they made a corporate body of the electors, which they really were not. He adverted to the case of Shoreham, and shewed from the peculiarity of the circumstances, that the interference of parliament became there necessary. But should the supporters of this measure, he argued, go on the ground of bribery and corruption, then it will follow that the minority can forfeit the rights of the majority. But, so far from this, he did not see that even the majority, acting individually, as they must do here, could with any justice forfeit the rights of the minority. But gentlemen said again, that increasing the number of voters could be no hardship on those who had the original franchise, as it was only giving them more assistance in the exercise of a duty which they owed to the public. This was certainly going upon a principle very different from any other borough-reformer he had heard of; but even on this ground, it could be no punishment, which they also professed it to be. He thought, so far from the innocent having their franchises affected, they should be strengthened, inasmuch as there was more merit in remaining innocent amidst the temptations of general corruption. If it should happen that all the houses in Aylesbury were to fall down except six, undoubtedly the six householders whose houses stood, would be the electors of Aylesbury: for a much stronger reason, he thought, that those burgesses who had not taken bribes ought to be the electors, and should not have their franchises deteriorated by letting in a number of strangers to share with them.

Mr. *Dickinson*, jun. supported the bill on the ground that representation is a trust to be exercised for the public benefit, and not like cattle or hay, to be considered only as a private right and a matter of advantage to an individual. He made a variety of illustrations of this principle, and concluded by declaring his approbation of the measure.

Mr. *Windham* opposed it on nearly the same grounds as the Master of the Rolls. He thought that whenever guilt was proved, it should be punished; but as he was content with the constitution as it stands, and was no friend to parliamentary reform, as it is usually called, he by no means wished to alter the constitution of any particular borough, on account of some acts of bribery and corruption. It was besides, perfectly notorious that there had been bribery and corruption in many other boroughs besides Aylesbury, and yet he would not on that account vote for a general reform of the boroughs.—After a few words from Mr. C. Wynne in favour of the motion, the house divided; when there appeared,

For the motion - - -	72
Against it - - -	56
Majority - -	—16

The bill then passed through the committee, and the house being resumed, the report was ordered to be received on Monday next.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, May 5.

[Minutes.]—Lord Althorpe took the oaths and his seat for the borough of Oakhampton. — The Loan bill for 14,500,000l. for the demand of G. Britain, the Irish Loan bill, and the Wine Duties' bill, severally passed the committee, and were ordered to be reported on Monday.—The Militia Subalterns' bill was reported, and ordered to be read a 3d time on Monday.—Mr. Robert Mitford, from the Commissioners of the Customs in Scotland, presented, "An Estimate of Duties charged in that part of G. Britain called Scotland, and outstanding on Bond or otherwise, on the 5th Jan. 1803 and 5th Jan. 1804 respectively; distinguishing the several articles, and temporary from permanent duties;" also, "An Account of the total amount of the Arrears and current Balances due on the 5th Jan. 1803, from the Officers of Excise in Scotland, from the 5th Jan. 1774, so far as the same can be made up." Ordered to lie upon the table.

[Ramsay Harbour].—Mr. *Curwen* brought up the report of the committee for improving the harbour of Ramsay, in the isle of Man. The report stated, that the harbour was very difficult of access, owing to the want of a long pier. It then suggested various improvements, which, if carried into effect, would prove highly beneficial to the trade of that island.

Mr. *Rose* understood it was intended to make Ramsay a port, thereby creating an expence of probably 100,000l. It also involved a question of policy, as if Ramsay was made a port, a certain establishment of officers would be necessary. Besides, he had never heard that any survey had been taken, or any estimate made on the subject.

Mr. *Curwen* stated, that a survey had been taken, and the expence would not exceed 10,000l. It was a favourite object with the merchants of Liverpool, Ireland, and all those who navigated St. George's Channel. After a few words from Mr. W. Dundas, Mr. Rose in explanation, and Sir W. Elford, the report was ordered to be printed.

Mr. Curwen presented a petition from the merchants and ship owners of Maryport, in the isle of Man, in favour of the proposed measure.—Ordered to lie upon the table.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, May 7.

[Minutes.]—Counsel were heard in continuation, and at considerable length, relative to the Scotch Appeal, Duke of Queensbury *v.* Mac Murdo, viz. Mr. Attorney General and Mr. Adam on the part of the respondents. The farther consideration of the case was adjourned till Wednesday.

[Defence of the Country.]—Shortly after 5 o'clock, the Marquis of Stafford, on whose motion their lordships were summoned, entered the house, and when he had taken his seat,

The *Lord Chancellor* quitted the woolsack, and addressed the house nearly as follows:—My lords; seeing a noble marquis now in his seat, who gave notice of a motion to be made by him this day, I rise to trouble your lordships for the purpose of stating the grounds on which I think that the motion on which your lordships are summoned, should be again postponed. After having given the fullest consideration to all that has passed in this house, with reference to the noble marquis's motion, on two former occasions; and after having given the most careful attention to the nature of the understanding of many noble lords, as to the cause of the postponement of it, I rise for the purpose of declaring, that it is within my own knowledge that circumstances have now passed which make the discussion of the noble marquis's motion more unseasonable, and more inexpedient at the present time, than at any of the former periods on which it has been proposed to be submitted to your lordships' consideration. I therefore, trust that the noble marquis will have no objection to a further postponement of the motion to a future day.

The Marquis of *Stafford* rose and said, that their lordships would perceive, from what had fallen from the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, that a further postponement of his motion was rendered necessary. If such should be the opinion of their lordships, he had no objection to a further postponement of the motion for a few days. With this view, he should move, that the order of the day for taking into consideration the motion of which he had so frequently given notice, be discharged, and that a new order be made out for Friday, for which day he wished their lordships to be summoned.—This motion was put and agreed to, without any discussion.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, May 7.

[MINUTES.]—The report of the committee on the British and Irish Loan bills, were severally brought up, and the bills ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—On the motion of Mr. C. Dundas, the second reading of the Misdemeanor Prosecution bill, was postponed till to-morrow.—Mr. Sec. Yorke presented, an abstract account of the several Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps who have offered to go upon permanent pay and duty; and also an account of the additional regiments of Irish militia who have offered an extension of their services in this country. Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—The report upon the Excise Duty bill was brought up, and the bill ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—The house went into a committee on the Custom Duty bill. The report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[WAR IN INDIA.]—Mr. *Francis* said, that in order that the house should be in possession of as complete information as possible respecting the state of our affairs in India, and every thing that was connected with that subject, he felt it incumbent on him to submit the following motions to the house. The hon. gent. then moved, "That there be laid before the house, copies or extracts of all dispatches received from the Governor-Gen. of Bengal, or from the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, and of their correspondence with their respective agents or ministers, or with the military officers commanding in the field, as far as such dispatches or correspondence relate to, or account for hostilities now or lately subsisting between the said governments and any of the Mahratta princes or states, with the dates of the receipt of such dispatches;" also, "Copies of all treaties or correspondence between the said governments and any of the Mahratta princes or states, relative to the said hostilities, or to the causes thereof;" also "Copies of all treaties, engagements, and correspondence between the said governments, and any of the surviving Mahometan princes or states in the upper part of India, particularly with the titular king, or Mogul at Delhi, or his ministers; also, "Copies or extracts of all orders or instructions sent to India by the Court of Directors, or by any committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, on the same subject."—All these motions were severally agreed to, except the last, which was objected to by

Lord *Castlereagh;* who said, that it was his disposition to grant to the house every information upon the subject in his power, or which was consistent with propriety. The last motion of the hon. gent. appeared to him contrary to the policy or propriety on which peace with those states might be obtained, owing to the disclosure which would thereby take place. Unless, therefore, a case of very urgent necessity was made out, he thought that the secret committee ought not to be called upon by parliament to disclose that information upon diplomatic subjects, which they may have judged prudent to send abroad. The hon. gent. would, himself, become sensible of the impropriety of such a measure, after he was once in possession of all the other papers he had moved for; and, therefore, he wished him to withdraw it till he had considered the matter more maturely.

Mr. *Francis* said, he could not perceive any strong grounds for such secrecy, and, therefore, wished the sense of the house to be taken on the subject.—On the question being put from the chair, the motion was negatived.

[AYLESBURY ELECTION BILL.]—Mr. *Praed* brought up the report of the committee on the Aylesbury election bill. The amendments were read and agreed to. On the motion that the bill be engrossed, and read a 3d time,

Lord *Ossulstone* rose, and stated some objections, which could not be distinctly heard. His lordship concluded with declaring, that it was his intention to take the sense of the house upon the bill in its present stage. Upon the division there appeared,

For the bill	- -	154
Against it	- -	126
	Majority	——28

[CHANGE OF MINISTRY.]—Previous to the re-admission of strangers into the gallery, Mr. Fox, after a few preliminary observations, consented further to postpone his promised motion relative to the Hanoverian troops, till Wednesday next.—After which,

Mr. *Rose* addressed the house as follows: I am authorized to say, that a member of this house (Mr. Pitt), has personally received his Majesty's commands to lay before his Majesty a plan for a new administration for his Majesty's consideration.

Mr. *Fox* added, that he would bring forward his motion on Wednesday next, whoever might then be the persons composing his Majesty's administration.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, May 8.

Pursuant to the order of the day, their lordships resolved into a committee of privileges; and Lord Walsingham having taken the chair, counsel and evidence were heard respecting the claim of Lady Henry Fitzgerald, to the peerage of Roos; after which, the farther consideration of the case was postponed till Thursday.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—Two private bills were brought up from the commons, and severally read a first time.—On the motion of the Lord Chancellor, the farther hearing upon the appeal cause, the Duke of Queensbury, *v.* M'Murdo, was ordered to be deferred from to-morrow till Friday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, May 8.

[MINUTES.]—The counsel and agent for the petition against the Chippenham Election, having neglected to attend, the house considered the list as abandoned, and proceeded to business, without going through the form of balloting for a committee.—Mr. Foster moved, that the order of the day for a committee of the whole house on the Irish Linen Manufacturers' petition be postponed to this day se'nnight. Ordered.—The accounts respecting the Imports and Exports of Ireland for the last 7 years, were ordered to be printed.—The English and Irish Loan bills were read a third time, and passed.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the Additional Custom's Duty bill; the amendments were agreed to, and the bill ordered to be engrossed.—The Caledonian Canal bill was, on the motion of Mr. J. H. Browne, read a second time, and referred to a select committee.—Mr. Vansittart presented to the house, "An Account of the total amount of the arrears and current balances due on the 5th Jan. 1804, from the several persons employed in receiving or collecting the land revenue of the crown of England, from the 5th of Jan. 1774." Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—Mr. Charles Dundas moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Misdemeanour Preservation bill. The hon. member proposed, that after the second reading of the bill, it should be referred to a committee above stairs, in order that it might be rendered satisfactory to several gent. both in and out of the house, who disapproved of its present provisions, by the amendments it would undergo there. After a few observations from Mr. Windham and another member, the bill was read a second time, and referred to a committee above stairs.—The Wine Duty bill, and the Militia Subaltern Officers' bill, were read a third time, and passed.

[AYLESBURY ELECTION BILL.]—On the question being put for the third reading of the Aylesbury Election bill,

Mr. *Raine* rose and objected to the principle of this bill, which, he conceived, was neither sanctioned by any precedent, which bore any resemblance to the present case, nor was called for by the peculiar circumstances of the case itself. He compared the Cricklade case and others, which had been adduced as precedents, with the case of Aylesbury, which he thought was widely different, inasmuch as in the present case, so far from it having been proved that the majority of the electors had been bribed, it had only been proved that 57 out of 160 voters, being not one eighth of the whole number, had received bribes; he therefore opposed the third reading of the bill.

Mr. *Dickinson*, jun. argued in support of the bill.

The *Attorney General* argued against the principle of the bill, which he considered altogether unjustifiable: it was a notorious fact, and there was no necessity for gent. to pretend to shut their eyes against it, that not only in this borough, but in very many boroughs of the kingdom, it was absolutely impossible to prevent some of the poorer electors from taking bribes, presented to them in different shapes. If, therefore, because some voters of that description had taken bribes at Aylesbury, the entire constitution of the borough was to be altered, by the same reason a material change might be introduced in the constitutions of many, if not of most of the boroughs of the kingdom. He thought the present laws were sufficient to punish the guilty, and that it would be most unjust to make a law to punish the innocent.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* thought the guilt of the electors who provoked this measure so plain and palpable, that he could not, without surprise, listen to the opposition that was made to it, and particularly to the opposition of the learned gent. who had just sat down; who was not only adverse to the idea of sanctioning the application of any remedy to the general system of borough election, but to a particular case of flagrant corruption. On the question being put, the house divided, when there appeared, For the third reading of the bill, 73; Against it, 29. The bill was accordingly read a third time and passed.

[PARISH APPRENTICES' BILL].—Mr. *Wilberforce* said, that having been unavoidably prevented from making the motion yesterday, of which he had given notice on a former day, for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of parish apprentices, begged leave now to submit it to the house. The measure he proposed to bring forward, was founded on representations made to him and his hon. colleague, by several respectable magistrates of the county of York, who found, that as the law stood at present, they could not exercise that superintendance over parish apprentices, which the legislature intended. The bill, therefore, would only go to amend the existing laws on this head, and in order to give the house an opportunity of considering the nature of the measure fully, he should move, that after the first reading the bill be printed, after which a sufficient time should be allowed gent. for the exercise of their discretion as to the policy of adopting it. The hon. member then moved, "that leave be given to bring in a bill for the better regulation of Parish Apprentices."

Mr. *Burland* expressed a hope that it was not intended to press the adoption of this measure within the present session. It appeared to him, that it would be better to have the bill read a first time, printed, and circulated, in order that, during the recess, it might be fully examined, particularly by the magistrates, upon whom it proposed to cast an extraordinary degree of trouble. If this mode of proceeding should be adopted, the hon. member stated, that he would have no objection to consolidate with the bill moved for, the ideas which he meant to submit to the house in the shape of a bill upon the same subject, of which he had already given notice.

Mr. *Wilberforce* professed himself unable to answer the hon. gent. decisively in the present stage of the measure; at the same time he begged to mention, that any hints from the hon. gent. upon a subject with which he was known to be so well acquainted, would of course be peculiarly acceptable to the framers of the bill, to which the motion before the house referred.

Mr. *H. Lascelles* said, that the bill would not go to subject any magistrates to the duty of superintendance, who might not be willing to execute it; and added, that the necessity for the adoption of the bill was, in the county with which he was connected, urgent in point of time.

Mr. *Hobhouse* observed, that this bill would operate a material change in the law, and therefore, for the consistency of legislation, he wished to hear some case stated that rendered such change necessary, before he agreed to the motion.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, that necessity was alleged by from 40 to 50 respectable and experienced magistrates of the county of York; and, indeed, it was universally felt, for the power which magistrates possessed to enforce the performance of justices towards parish apprentices, was notoriously imperfect, and no provision whatever was made for the guardianship of apprentices when transferred, as they frequently were, from one district to another.

Dr. *Laurence* conceived, that the house should be extremely cautious of granting authority upon the request of the men by whom it was exercised, as appeared to be the case in this instance.—Leave was given to bring in the bill.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, May 9.

[MINUTES.]—The several bills on the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—The Irish Loan bill for two millions and a quarter, the English Loan bill for 14 millions and a half, the Additional Wine Duty, the Militia Officers' Allowance, and two private bills, were brought up from the Commons, and read a first time.—In the appeal from the Court of Session in Scotland, brought by Hunter *v.* the Earl of Kinnoul and others, the Lord Chancellor pronounced the judgment of their lordships, by which the decision of the inferior court was affirmed.—Lord Auckland moved, that a message should be sent to the Commons, desiring a copy of the report made by their committee, relating to the state of Ireland, as to its circulating paper and specie, and the course of exchange between that part of the united kingdom and G. Britain.—On the motion of the Duke of Norfolk, the proceedings before the committee of privileges, as to the claim to the barony of Zouch, were deferred to Thursday the 17th inst.—Adjourned to Friday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, May 9.

[MINUTES.]—Mr. Johnson, from the office of chief sec. for Ireland, presented copies of the patents appointing the commissioners of the Treasury in Ireland, Accounts of the Consolidated Fund, of the Funded and Unfunded Debt, and of the Army Extraordinaries for that kingdom. Ordered to lie on the table.—The Cumberland and Dumfries Fishery bill was read a third time, and, after some conversation, passed.—Mr. Fuller presented a petition from the barley growers of the county of Sussex, against the additional malt duty. Referred to the committee appointed to consider the other petitions on the same subject.—Mr. Shaftoe took the oaths and his seat for the city of Durham.—The Master of the Rolls moved, that the Rev. Dr. Jackson do preach before the house at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on Friday, 25th of May, being the day appointed by his Majesty's proclamation for holding a solemn fast in this kingdom. Ordered, and that the Master of the Rolls and Sir William Dolben do acquaint him therewith.—A message from the Lords informed the house, that their lordships had agreed to the Militia Officers' bill, and to the Statute Duties bill without amendments.—Mr. Sheridan moved, that the order of the day for taking into consideration the petition of Mr. Huskisson, against the election and return for the borough of Liskeard, which stood for to-morrow, be read, which was done. He then moved, that the order be discharged, and the same fixed for Friday next. Ordered.—The same proceeding and order took place on the petition of certain electors of the said borough, against the return of Mr. Huskisson.—Mr. Sec. Yorke postponed the consideration of the Lords' amendments on the Volunteer bill till Monday next; on which day also the Army of Reserve Suspension bill was appointed to be read a second time.—The Attorney General, in pursuance of the notice given yesterday, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the purpose of rendering the apprehension of offenders escaping from this part of the united kingdom into Ireland, and from one county of Ireland into another, more easy, and the prosecution of them more expeditious. Granted.

[LORD KILWARDEN'S FAMILY.]—Gen. *Loftus* said, he would take this opportunity of putting a question to a right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Yorke), which he supposed he would feel no difficulty in answering. His Majesty's sec. of state had, on a former occasion, intimated to the house, that it was in contemplation to bring down a message from his Majesty, relative to a provision for the family of the late unfortunate Lord Kilwarden. As no such message had yet been brought down, he wished to be informed of the cause of the delay.

Mr. Sec. *Yorke* replied, that a message on that subject would have been communicated sooner to the house, if a saving had not been expected in the Sinking Fund of Ireland, from which the provision might be made without any direct application for the interference of the house.

[HANOVERIAN TROOPS.]—Mr. *Fox* rose in pursuance of the notice he had formerly given to the house, to make his motion upon this subject. He said, that what had passed last year relative to Hanover, would strike the attention of the house, in considering of the propriety of what he was about to submit to them. There had been a difference of opinion entertained upon that subject, but, for his part, he viewed the possession of Hanover as a matter of great importance and concern to the country; that the loss of it must, therefore, be considered as a very considerable national calamity, was a truth which, he thought, could not now be disputed, and he would not take up the time of the house in discussing it. He would content himself, at the present moment, with adverting to the circumstance of, how far that calamity might have been lessened by some further exertions having been used, in order to save a considerable part of the army in those possessions on the Continent, from the situation to which they were reduced, so as to have enabled his Majesty to have the advantages of their services during the continuance of the war. Under all the circumstances of the case, therefore, and for these beneficial purposes, it was most important that some measures should have been adopted on the Continent, either to preserve Hanover itself from falling into the hands of the enemy, or to preserve the army for the future service of his Majesty. Various reports had been circulated upon this subject, and it was the truth of those common reports that he wished now to ascertain, so as to shew to the house, whether or not the attention of govt. had been sufficiently directed to that important object! He had, indeed, heard, that transports had been actually prepared to convey over the Hanoverian army; but he had also heard, that they had been much too late in sailing for the purpose of accomplishing the end proposed. The hon. gent. concluded with the following motion: "That there be laid before the house an account of the number and tonnage of transports taken up by govt. for the purpose of taking on board the Hanoverian army; also an account of the expence attending the same, with a statement of the dates of the first order sent to the Transport Office on this occasion, of the orders for the sailing of the whole, or any part of the said transports, and of the orders, if any, for countermanding the sailing thereof."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he concurred with the hon. gent. who had made this motion, in thinking that the occupation of Hanover by the French troops was a great public calamity, and if it had been possible to have averted that evil, it was, no doubt, incumbent on his Majesty's govt. to have used every means for that desirable end: that was a point, therefore, on which he was not at all inclined to detain the house; all he should ask of them was, that they would look back to the state of the country at the period alluded to, and that gent. would recollect the nature of the treaty of Luneville, and the convention at Ratisbon. They would find that the war was renewed at a time when no part of the disposeable force could actually have been sent to Hanover, for the purpose of protecting it. The convention he had alluded to, had been entered into between the powers of Europe, for the purpose of guaranteeing the neutrality of the north of Germany. There could, indeed, have been nothing more binding upon these powers to resist the incursions of the French upon that country, and therefore govt. had every reason to rely upon its affording sufficient security to his Majesty's possessions. With regard to the propriety of bringing those troops home, he had no objection whatever to agree to the motion in the manner in which it was worded. He was glad to see the style in which it was conceived, and he looked forward to the production of these papers with the utmost satisfaction. Within two days after the commencement of hostilities, a communication had been made to the electoral minister, which led to a recommendation on his part, that measures should be taken to provide shipping for the conveyance of his Majesty's troops from Hanover to this country. This recommendation had been made on the 18th of May, and was instantly acted upon. In a week from that day an agent had been sent to the Continent for the purpose of bringing the troops to their stations. The shipping was completely in readiness previous to the time when the order was given for their destination. Another person had been sent to the Continent for the purpose of preparing small craft to convey the troops to the transports; and he might state, that in point of fact there had been no less than 36 transports prepared. Owing, however, to various circumstances, the expedition had been hindered from taking place in the manner at first intended. These circumstances, he hoped, would justify govt. in their conduct upon that occasion, and on that account he felt no hesitation in agreeing with the motion.—The motion was then put and agreed to.

[PRIZE AGENCY BILL.]—Mr. *Jarvis*, in pursuance of a notice formerly given, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of Prize Agents. The fourth report of the commissioners of Naval Inquiry stated many abuses in this department, which it was the intention of his bill to correct. That report not only pointed out the abuses, but also the mode in which they might be remedied. From this it appeared that the prize agent had for his trouble 5 per cent. on the gross proceeds. By these means an opportunity was afforded for frauds. There were, however, other emoluments in the power of the agent. He had the use of the money till the time he was compelled to refund it to the owners, and this was productive of the greatest abuses, as it was the interest of the agent to retain the money in his own possession as long as possible. Other emoluments rose to them from brokerage, and similar concerns. It was not the object of the bill which he now proposed to bring into the house, to deprive the owners of prizes of the right of appointing their own agents, but it would prevent those who did nothing, from sharing in the profits with the efficient agent, when more than one was appointed in a single concern. He then stated the nature of the right to property taken from the enemy, and that if there was no call for it till three years had elapsed from the time of the capture, it went to Greenwich Hospital. From the manner in which the prize agency was carried on, and the necessary absence of the seamen on certain occasions, the owners often lost their money. The bill would go to correct this defect. The intention was to appoint a general agency office, where information might be readily obtained on every point. The prize agents would not be deprived of their fair profits, and the expences of the establishment would be defrayed by the deductions of a small part of the prize money. Such was the outlines of what was intended by this measure. He concluded by moving, "that leave be given to bring in a bill for better securing the regular and speedy distribution of prize money, and for the regulation of the business of prize agents."

Mr. *Dent* stated, that the irregularities to which the hon. member alluded, were only the practice of certain West India agents. If the operation of the bill was confined to them only, he should give it his support; but he saw no necessity for the introduction of any general measure on the subject.

Dr. *Laurence* objected to it, on the ground that the law at present was sufficient to correct the abuses, and would therefore oppose it when brought in.

Mr. *Francis* approved very much of the intention of the hon. member to expedite the payment of prizes, and to give the net proceeds to the captors, only deducting a regular per centage. He also thought it was extremely proper that the prize agents should not have the use of money, which might encourage them to protract the time of payment beyond what was absolutely necessary. But he thought it fit that the house should understand whether any additional expence was to be created to the public by the regulation which the hon. member proposed.

Mr. *Jarvis* explained, by declaring that it was not only his own opinion, but was also that of several gent. who had been engaged in the inquiry, that the funds arising from the net proceeds of the sale of prizes, under the proposed regulations, would be amply sufficient, and that it would not be necessary to throw any burden upon the state, to defray the expences of carrying the plan into execution.—After some further conversation, leave was given to bring in the bill.

[Aylesbury Election.]—Mr. *Rose* said, he conceived it his duty to submit to the considesation of the house, the motion of which he had given notice, for the purpose of ordering the Attorney-General to prosecute Mr. Bent, on account of the system of bribery at Aylesbury, in which he appeared to be deeply implicated. He had heard, that in other respects, Mr. Bent was a merchant of irreproachable character and the highest respectability; he thought, however, that in the present case, it was the duty of the house to order a prosecution; if the sense of the house should, however, appear to be against his motion, he had no particular wish for pressing it. He then referred to the minutes which were on the table, of the evidence that had been given before the committee, and particularly to the conduct of Mr. Bent's agents. He said the act of the 2d of Geo. II., notwithstanding its high penalties, had been found inefficient to prevent the practice of bribery at elections, as many gentlemen of opulence appeared to be indifferent to the payment of a single penalty, and they knew how, by friendly prosecutions, to avoid any more. If, therefore, that act had been found inefficient, he thought it necessary to refer to the standing order of the house, which stated, that persons guilty of bribery in the election of members of parliament, should be punished with the utmost severity.—As he considered the penal actions not to be sufficiently severe, he concluded by moving, "that the Attorney General should be ordered to prosecute Robert Bent, Esq. for bribery at the last election for Aylesbury."

Mr. *N. Calvert* did not consider the case sufficiently aggravated to call for so severe a measure.

Mr. *Fox* hoped, from the observations with which the right hon. gent. prefaced his motion, that he would consent to withdraw it; this was really a case of no peculiar circumstances of aggravation. It did not appear that Mr. Bent had been guilty so much of corrupting the electors, as of having listened to the offers of a set of electors who were previously corrupted, and who wished to sell their votes. He remembered, in the course of the present session, in the Grimsby case, in which he was a member of the committee, the committee reported that there had been bribery and corruption, and yet the individual against whom they now made this report, was now sitting in the house as a member for another borough, and no prosecution was instituted against him: he, therefore, thought it would appear most unfair, if one person, not a member of the house, was now to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General, for a conduct exactly similar to that which had not been considered to deserve such notice from a gent. who was a member. He also thought the Ilchester case was a much stronger case of bribery than the present. He concluded by expressing a wish that the right hon. gent. would withdraw his motion.

Mr. *C. Wynne* supported the motion, and repeated those observations which he had before urged in the other stages of the proceedings respecting the Aylesbury election bill.

The *Master of the Rolls* compared the present case with that of the other cases, where the committees had reported bribery; and contended, that if this case, which was by means an aggravated one, should be selected for the severest example, it would appear that there was no fixed rule which governed the conduct of the house on those occasions, but that the decision of them would depend on accident or caprice, the presence of this member, or the absence of another, or what interest was likely to be increased or diminished by letting in the neighbouring hundreds to share with the burgesses in the elective franchise; he therefore opposed the motion.

Mr. R. *Ward* stated his opinion, as a professional man, that the evidence given before the committee was not such as should lead the house to suppose that Mr. Bent could, before a jury, be convicted of the offence ascribed to him.

Sir *John Newport* opposed the prosecution on the same ground as the Master of the Rolls.

Mr. *Bankes* said he was sorry the matter had been mentioned at all. He did not wish for a prosecution; but as the motion had been made, he thought the house ought in duty to agree to the motion, as he feared this was a growing evil; and the house, by putting a negative on the motion, would seem to encourage it.

Mr. *Sheridan* thought that the house would be proceeding capriciously and partially, if it agreed to the present motion. It was admitted on all hands that the gent. against whom it was directed, was less a criminal than others against whom no prosecutions had been carried on. And in the present case of Ilchester, which was held to be a very aggravated one, no such step as this was considered to be necessary. For these reasons he would move, "that the other orders of the day be read."

Mr. *Rose* said, the present was the only case which had come within his knowledge; and such as it was, he felt it his duty to make the present motion upon it. He had no recollection of the case of Ilchester, to which the hon. gent. alluded; but as it had been mentioned, he would that very day move for the evidence that had been given before the committee for trying the merits of that election, in order to move for leave to bring in a bill similar to that which lately passed the house with regard to Aylesbury. His sole motive in making the present motion was, to prevent the recurrence of bribery and corruption at elections.—After a few observations from Mr. C. Wynne, the amendment was carried without a division, and of course the motion was lost.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, May 10.

[MINUTES.]—The Prize Agency bill was brought in and read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time tomorrow.—An Account was laid on the table of the state of the different prisons in Ireland.—Sir W. W. Wynne adverted to a summons which he had received from Sir C. Morgan, requiring his attendance at a Court Martial at Chelsea Hospital on Monday next, in order to obey which, he requested he might be dispensed from attending the Middlesex Election Committee on Monday and Tuesday next.—The summons to attend having been read, and the hon. member having sworn to the truth of the said grounds of his motion, leave of absence was accordingly granted; but, upon the motion of Lord Marsham, it was resolved that the Middlesex Election Committee should, on its rising, on Saturday, adjourn till Wednesday.—Mr. Sec. Yorke brought up the following message from his Majesty, viz.: "G. R. His Majesty having taken into his royal consideration, the circumstances attending the death of that excellent and upright magistrate, Arthur Lord Kilwarden, late Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, in Ireland, recommends to his faithful Commons to grant an annuity of 1200l. per ann. to the Viscountess Kilwarden; as also to take such measures as may be the most effectual for continuing the same in a manner the most advantageous to the family of the said Arthur Lord Viscount Kilwarden."—On the motion of Mr. Sec. Yorke, his Majesty's most gracious message was ordered to be taken into farther consideration on Monday next.—Mr. Long moved, that a new writ be issued for the election of a member to serve in parliament for the University of Cambridge, in the room of the Right Hon. William Pitt, who since his election has accepted the offices of First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer.

[ILCHESTER ELECTION COMMITTEE.]—Mr. *Rose*, pursuant to his notice of yesterday moved, That the minutes of the evidence given before the Ilchester Election Committee, should be laid upon the table, for the purpose of considering whether there were such circumstances as would require the house to order a prosecution.

Sir *W. Young*, who was chairman of that committee, considered the present motion as a reflection on the committee, whose duty it would have been to have moved such a prosecution, if, in their judgment, the circumstances of the case required it.

Mr. *Rose* said, that his motion was in consequence of its having been yesterday asserted, by an hon. gent., that the Ilchester case presented more flagrant instances of bribery and corruption than that of Aylesbury.

Sir *W. Young* insisted that the cases were not similar, as there were no instances at Ilchester, of money having been given before the election, in the way which had been done at Aylesbury.

Sir *W. W. Wynne* opposed the motion, as conveying an improper imputation on the conduct of the committee.—The question being then put on Mr. Rose's motion, it was negatived without a division.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, May 11.

[MINUTES.]—Counsel was heard relative to the appeal from the Exchequer Chambers in Ireland, Ebenezer Radford Rowe, Esq. *v.* Paver and Hobbes. The Judges attended upon the occasion. The farther consideration of the case was adjourned till Monday.—The Custom Duties bill was brought up from the Commons by Mr. Vansittart and others. The Solway Frith Fishery bill, and the Aylesbury Election bill were presented, and were severally read a first time.—Lord Auckland moved, that a message be sent to the Commons, requesting a copy of the minutes of the evidence upon which they passed the Aylesbury Election bill; which was ordered accordingly.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—The 6th report of the Committee of Naval Inquiry was presented, and ordered to be printed for the use of their Lordships.—An Account of the state of the gaols in Ireland was presented by Mr. Johnson, from the Irish Secretary of State's office, and ordered to lie on the table.—Lord Hawkesbury presented a message from his Majesty, relative to the family of the late Arthur Lord Viscount Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, in Ireland, similar to that delivered yesterday to the House of Commons, and desiring the concurrence of their lordships, in enabling his Majesty to carry the said intention into effect. Lord Hawkesbury then moved, "That his Majesty's message be taken into consideration on Monday next, and that their lordships be summoned for that day; which was ordered accordingly."

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.]—The Marquis of *Stafford* rose, and addressed the house as follows: My lords; since I last had the honour of addressing you, a change, I understand, has taken place in his Majesty's councils; and I am informed a new administration is about to be formed; an administration, I am afraid, not formed upon that broad and extensive basis which will include all the talent and ability of the country; but, it will include a right hon. member of another house, a right hon. friend of mine, in whose talents and abilities I place the highest confidence, and whose great merits are well known to your lordships. He has of late directed his attention in a particular manner to the defence of this country, against the gigantic efforts of the enemy. He, my lords, may be truly called "a giant refreshed." Upon this ground, I propose, with your lordships' permission, to withdraw the motion which I felt it incumbent on me more than once to postpone.—The order of the day for summoning their lordships was then read *pro forma*, and discharged.—Adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, May 11.

This day a ballot was fixed for a committee to try the merits of the several petitions respecting the late election for Liskeard, but there being only 97 members present at four o'clock, the house adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, May 14.

[MINUTES,]—The farther hearing upon the Irish Appeal cause, Rowe *v.* Paver, was postponed.—Counsel were finally heard relative to the Scotch Appeal, the Duke of Queensberry, *v.* M'Murdo, viz. Mr. Alexander, on the part of the appellant, in reply. After which the Lord Chancellor proposed to defer the farther consideration of the case till this day se'nnight, in order to afford the parties an opportunity of settling the affair between themselves, should they be so inclined; in the interval, his lordship took occasion to observe, that he certainly thought the case a very hard one; however, when individuals thought proper to appeal to that house for a decision upon their rights, they were to be judged according to the fixed and immutable principles of strict right and justice; which uniformly dictated the decisions of their lordships. The farther consideration of the case was, agreeably to the Lord Chancellor's motion, adjourned till Monday next.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.

[LORD KILWARDEN'S FAMILY.]—The order of the day being moved for the consideration of his Majesty's message, respecting his intention of settling an annuity of 12,000l. on the family of the late Lord Chief Justice Kilwarden, of Ireland, his Majesty's message was accordingly read.

The *Lord Chancellor* quitted the woolsack, and, in the absence of his noble friend, moved a corresponding address to his Majesty on the occasion of his most gracious message. He was confident that but one opinion, feeling, and sentiment could pervade the house upon the occasion; for his own part, and speaking as a professional man, he was convinced that no words in the English language could be better applied than those in his Majesty's message, which characterized the late noble and worthy chief justice of Ireland, as an excellent and upright magistrate. Under that impression, he moved an humble address to his Majesty, expressive of the desire of that house to afford him every facility in carrying his royal intentions in favour of the widow and family of that unfortunate nobleman into complete effect. The address was immediately voted nem. dis. and the Lords with white staves were directed to present the same to his Majesty.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, May 14.

[MINUTES.]—The house proceeded to ballot for a committee to try the merits of the petition of Mr. Huskisson, on the Liskeard Election.—New writs were moved for the election of members to serve in Parliament in the room of W. Dickinson, Jun. Esq. who had accepted the appointment of a Lord of the Admiralty, and of Lord Louvaine, and Mr. Long, who had accepted appointments as Lords of the Treasury.—Sir J. Anderson presented petitions from the London, Phœnix, and Pelican Insurance Companies, against the bill for establishing the Hants and Dorset Insurance Company, which were severally ordered to lie on the table.—The consideration of the Lords' Amendments to the Volunteer Corps' bill was put off to Friday; as was also the third reading of the English Army of Reserve Suspension bill; the second reading of the Irish Army of Reserve Suspension bill; and the committees on the Irish Revenue Regulation bill, and on the act of his present Majesty relating to the importation of tobacco and snuff.

[LIVERPOOL DOCK BILL.]—Mr. *Creevey* moved, that the committee to whom the Liverpool Dock bill had been referred, should have power to send for such persons and papers as they may think necessary to clear up the subject before them.

General *Gascoigne* declared, that he could not coincide with the hon. gent. who had spoken last, as to the propriety of granting such powers. The papers were as much as would fill half the House of Commons. Besides that, a great quantity of the papers which would be wanting had been consumed at the fire of the Exchange of Liverpool. He thought that at least the hon. member should assign some reasons to the house in support of such an extraordinary motion.

Mr. *Sheridan* could not help expressing some degree of surprise at hearing the motion of his hon. friend termed extraordinary. He had signified his intention of making the motion to the committee, and surely that was sufficient notice on a subject of that local nature. If, however, the gallant officer who had opposed the motion, and mentioned the circumstance of the fire at the Exchange, meant to say that it was his wish that the papers which had been consumed by that accident should not be produced, or that they should be specifically excluded from any power of the committee, he had not the least objection to so much of the hon. member's wishes being acceded to.—Mr. Dent spoke against the motion, and Mr. Johnstone supported it. The question was then put and carried without a division.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, May 15.

[MINUTES.]—Their Lordships, pursuant to the order of the day, resolved into a committee of privileges; and Lord Walsingham having taken the chair, counsel and evidence were farther heard respecting the claim of Lady Henry Fitzgerald to the barony of Roos; after which the committee adjourned the proceedings until Thursday se'nnight.—The house resumed, and the several bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages. The two Loan bills, the Wine Duties' bill, and the Militia Subaltern Officers' Allowance bills, were read a third time and passed.—Some private business was then disposed of, and the house adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, May 15,

[MINUTES.]—The house met at four o'clock, and proceeded to ballot for a committee on the petition of Thomas Sheridan, Esq. complaining of an undue return for the borough of Liskeard. The names of the members of the committee chosen were, C. Yorke, Esq.; J. Allen, Esq.; H. Beach, Esq.; N. Vansittart, Esq.; W. L. Hughes, Esq.; H. Leycester, Esq.; J. Pattison, Esq.; J. Brodie, Esq.; W. Adams, Esq.; H. Burland, Esq.; A. Holdsworth, Esq.; Sir H. Mildmay, Bt.; Sir J. Graham, Bt. Nominees, R. Ward, Esq.; J. Johnstone, Esq.—New writs were ordered for the election of members, in the room of Lord Geo. Thynne, and the Hon. John Spencer, who had accepted, the former the place of comptroller of the household, the latter of receiver general of the land tax for the county of Oxford. —A petition was presented from the prisoners confined in the county gaol of Warwick, and ordered to lie upon the table.—The committee on the several petitions from the Irish Linen Merchants was, on the motion of Mr. Foster, postponed till to-morrow se'nnight.—Mr. Poole, from the sec. of State's office, presented, "An Abstract of the Returns made pursuant to the act of the 43d of his present Majesty, intituled, 'An Act for procuring returns relative to the Expence and Maintenance of the Poor in England,' in so far as such returns have been transmitted to his Majesty's sec. of state for the home department, up to the 9th of May, 1804."—Ordered to lie upon the table, and to be printed.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, May 16.

[MINUTES.]—The Royal Assent by commission was given to the 14½ millions English Loan, 1½ millions Irish Loan, Militia Officers' Qualification, Militia Subaltern Officers' Allowance, Additional Wine Duty, and Statute Duty public bills, and to a number of private bills.—Counsel were heard at considerable length relative to the Scotch appeal, Wm. Grieve, Esq. *v.* Lieut. Col. Francis Conyngham and James Grey; viz. Messrs. Romilly and Warner, on the part of the appellant. The farther hearing was adjourned till Friday.—Mr. Alexander, accompanied by several members, presented the answer of the Commons to their Lordships' message, requesting a copy of the minutes of the evidence upon which they passed the Aylesbury Election bill; importing that the same should be forthwith communicated; and accordingly the document in question was delivered by Mr. Alexander. The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—A petition was presented by Lord Walsingham, from certain electors of the borough of Aylesbury, against the Aylesbury Election bill, praying leave to be heard by their counsel. Ordered to lie on the table.—The Aylesbury Election bill was ordered to be read a second time this day fortnight; and that the petitioners have leave to be heard by their counsel.—The oaths of abjuration and fidelity being duly administered to Mr. Christian Kauffmann, the bill for his naturalization was read a second time, and referred to the consideration of a committee.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 16.

[MINUTES.]—A message was brought from the Lords, requiring the attendance of this house at their lordships' bar, to hear his Majesty's assent given by commission to certain bills. Mr. Speaker, accompanied by several members, accordingly attended forthwith, and being returned, reported to the house, that the Royal assent had been given, by commission, to the two Loan bills, the Excise Duty bill, the Militia Officers' bill, the Militia Adjutants' Allowance bill, and the Statute Duty bill.—The further report of the committee on the Irish Currency was brought up, and ordered to lie on the table, and be printed.—An Account was laid before the house from the commissioners of customs in Scotland, of all the clover seed imported into Scotland for the last 7 years.—An Account was also laid before the house from the commissioners of excise in Scotland, of the arrears and of the balances now in their hands. Ordered to lie on the table.—A paper was laid before the house from the sec. of state's office, respecting the returns relative to the expence and maintenance of the poor in the different counties of England. Ordered to lie upon the table.—The bill for regulating licences taken out in Scotland, for retailing exciseable liquor in Scotland, was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—The Criminal Offenders' bill was read a second time, and committed for Friday.—Sir John Newport gave notice, that on to-morrow se'nnight he should bring forward a motion respecting the property tax, as far as it affected income drawn from Ireland.—A new writ was issued for the election of a member for Sutherland, in the room of the Right Hon. W. Dundas, who, since his election, had accepted the office of sec. at war.—Mr. Wilberforce gave notice, that he should bring forward his motion for the abolition of the slave trade to-morrow se'nnight.

[LISKEARD ELECTION.]—Mr. *Yorke*, from the select committee who were appointed to try and determine the merits of the petition of Thomas Sheridan, Esq. complaining of an undue election and return for the borough of Liskeard, reported to the house, that William Huskisson, Esq. is duly elected, and that the said petition did not appear to the said committee frivolous or vexatious.

Mr. *Rose*, from the select committee who were appointed to try and determine the merits of the petition of William Huskisson, Esq. respecting the last return of a member to serve in Parliament for the borough of Liskeard, reported to the house, "that William Huskisson, Esq. only ought to have been returned a burgess to serve in Parliament for the said borough." The said determination was ordered to be entered in the Journals of the house, and the deputy clerk of the Crown was ordered to attend to-morrow with the double return for the borough of Liskeard, and amend the same,, by taking off the file the indenture by which Thomas Sheridan, Esq. was returned. Mr. Rose also acquainted the house, that the said committee had come to a resolution, "that Mr. John Dayman, under sheriff of the county of Cornwall, in annexing to the writ the indenture complained of in the said petition, acted contrary to his duty, and in violation of the privileges of Parliament." The right hon. gent. in compliance with the injunctions of the committee, then intimated his intention of submitting a motion to the house, on a future day, respecting the conduct on that occasion of the said under sheriff of Cornwall.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he was extremely glad to find that the charge of corruption, about which so much had been said on this subject, made no part of the report from the committee. In the resolution just reported, he sincerely believed the committee had decided according to the evidence before them; but he was also sure, that if Mr. Damon should be brought to the bar of that house, he would be fully able satisfactorily to exculpate himself, and to prove, that he had acted from no corrupt intention.

Mr. *Rose* replied, that Mr. Dayman had the advantage of very able counsel before the committee, and had been ably defended. He did not mean to impute to him any corrupt motive, nor did such a charge constitute any part of the report. But it appeared that he had acted wilfully; and although the same degree of moral turpitude did not attach as if he had acted corruptly, yet the result to the public was equally mischievous. In the motion he was about to make, it was not his intention to precipitate any measure in relation to Mr. Dayman, but give him full time for preparation; and he should therefore move that the report be taken into consideration this day fortnight. Ordered.—The minutes of the proceedings of the said committee were ordered to be laid before the house.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, May 17.

[MINUTES.]—Their lordships, pursuant to the order of the day, resolved into a committee of privileges, and Lord Walsingham having taken the chair, counsel and evidence were farther heard respecting the claim of Sir Cecil Bishop, bart. to the barony of Zouch. After a few observations from the Earl of Rosslyn, relative to the proper line of proceeding as the case then stood, and a short explanatory conversation between the Duke of Norfolk and the noble chairman, the farther consideration of the case was adjourned until this day fortnight. Prayers were then read, and the Earl of Dartmouth brought down his Majesty's answer to the address of their lordships, concurring in his Majesty's intention of providing for the widow of the late Lord Viscount Kilwarden.—The several bills on the table were passed in their respective stages.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, May 17.

[MINUTES.]—Mr. R. Ward presented a petition from certain prize agents, against the bill pending for the regulation of prize agency. Ordered to lie on the table, and leave given to the petitioners to be heard by counsel upon the second reading of the bill. — The Solicitor General obtained leave to bring in a bill to indemnify solicitors and attornies for omitting to take out certificates pursuant to the act of the 37th of the King.—A message was received from the Lords, intimating their lordships had agreed to the additional Export and Import Duty bill.—Mr. S. Bourne moved for a return of the amount of the harbour dues levied in the Isle of

Man, with the disbursement thereof, from the 5th of July 1791, to the same day in 1803, distinguishing each year. Ordered.—Mr. W. Dundas moved the second reading of the Scotch Excise Licence bill; it was accordingly read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, May 18.

[MINUTES.]—The royal assent was given, by commission, to the Custom Duties' Regulation bill, and to two private bills. The Lords' commissioners were the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Dartmouth, and Lord Hawkesbury.—The Earl of Powis (late Lord Clive) was introduced with the accustomed formalities, sworn, and took his seat. His lordship's supporters were the Earls of Dartmouth and Rosslyn. As soon as the noble earl had taken his seat, the Lord Chancellor took the opportunity to address him, for the purpose of communicating to his lordship the thanks of the house, recently voted to him for his very able, decisive, and meritorious conduct, while governor of Fort St. George, and the presidency of Madras in India. The Earl of Powis, in a short and appropriate speech, expressed his grateful feelings on the occasion, and his high sense of the honour conferred upon him by their lordships.—Counsel were heard in continuation relative to the Scotch Appeal, Grieve *v.* Cunnyngham and Grey, viz. Mr. Adam on the part of the respondents. The farther hearing was postponed till Wednesday.—Several private bills were brought up from the Commons, and severally read a first time, and the remaining bills upon the table being forwarded, their lordships adjourned till Wednesday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, May 18.

[MINUTES.]—Mr. Pitt took the oaths and his seat upon his re-election for the University of Cambridge. The right hon. gent. was introduced by Lord Castlereagh and the Master of the Rolls.—The house having, pursuant to summons, attended in the House of Lords, the Speaker, on its return, announced that the royal assent had been given by commission to the Additional Import Duty Bill, and to several private bills.—Mr. Huskisson took the oaths and his seat for Liskeard.—New writs were ordered for the election of a representative for the county of Galway, in Ireland, in the room of Lord Dunlo, who has accepted the office of one of the commissioners for managing the affairs of India; also, for the borough of Christchurch, in the room of the right hon. George Rose, who has accepted the office of Paymaster-General of his Majesty's Land Forces; also, for the borough of Helston, in the room of Lord Fitzharris, who has been appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.—The Solicitor-General brought in a bill for indemnifying such Attornies and Solicitors as may have neglected taking out certificates, pursuant to the act of the 32d of his present Majesty. Read a 1st, and ordered to be read a 2d time on Monday se'nnight.—Mr. J. H. Addington brought in a bill for amending the acts for regulating disputes between the masters and journeymen engaged in the cotton trade. Read a 1st, and ordered to be read a 2d time on Monday se'nnight.—Lord Marsham reported from the committee on the Middlesex Election, that it was their wish to be allowed to adjourn from to-morrow till Wednesday next. The house, on motion, granted leave accordingly.—The second reading of the Prize Agency bill was, on the motion of Mr. Jervis, postponed till Monday se'nnight.—Mr. Wilberforce said, that in order to suit the convenience of some gentlemen, he should postpone to Tuesday se'nnight his intended motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.—Mr. R. Dundas obtained leave to bring in a bill for regulating the expence necessary to carry into execution the several acts with respect to the militia of Scotland, and also the General Defence Act.—The house resolved into a committee on the bill for facilitating the arrest of offenders; but a wish being expressed by Colonel Vereker and Mr. D. Browne, that some provision should be made in the bill to enable grand juries in Ireland to raise a fund for carrying it into execution, the chairman was, after a few words from the Attorney-General and Mr. Ormsby, directed to report progress, and to ask leave to sit again on Wednesday next. On the house being resumed, leave was given accordingly.—The house in a committee went through the Scotch Excise Licence bill, and the report was ordered to be presented on Wednesday next.—Mr. Western, after some prefatory remarks upon the state of our Corn Laws, and the necessity of adopting some legislative measure respecting them, moved, in order to enable gentlemen to form an idea of the progress of our agriculture, and the quantity of our consumption for several years back, and thence to judge how far the necessity he had mentioned existed, "that there be laid before the house an Account of the quantity of corn, grain, meal, flour, and malt, imported into, or exported from England and Scotland, from the 5th of Jan. 1790, and also from the latter period, up to the 5th of Jan. 1804, together with an account of the bounties, drawbacks, and duties paid upon the same; also a statement of the average price of each species of grain in each year, distinguishing the quantity, &c. in each year. These motions were agreed to, as was a motion by Mr. Harrison, that a similar account should be made up to the latest period.—On the motion of Mr. S. Bourne, the account upon the table respecting the amount of drawbacks allowed to common Brewers under the act of the 42d of the King, was withdrawn in order to present a more correct account; which account was presented accordingly, and ordered to lie on the table.—The committal of the Irish Revenue Regulation bill was postponed till Wednesday next, as were the committees of supply and ways and means.—Mr. Pitt moved to postpone, till Wednesday, the reading the report of the Lords amendments in the Volunteer Consolidation bill. Ordered.—Mr. Pitt also moved to postpone till Wednesday se'nnight, the 3d reading of the Army of Reserve Suspension bills, for G. Britain and Ireland; and, at the same time gave notice, that he should, in the interim, submit to the house a proposition, connected with the subject of those bills. Ordered.—After some further proceeding on private bills, the house, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, adjourned to Wednesday next.

[INDIA BUDGET.]—Mr. *Johnstone* rose to enquire of a noble lord (Castlereagh) when he meant to bring forward the India Budget? As he understood that all the accounts necessary upon that occasion were arrived from India, he hoped that would be not long delayed. The noble lord would, no doubt, be as forward to bring to the account of the public, as the public would be glad to receive, the 500,000l. for which the noble lord had, in a former statement, given them reason to look at this period.

Lord *Castlereagh* replied, that the accounts alluded to by the hon. gent. were received, and that orders were given at the India-house to have them prepared with all possible expedition to be laid before this house. As soon as they should be on the table, the noble lord stated, that he would move for their being printed; and, after the members should have full opportunity of considering them, he would bring forward the subject referred to by the hon. gent.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, May 23.

[MINUTES.]—Counsel were finally heard relative to the Scotch appeal, Grieve *v.* Cunnyngham and others, viz. Mr. Alexander on the part of the respondents, and Mr. Romilly for the appellants in reply. The farther consideration of the case was postponed till Wednesday next.—Two private bills were brought up from the Commons, and were severally read a first time.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—Lord Walsingham presented the report of the committee upon the St. Pancras Poor bill; when the amendments were read and agreed to by the house, and the bill ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—Some private business was then disposed of; after which their lordships adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 23.

[MINUTES.]—Mr. C. Long and Sir Evan Nepean took the oaths and their seats; the former for Wendover and the latter for Bridport.—A person from the chief secretary's office for Ireland presented certain accounts relative to the revenue of Ireland, which were ordered to lie on the table.—Sir J. Anderson presented a petition from the Royal Exchange London Insurance Company against the bill now pending before the house, for establishing Insurance Companies in the counties of Hants, Dorset, &c. which was ordered to lie on the table.—A petition was presented from Monaghan, in Ireland, against the bill proposing additional duties on the Linen Trade, which was referred to the committee already appointed to take petitions of this description under their consideration.—Mr. R. Dundas brought in a bill for regulating and enforcing several acts for raising the militia force of Scotland, which was read a first time, and ordered to be printed.—Lord Marsham moved, that the Middlesex committee have leave, on their rising to-morrow, to adjourn till Saturday next, which was ordered accordingly.—Mr. Johnstone moved, That there be laid before the house an Account of the sums paid to neutral states, or to subjects of neutral states, as indemnifications for ships taken from them from the year 1793 till as late a period to which the same can be made up. After a short conversation between the Attorney General and Mr. Johnstone, the motion was agreed to with this alteration only, that it should be of such sums as had been ordered to be paid for the purpose specified in the motion.—The committee on the Felon's Apprehension bill was put off till Monday.—On the motion of Mr. Bankes, the house went into a committee on the Westminster Court-house bill, the report of which was ordered to be received to-morrow.—Mr. Calcraft gave notice, that it was his intention to bring foward a motion for additional allowances of pay to volunteers of such a description as might not be able to afford the necessary expences without some assistance; but at the same time he wished to wait till he heard the intention of his Majesty's ministers on this subject. On being informed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it was his intention to make some allowances to that class of volunteers to which he had alluded, and that some measure would soon be brought forward for that purpose, the hon. gent. consented to withdraw his notice.—Mr. Kinnaird informed the house that he would put off his motion respecting half-pay officers, as he had not yet received that information from the other side of the house which was absolutely necessary; but, that as soon as he should receive such information, he would take the earliest opportunity to bring forward the motion of which he had given notice.

[VOLUNTEER CONSOLIDATION BILL].—Lord *Castlereagh* moved the order of the day for the farther consideration of the report of the committee on the amendments of the lords in the volunteer consolidation bill, and stated it as the opinion of the committee, that the amendments made by the lords had a tendency rather to carry into execution the measure that had been proposed by the house, than to introduce any thing new into the bill.

Mr. *Fox* rose, and observed, that if he understood properly the forms of the house, the further consideration of this bill ought to be put off altogether. By some accident or oversight, the committee to whose consideration it had been submitted, had not taken notice of one clause, which he thought of material consequence, as having been altered in the House of Lords. The act, as it originally passed the House of Commons, contained the exemptions to certain persons from various taxes, such as turnpikes, hair-powder, &c. down to the 5th of May, which date the Lords had thought proper to alter to the 1st of June. This, he thought, was an improper alteration, and could not be acquiesced in by the Commons, by its containing an exemption in a money clause, beyond the day originally appointed in the bill. He proposed to reject this amendment entirely, and to leave the original date, the 5th of May, in order to act up to the old established rules and practice of parliament. He conceived, that there could be no doubt as to this point, as there were numerous precedents of such amendments made by the Lords upon bills, which were uniformly rejected by the House of Commons. Some people might imagine, that because he was no great friend to the volunteer system in general, that he wished, by stating his sentiments upon this point, to throw obstacles in the way of the further progress of the bill. He, however, had no such object in view, though it was, indeed, probable, that some of the clauses which had been objected to by a minority, might, upon re-consideration, be now disapproved of by a majority. The bill ought, in the present instance, to be viewed as a money bill, and therefore ought to be thrown out. Whatever might be the plan pursued by the house on this occasion, he begged that its well-known privileges might not be viewed as a matter of indifference.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* (Mr. Pitt) said, that the question now before the house was what was really consistent with their privileges; and what was, in the present case, most expedient or convenient to be done. He apprehended that there was nothing in the amendment alluded to, which was inconsistent with the privileges of the house. The House of

Commons had not been in the habit of rejecting any amendment made by the Lords, which had a tendency to carry into effect the avowed object of any clause. A return was intended to take place as soon as possible after the passing of the law, but the execution of the act had been rendered impracticable upon so early a day as the 5th of May. The lords, therefore, seeing, that for obvious reasons, the object in view by the Commons could not be obtained at such a period, had only proposed to substitute another. If it was judged necessary, in order to attend particularly to the privileges of the house, the amendment of the Lords might be still further amended, and the 1st of July inserted instead of the 1st of June. To throw out the bill was unnecessary, as the opinions of the house were already generally fixed on this subject, and any delay must be attended with inconvenience, as some of the provisions made by the bill become every day more necessary. The amendments would be considered, and if any deficiency still existed, a supplementary bill might be afterwards introduced.

Mr. *Thomas Grenville* said, he did not find himself disposed to agree to the plan of passing a supplementary bill, upon the present occasion. It was not a mere matter of convenience that the house were discussing; the question before them was, whether that amendment was or was not of a nature which immediately and materially entrenched upon their privileges? The clause amended by the lords, called upon the house for an assertion and indication of their established and important privileges, which on similar occasions, they had been in the habit of recurring to; he meant the mode so usually resorted to, of deferring the consideration of such amendments to any time they might think fit; not that such a plan had been found to be the most practicable or convenient, but because the House of Commons had found it so essential to maintain their privileges untouched, that they looked alone to their preservation, and he trusted that they would always be justly tenacious of them. It was a manifest encroachment, to say, that persons shall be exempted from certain taxes up to the 1st of June, instead of the 5th of May only; and the idea of prolonging that time still further, by substituting the 5th of July, would have a similar effect, and a supplementary bill would not cure the evil complained of. He could not help thinking, that any delay occasioned by adopting a different plan, and rejecting the clause, would not be a matter much to be lamented. He had all along wished to have a great proportion of the persons composing volunteer corps trained as a regular force, capable of acting with our regular army.

Mr. *Bragge Bathurst* said, that as a member of the committee, to whom the bill before the house had been referred, he could not help stating the reasons which had induced them to overlook, in their report, the clause in question. The committee had considered the nature of the amendment thereby made, and they had not thought it requisite to propose any alteration. He apprehended that the point had not been very accurately stated by the two hon. gentlemen who had objected to the amendment. The question was not about the exemption, but about the time of making the return. The bill, after repealing the former laws, proceeds to state, that persons entitled to the exemptions therein contained, shall enjoy them till the house had fixed some particular day on which returns were to be made by commanding officers. The 5th of May becoming impracticable, the house must of necessity have adopted another day; and the next day mentioned was the 1st of June, when it became possible to make a return by the present bill. Various precedents might be stated in support of such amendments. In tax bills, when the day which the Commons had fixed for the commencement of exaction had absolutely elapsed during the passing of such bills, the House of Lords have always mentioned another day, which has been uniformly acquiesced in. The principle, therefore, as far as privilege was concerned, was precisely the same in those as in the present instance. Such were the motives which induced the committee above stairs not to object to such an amendment by the Lords, and he hoped that the similar views of the question would prevail on the house not to look upon that amendment as any encroachment on their privileges.

Mr. *Francis* said, that the hon. gent. who spoke last, seemed to him to carry the principle a great deal further than what the house were bound to admit. It might happen that *bona fide* a tax granted by the Commons from a certain time, might be altered, as to the dates by the Lords so as to prove a furtherance of the original design; but it was different in the present case. It was quite inconsistent with the privileges of the house to trust the furtherance of their objects to any other house than their own.

The *Speaker* said, he thought it his duty to state the information he had collected on the subject from the journals of the house. In some cases, the house had rejected the bill altogether; but in others, which were more numerous, they had altered the clause. The Speaker here went into the detail of a variety of cases illustrative of both sides of the argument, which he had collected from the records of the house, in order that members might make what use of them they pleased in discussing the present question.

Mr. *Windham* was of opinion, that no precise principle was laid down by the house, but that every man was left at liberty to reason according to his feelings. Had the house of lords fixed no day, he admitted that the day fixed by the Commons would have been impossible as the bill now stood. But, at the same time, there was some danger that they might go on from relaxation to relaxation, till that privilege of which they had been always so jealous should be lost. He admitted it to be a matter of form rather than of substance, but forms, he contended, were necessary; and, as the whole was a matter of form, a few days later would be of very little consequence.

Mr. *Sheridan* was surprized at some observations that had fallen from a right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Bragge Bathurst.) If there were any instances in which alterations had been made in the dates of tax bills, the house must have been taken by surprize, and he did not think the committee would wish to be vindicated on this principle. Suppose the Lords had made no alteration in the date, then the 1st of August would have been the period, as the returns in May have already been made. The admission of a right on the part of the Lords, he contended, was an encroachment on the privileges of the house.

Mr. *Bragge Bathurst* explained, by observing, that in the sentiments he had expressed, he was borne out by the precedents given from the chair.

Lord *Castlereagh* saw no cause whatever for rejecting the clause or the amendment made in it by the Lords, as in his judgment the amendment did in no degree whatever trench on the privileges of that house, but was obviously adopted by the Lords in furtherance of that which was the undoubted intention of the House of Commons, namely, to prevent any fraudulent exemptions from being pleaded under the volunteer bill, to which, without this amendment, a wide door would have been left open until the 1st of Aug. next. The house would at all times have the right and the opportunity of vindicating and asserting its privileges, without unnecessarily at this moment seizing the opportunity of a weak and trivial question, and thereby materially to embarrass the public service.

Mr. *Grey* differed with the noble lord's opinion, that the House of Commons would at all times have the power of asserting and vindicating its own privileges. In order that it might best maintain them, it would not be right to establish a precedent against those privileges, by giving way, even in the most trivial instance, to any authority, however lightly assumed by another house of parliament, to interfere with that which this house had ever considered and maintained to be its sole and exclusive right. The noble lord had endeavoured in this case to defend the amendment, by stating, it was made by the Lords in furtherance of the intentions of this house. Such language and such an argument he held to be most dangerous and deceptious; for, if once such a pretence was admitted, he should be glad to know in what bill it was, that the Lords might not plead a similar privilege, to overturn every right of that house, under the assumed pretence of furthering its intentions. They might thus amend every money bill sent up by this house, and overturn every privilege of the purse, which this house had hitherto maintained with the most scrupulous jealousy. He could see no inconvenience whatever likely to arise from the rejection of the amendment, and letting the clause stand as it originally did, the 5th of May; more especially as the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) had proposed to introduce speedily a short supplementary act, in which this, amongst other defects of the bill, might be remedied; and as such a remedy was so near, he saw no reason why it should not be adopted.

Sir *Henry Mildmay* said a few words in support of the privileges of the house.—The question was put, that the amendments be read a second time, and agreed to.—When the clerk came to read the clause just now debated, Mr. *Fox* expressed his hope, that, from what had passed, the house would feel the necessity of rejecting the amendment he had mentioned. The whole of the cases, so ably stated from the chair, were, in his mind, decidedly in favour of the rejection; and more especially the case of the militia bill, in the year 1757, when the House of Lords thought proper to diminish, by amendment, the number of the militia voted by the Commons, and also the sum of money voted as the supply for the original number. The House of Commons, in that case, did not act merely by rejecting the amendment made by the Lords, but they maintained their own dignity, and vindicated their privileges with becoming spirit, by rejecting the bill altogether, and then introducing a new bill. But, as had been fairly and ably argued by his hon. friend near him (Mr. Grey), the most dangerous of all arguments upon which a justification could be attempted for such an amendment, on the part of the Lords, was that urged by the noble Lord (Castlereagh), that it was done in furtherance of the intentions of this house. For once only admit that, and the business of exclusive control on the public purse would be at an end, and the privilege of taxation completely transposed to the House of Lords, who would then be perfectly at liberty to make what alterations they pleased in the date of commencing, or the period of terminating a tax. Gentlemen had quoted precedents, to shew that similar things had been done; but those precedents were of very modern date, all within the last nine or ten years. But why not act by ancient precedents in those times when the house had shewn a most scrupulous and dignified jealousy and vigilance towards its privileges? In the course of this debate, a right hon. gent. (Mr. B. Bathurst), an experienced member of parliament, and one who had himself for a considerable time presided in the chair of the committees of ways and means in that house, had asserted, as a precedent, that the Lords actually had altered the date of commencement in a tax bill, and that the amendment had been adopted by this house, without any objection. If there was any such precedent that could by possibility have escaped the vigilance of this house, he wished it now to be read, as the house could not be taught to reflect too strongly upon a circumstance so truly reproachful, to a negligence and inadvertency of which it ought to be so much ashamed. But if such precedents were once admitted to have any authority, this house might as well give up the business of taxation at once, and abandon its claims of privilege as idle matter of form, and take its remedy in a mere rejection of amendments in money bills, as well as in all possible cases in which it has the same power of disagreement from the amendments of the Lords.

Mr. *Pitt* felt it unnecessary again to go over the ground he had already argued. He must be widely misunderstood by any gent. who supposed him to argue generally that a view of acting in furtherance to the wishes of that house would, in all cases, justify the alterations made by the other house of parliament in bills sent up by this house, money bills as well as others. He used the argument specifically, and in relation only to the precise case before the house and cases of a similar kind, and by no means in relation to money bills, or any other, wherein an amendment could be even for a moment supposed to compromise a tittle of the privileges of this house. But the principle did not hold fastidiously to every possible alteration that might be made even in a money bill, but applied only to such cases as those where the obvious intentions of the house of commons were contravened. But, conceiving the amendment in the present case to have been made purely with the intention of furthering the objects of this house, and not of contravening any of its objects or privileges, he felt no necessity whatever of rejecting the amendment, so far as leaving out the words "5th of May," with a view, however, to amend the date adopted by the Lords, to the 1st of July, which he moved, and which was agreed to.

Mr. *Whitbread* rose, and alluded to certain clauses in the bill respecting masters and servants, inserted originally at his instance, but omitted by the Lords. He wished, however, to know, if it was the intention of his Majesty's ministers to revive any clause upon this subject, because if not, he should feel it his duty to make a specific motion for enquiry in that house, respecting the conduct of the Lord Advocate of Scotland, which, if he were correctly informed, had been extremely oppressive, unjust, and illegal.

Mr. *Pitt* requested the hon. member to state the circumstance to which he alluded.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, that he had a letter in his pocket from the shire of Bamff, in Scotland, stating, that a respectable man there, named Morrison, had a servant, who, without his permission, or at all consulting him, had entered into a volunteer corps. Mr. Morrison had in consequence discharged the man from his service. The man applied to the Lord Advocate, to know what legal redress he had against his master; and though the Lord Advocate gave it as his answer, that the servant had no legal redress, yet he wrote to the deputy sheriff of Bamff, stating that Mr. Morrison's conduct proceeded from disloyal and disaffected principles; enjoined him, as far as lay in his power, to prevent the people of Bamff from holding any intercourse with Mr. Morrison; instructing him, that if an enemy should land in that part of the country, to make Morrison a close prisoner, and adding, that if, in the event of an enemy landing, any part of Morrison s property should be destroyed, either by the enemy or the King's troops, to keep it out of the enemy's hand, he would take care Morrison should have no compensation. This was, he apprehended, illegal, and deserved the animadversion of the house.—No reply was made to this statement.

The remaining amendments were received, and some rejected; after which a committee of inquiry was appointed to explain to a committee of the Lords, the reasons for rejecting certain amendments.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, May 24.

[MINUTES.]—Their lordships, pursuant to the order of the day, resolved into a committee of privileges, and Lord Walsingham having taken the chair, counsel and evidence were farther heard relative to the claim of Lady Henry Fitzgerald to the Roos peerage and dignity; after which the farther consideration of the case was adjourned till Tuesday se'nnight.—On the house resuming, the bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages; among these the St. Pancras Poor bill was read a third time and passed.—The Earl of Westmeath presented a petition from Robert Tighe, Esq. of the county of Westmeath in Ireland, praying that leave be granted to bring in a bill to dissolve his marriage with his now wife. His lordship observed, that an officer from the ecclesiastical court in Dublin was in attendance, to lay the requisite statements before their lordships. Accordingly, this person being called to the bar, and a copy of the proceedings in the ecclesiastical court in Dublin, in the suit instituted by the petitioner against his now wife, was duly laid before the house.—Leave was then given to bring in the bill, and Lord Westmeath presented the same.

[VOLUNTEER CONSOLIDATION BILL.]—Mr. Bragge Bathurst, attended by a considerable number of members, appeared at the bar, and delivered a message, importing that the Commons desired a conference with their lordships on the subject of the amendments made by the latter to the Volunteer Consolidation bill. The deputation from the Commons having retired, it was ordered that the desired conference with the Commons should take place, and that the same should be presently held in the painted chamber. The messengers from the Commons being called to the bar, the resolutions of their lordships, respecting a conference, was duly communicated by the Lord Chancellor. After a short interval, their lordships were informed by the deputy usher of the black rod, that the managers from the Commons were in attendance in the painted chamber, and waited to confer with their lordships. Accordingly a deputation, consisting of the following peers, was appointed to manage the conference on the part of their lordships, viz. the Duke of Montrose, Viscount Carleton, Bishop of St. David's, Lords Harrowby, Hawkesbury, Mulgrave, Montfort, Elliot, and Bayning. On their lordships' return, the Duke of Montrose reported to the house, that they had conferred with the deputation from the Commons, consisting of Mr. Bragge Bathurst, and several other members, who had delivered to their lordships' deputies the bill in question, together with a statement on the part of that house, relative to the amendments made by their lordships to the bill. The bill and the documents alluded to were ordered to lie on the table, and, on the motion of Lord Hawkesbury, the report made by the noble duke was ordered to be taken into consideration on Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, May 24.

[MINUTES.]—Mr. H. Lascelles presented a petition from the sheermen and cloth-workers in the county of York, praying leave to have a clause for the protection of their interests, introduced into the bill for the better regulation of the woollen manufacturers of the northern counties, for bringing in which leave had already been obtained. Referred to a committee.—Sir J. Newport deferred his motion relative to the Property Duty act, so far as it affected the property of gent. from Ireland, to Wednesday next.—A new writ was ordered on the motion of Mr. S. Bourne, for the election of a burgess for the borough of Tralee in Ireland, in the room of the right hon. G. Canning, who had accepted the place of Treasurer of his Majesty's navy.—Mr. Shaw gave notice that he should, on Monday next, move for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of Insolvent Debtors.—The Scotch Excise Licence bill was read a third time and passed.—Mr. C. Wynne moved, that the Speaker do issue no writ for the election of a member for Aylesbury before Monday fortnight. Ordered.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the Westminster Court-house bill. The amendments were agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time on Monday next.—Mr. Bankes gave notice, that on Monday he should move for certain accounts relative to the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duties, in order to complete other accounts that were already on the table; and that he would also move for certain impressed accounts, so far as the same were connected with the civil list.—On the motion of Mr. Calvert, Mr. Plomer obtained leave of absence for one month, on account of his health.—A message from the Lords informed the house, that their lordships had agreed to the Cumberland and Galloway Fishery bill; and that the Lords had passed a bill for the better employment of the poor in the parish of St. Pancras, for erecting a warehouse therein, &c. to which they desired the concurrence of the Commons.

[VOLUNTEER CONSOLIDATION BILL.]—Mr. *Bragge Bathurst* brought up the report of the committee appointed to draw up the reasons to be assigned for disagreeing to certain of the Lords' amendments to the Volunteer Consolidation bill, pursuant to the directions of the house. The report having been read, and the reasons agreed to by the house,

Lord *Castlereagh* moved, that a conference be desired with the Lords on the subject matter of these said amendments; and that Mr. Bathurst be directed to go to the Lords, and desire the conference. Ordered.

Mr. *Bathurst*, on his return from the House of Lords, where he attended, as directed, to desire the conference, informed the house from the bar, that their lordships had agreed to the conference, and had appointed this day for holding the same in the painted chamber.

Lord *Castlereagh* then moved, that the committee who had drawn up the reasons to be assigned for disagreeing to the amendments, should be appointed to manage the conference on the part of the house. Ordered. The committee, of course, proceeded forthwith to the painted chamber, in order to hold the conference.

After a short absence, Mr. Bathurst, with the committee, appeared at the bar, whence he reported to the house that their managers had had the conference with the Lords, and that the conference had been managed on the part of the House of Lords by the Duke of Montrose.—Adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, May 28.

[MINUTES.]—Counsel were heard at considerable length relative to the Appeal cause, Lucena *v.* Craufurd, viz. Mr. Erskine on the part of the appellant. The farther consideration of the case was adjourned till Wednesday se'nnight.—It was ordered, on the motion of his Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, that the thanks of the house be given to the Lord Bishop of Gloucester, for the excellent sermon preached by him before their lordships, on Friday the 25th inst.—The Marquis of Abercorn acquainted their lordships, that he should have to present a petition to the house; but it was one of that peculiar, grave, and serious nature, that he deemed some previous notice necessary, inasmuch as it respected the administration of justice in Ireland, and implicated one of his Majesty's judges in that part of the united kingdom. It was his intention to present it on Thursday next, on which day he should be in his place about 5 o'clock. He hoped a full attendance would then take place, and with a view to procure it, he would propose that their lordships be summoned for that day.—The noble marquis having moved to that effect, it was ordered accordingly.—Lord Grenville presented two petitions in favour of the Aylesbury Election bill, signed by a considerable number of persons, and setting forth how their interests, in different ways, were involved in the measure; praying that the same may be passed into a law, and for leave to be heard by counsel, &c. in support of the allegations in their respective petitions. The petitions were ordered to lie on the table, and leave was granted to the parties to be heard by their counsel.

[VOLUNTEER CONSOLIDATION BILL.]—Lord *Hawkesbury* moved the order of the day, for taking into consideration the reasons offered by the Commons, at a conference, for disagreeing to certain of the amendments made by their lordships to the Volunteer Consolidation bill; which being read, the noble sec. observed, that their lordships would perceive, by the printed reasons upon the table, that the Commons had agreed to the far greater part of their Lordships' amendments to the bill in question; and among which were included almost every amendment of importance made by that house. There were some few which he thought, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, though some of their lordships, and to a certain degree himself might consider in some points of view, as important, it would be preferable not to insist upon, as such a line of conduct might injuriously delay the enactment of the bill, which certainly contained many salutary regulations, and which the speedier they were acted upon, would be proportionably efficient. He thought it better to state thus much generally in the first instance, though the first alteration made by the Commons could only, at that moment, be regularly the subject of discussion. The first in order was the additional amendment made by the Commons with respect to the period to be fixed for the commencement of the bill; but this they would perceive was only in fartherance, and proceeded precisely upon the same principle, that the original amendment was made by their lordships, who thought that under the circumstances of the case, the word June should be substituted for May. This the Commons, with a reference to present circumstances, farther amended, by inserting July instead of June. On this point, he thought no difference of opinion could exist. With respect to the last amendment which was made the subject of discussion, that which went to render certain officers of volunteer corps in some degree public accomptants, he should not then trouble their lordships with any detailed observations upon it, as the provision in question might be ameliorated or rectified by a subsequent bill, which it was in contemplation to introduce upon the subject, and which the powers given by the last clause in the bill, authorizing the repeal, amendment, &c. of the bill during the present session, afforded an opportunity of doing.—On the question being put respecting the first alteration made by the Commons,

Lord *Grenville* rose and observed, that after what had transpired upon the subject in both houses of parliament, he was induced to hope that the bill to which the present discussion referred, would never again have been brought under the consideration of that house. Of the measure in general he had already repeatedly delivered his sentiments. He could not, therefore, regard the apprehension expressed by the noble sec. of state, as to the delaying or even the loss of the measure, as of any serious consequence. On the contrary, he thought it would be beneficial, because he thought the bill was not likely to be productive of any thing, but a plentiful crop of disagreement, confusion, and disappointment throughout the country. As to any service it could do, he knew of none, save such part of it as respected the calling out corps on permanent duty; and this, his lordship observed, had been done even during the discussion, with what colour of law he should not then inquire, and was still doing in different parts of the country. His lordship then made a variety of detailed observations upon different leading provisions of the bill, which had been before the subject of discussion in that house, and of which he expressed his disapprobation for the most part, even as amended by their lordships, which alone rendered these provisions tolerable; and his lordship particularly adverted to that provision, which, in effect, went to render the commanding officers of corps, who were in general men of rank and consequence in their different counties, the deputies or clerks to the assessors of taxes in the different districts. On the disagreement of the Commons to the amendment made by their lordships in p. 34, l. 6, by enacting, that instead of leaving it to the option of the party to appeal to the deputy lieutenants, or to any two justices of the peace, that the intervention at least of one deputy lieutenant was necessary, a conversation of some length arose, in which Lords Grenville, Fitzwilliam, Romney, Hawkesbury, and the Chancellor, were the principal speakers. The three first mentioned peers argued for the propriety of insisting on the amendment made by their lordships, on the general grounds of expediency, convenience to parties, and for local considerations. The objectors of their lordships were answered by the Lord Chancellor and the sec. of state. After which it was agreed not to insist on the amendment.

On the disagreement of the Commons to the amendment made by their lordships to the clause which respects the delivering up of arms and accoutrements, &c. of members of corps to the commanding officer, in certain cases, upon his demanding the same, a discussion of considerable length took place, and much difference of opinion prevailed.

Lord *Grenville* opposed it, principally on the ground of its injustice, as giving authority to one man to take away the property of another. He trusted that no consideration of convenience could ever dispose their lordships to sanction so monstrous a proposition. He was aware that it would be argued, that by rejecting that particular clause, noble lords hazarded the loss of the bill. He did not see any reasonable grounds for apprehension on that head, as another bill, precisely the same with that on their lordships' table, in every particular, except that highly objectionable clause, could be passed through the other house in the short space of two days, and might on the third be submitted to their lordships, in a form to which there could be no objection. He took shame to himself for not having perceived at first the manifest injustice of that clause; and it must be in the recollection of their lordships, that when the amendment, obviating that injustice, had been first proposed by a noble lord, whom he did not now see in his place, that it was unanimously acceded to; he trusted that their lordships would, in support of their consistency, and the sacred principles of justice, maintain and defend the amendment so proposed and adopted.

The Earl of *Carlisle* was anxious to receive from ministers some explanation respecting the operation of that clause. He himself had clothed a volunteer corps, and supplied them with every thing but arms, which he could not procure, and which govt. had furnished. He should think himself rather hardly dealt with, if this clause should be found to authorize a commanding officer to take those clothes and appointments from a set of men whom he knew and could confide in, to place them upon the backs of persons whose faces he had never seen. If this particular clause invested any person with a power of so extraordinary a latitude, it was necessary that it should be either done away, or that it should be distinctly signified to the country, and that nothing should be left to inference or implication.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he found himself under the necessity, in consequence of some observations that fell from the noble baron who spoke last but one, to state his ideas of the operation of the clause. He could not agree with that noble lord that it contained any sort of injustice. The clause vested the property of those clothes and accoutrements in the commanding officer only pro tempore, and in trust. Whenever they should be claimed by the persons proving to have a legal right to them, such as to the King, in some instances, or to, subscribers, the officer was bound, on demand being made of the same, to give them up, under the penalty of 10l. by this very bill. He would, moreover, be subject to an action of trover at common law, and would, upon refusal, have damages awarded against him. He did not think that, subject to such process, one man in a hundred would think it prudent to refuse surrendering property of which he was barely in trust for others. His lordship saw much inconvenience likely to result from insisting on the amendment, and no probable injustice, in his opinion, could be derived from the clause passing in its present shape.

Lord *Auckland* said, that he by no means concurred in the reasons assigned by the Commons for rejecting several of the amendments proposed and adopted by their lordships. With regard to the present amendment, which he had some very natural reasons to be partial to, he did not think it advisable to persevere in it. He could not expect to derive much benefit from a free conference with the Commons, as was proposed by a noble baron (Lord Grenville) after the grand reasons which they had assigned for their dissenting from many of the amendments. He did not expect to convince them; and therefore, not wishing to risk the loss of the bill, he would not persevere in that amendment which he had the honour first to propose, and which had been rejected by the other house.

Lord *Grenville* said, that the noble and learned lord had not understood the nature of the amendment, and the operation of its being rejected. It was impossible that his lordship, sitting in that place, and filling the highest seat of justice, should maintain that the law of property is to be violated by that house, rather than delay this bill; that the property of A is to be forcibly taken from him, and be given to B, for the sake of some political consideration. A noble lord had said, the reasons of the Commons were so bad, they must have better behind. It was well known to what that alluded. But there were other methods, which, on a free conference with the Commons, might be adopted, without touching any of their privileges, or what they claimed as such; and he conjured the learned and noble lord to weigh well the effect of not insisting with him on this amendment.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he never would permit it to go out to the world in any form or publication, that it had been said in that house, uncontradicted by him, that he disregarded the law of property, that he was willing to sacrifice justice to convenience. He did not conceive the bill as touching the right of property. He considered the legal construction to be, that the property remains in the same hands it belonged to before; although the delivery of the arms, &c. is required, and is made to the commanding officer.

Lord *Grenville* said, he had not attributed to the noble and learned lord, that he disregarded the law of property. He would not attribute that to any Lord Chancellor; he would not to the present Lord Chancellor. He had only said, the noble and learned lord had not understood the nature of the amendment; and the proof was, the monstrous result, if he had understood it.

Lord *Mulgrave* maintained, that there was no necessity for the amendment, as the clause did not invest commanders with the property of the clothes, &c. but merely with the right to demand delivery of them.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* could not figure how it was possible, when the journals of the two houses of parliament were consulted, to put such an interpretation on the clause. It would be seen that the clause, as it originally stood, warranted the interpretation which the noble lord (Grenville) and others, had put on it. They had accordingly removed that idea, and had prevented, by the alteration which they had suggested, any chance of misconception. The Commons, however, had dissented from that amendment, which unquestionably they would not have done, had they viewed the original clause in the same light as noble lords would represent, so that the interpretation first put on the clause must be confirmed rather than removed.

Lord *Grenville*, when the question was put, insisted on a division, when the numbers were, Contents, 23, Non-contents, 8; Majority, 15.—His lordship expressed his hopes that his Majesty's ministers would, agreeably to the promise held forth by the noble sec. of state, bring in a bill to exempt commanding officers from the inconvenience of being subject to the law relating to public accomptants.—The remaining amendments being agreed to, a message was ordered to be sent to the Commons, to signify the same, and that their lordships had not insisted on their amendments.—Adjourned to Wednesday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, May 28.

[Minutes.]—The Master of the Rolls moved, that the thanks of the house be given to the Rev. Dr. Jackson, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, for the excellent sermon he preached before the house at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, on Friday last, being the day appointed as a general fast throughout the kingdoms.—Lord Castlereagh moved for an estimate of the profit and loss of the East India Company's sales, from the 1st of March 1803, to the 1st of March 1804. Ordered.—The report of the Corn committee was deferred to Thursday next, as was also the committee on the Scotch Militia Expences bill.—The Prize Agency bill was deferred to Thursday se'nnight.—Mr. Bankes moved for several accounts relative to the 4 per cent. Duties, which were ordered accordingly.—Mr. Shaw moved for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of

Insolvent Debtors in Ireland. Mr. Alderman Combe said, he saw no reason why such a bill should not be extended to England as well as Ireland. Leave was accordingly given to bring in the bill pursuant to the alderman's suggestion.—The second reading of the Cotton Manufacturers' bill was postponed to Thursday se'nnight. The house went into a committee on the bill to prevent the escape of Irish Offenders; the report was ordered to be received on Wednesday.—Mr. Whitbread gave notice that he would, on Wednesday se'nnight, move for a copy of the letter of the Lord Advocate of Scotland to the sheriff depute of Bamffshire, which was on record, relative to Mr. Morrison of that county, having discharged his servant for enlisting without his consent into a volunteer corps.—Mr. S. Bourne gave notice, in the absence and in the name of Mr. Pitt, who was not able to attend in his place, that it was the intention of his right hon. friend to bring forward, on Friday, a motion relative to the military force of the country. Mr. Addington requested to know from the hon. gent. who spoke last, whether the motion, of which he had given notice in behalf of his right hon. friend, on the subject of the military force of the country, was the same as that right hon. gent. had mentioned some time ago? Mr. S. Bourne replied, that he was not authorized to say it was the same, but he was inclined to believe it was nearly so.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, May 30.

[MINUTES.]—The consideration of the Aylesbury Election bill, which stood for a second reading this day, and in which stage counsel were ordered to be heard in support of the different petitions, was adjourned till Friday. This proceeding took place on the suggestion of the Lord Chancellor, to which he was induced chiefly with a view to the consideration of the precedents furnished by similar cases. Accordingly the bill, after a few observations from the Marquis of Buckingham, who seemed to concur in the propriety of what fell from the noble lord on the woolsack, was ordered to be read a second time on Friday.—Lord Thurlow was sworn, and took his seat.—The bills before the house were forwarded in their respective stages.—The judgment upon an appeal cause, which stood for to-day, was postponed, and some private business disposed of; after which the house adjourned till to-morrow, when their lordships stand summoned upon the Marquis of Abercorn's motion.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 30.

[MINUTES.]—Gen. Tarleton brought up a petition from certain proprietors of fisheries in the Solway Frith, against the bill now before the house for the better regulation of the fisheries in that arm of the sea. Ordered to lie on the table till the second reading of the bill.—A message from the Lords informed the house, that their lordships had agreed to the amendments made by the Commons in the Lords' amendments of the Volunteer Consolidation bill, and that their lordships did not insist on their other amendments, to which the Commons had disagreed.—Lord G. Thynne and Lord Louvaine took their seats on their re-election.—Sir J. Newport gave notice, that he should to-morrow move for an account of the disbursement of the sum of 2000l. voted last session for the compensation of certain officers in Ireland, specifying particulars.—Mr. H. Brown brought up the second report of the committee for carrrying into effect the act for the Improvement of the Highlands of Scotland. Ordered to lie on the table.—The Westminster Court-house bill was read a third time and passed.—The third reading of the English Army of Reserve Suspension bill, and the second reading of the Irish Army of Reserve Suspension bill, were put off to Monday se'nnight on the motion of Mr. S. Bourne.—The Irish Accounts' bill passed through a committee; the report to be received to-morrow.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the Criminals' Arrest bill. The amendments were agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—Mr. Huskisson moved, that the committee on his Majesty's message, relative to a provision for the family of the late Lord Kilwarden, be put off to Monday se'nnight. Ordered.—Also, that the second reading of the Attornies' Indemnity bill be put off to Friday. Ordered.

[SLAVE TRADE.]—Mr. *Wilberforce* then rose, in pursuance of a notice he had formerly given, to submit to the house a motion relative to the slave trade. The importance of the subject, the hon. gent stated, no man could possibly deny. But if at any former period the subject had been considered of importance it must now be much more so, from the present state of the West Indies, and from the general situation of Europe. Its importance also was still farther augmented by considerations derived from the long habits and the established interest of the West India merchants. No man was more disposed than he was to respect this class of men, and to give them every reasonable indulgence; but he had been always against the principle of the slave trade, and was now more than ever convinced of its pernicious tendency. An opportunity, the hon. gent. thought, was now offered, of bringing this abominable traffic to a termination by parliamentary regulations, without any material injury to individuals. The subject had formerly occupied the attention of the house to a very considerable degree, and many details had been presented to them, calculated to rouse their feelings; but so short-lived are the feelings of humanity, that much of the information which gent. had possessed, he was afraid, must have vanished from their minds. He did not think it necessary, however, to recur to his former arguments in all their extent, nor to direct their attention minutely to the evidence that had been formerly laid before the house. After a very long and serious investigation, and with a mass of evidence before them, the house in the session of 1792, were so much convinced of the injustice, as well as the bad effects of this traffic, that though they did not immediately abolish it, as they certainly ought to have done, in consistency with the general feelings of the house, they resolved on the 1st of May to abolish it gradually, and followed up this resolution by a determination that it should cease at the end of four years, and that means should be taken to prevent more slaves being imported to the West India settlements. Those resolutions, however, had not been followed up, and the trade, with a few alterations that were then made, was still continued as formerly. To those who had no immediate interest in the subject, and who had never accustomed themselves to reflect on its consequences, this might be a consideration of very little consequence; but he begged gent. to recollect that thousands of our fellow-creatures were suffering every day from a continuation of the pernicious system. He begged that gent. would attend to the incalculable evils that the slave trade produced on the coast of Africa. Such is the infatuation of those ignorant and unfortunate princes, that in order to procure slaves for sale, they engage in wars with each other, either on frivolous pretences, or, should these not occur, without any pretence but the arm of power. To augment this evil, and to render the passion still stronger, we tempt them with spirituous liquors, their attachment to which becomes so strong, that they will not hesitate to perpetrate any injustice to gratify the passion. In pursuance of this abominable trade, however, we go still farther, and, when other means fail, we set fire to their villages, that we may catch the wretched fugitives in their attempts to escape from that dangerous element; and this, by a strange perversion of language, we call a trade, and these inhuman and unwarrantable means the most successful mode of pursuing it. We thus violate the most sacred rights of mankind, and introduce violence and injustice, by our incitements and example, into those unfortunate countries, which, from their ignorance, become a prey to our avarice. From this pernicious traffic which we encourage, all their transactions with each other, and even the administration of justice itself, is made subservient to the procuring of slaves. The miserable victims are seized by their superiors, and accused of unheard-of crimes, of which little proof is necessary when their condemnation is previously determined on. The persons who are their judges, have an interest in their condemnation, while we, to the disgrace of a civilized nation, stand by to give the judges a share of the booty. It was worthy of remark, indeed, that so pernicious has been our connection with the unfortunate Africans, that the general progress of civilization has been reversed, and, contrary to former experience, the interior of the country has become the most refined, while those on the coast, who have had the greatest correspondence with us, have become the most profligate, the most ignorant, and the most corrupt. Not only, indeed, is this the case; but even where any sparks of civilization have appeared, our traders have taken care to extinguish them. In the interior of Africa, agriculture and several of the arts are known. They are so far civilized as to assemble in large towns, which is always a concomitant of refinement. They can work in iron, and have several other manufactures, according to the accounts of the best informed travellers. But if we direct our attention to the coast, we shall find neither arts nor commerce, nor any vestige of civilization; but, on the contrary, wretchedness, ignorance, and superstition of the lowest and most degrading kind. Even their superstition, in order to be consistent in our wickedness, we attempt to encourage, and notwithstanding our professions of Christianity, endeavour to confirm and even increase their absurd ideas of witchcraft, and their other prejudices, which we find subservient to the purposes of our avarice. If there are any corruptions of Christianity, we scruple not to communicate them to them; but, whatever can enlighten or improve them, we carefully withhold. These evils are not extended over a small tract of country, or they might perhaps be less to be regretted; but they are extended over a coast of not less than between three and four thousand miles, and to a distance of seven hundred miles up into the interior. It is impossible to reflect on the wretched state of such a vast population, without pity and indignation; and of what baseness may we not accuse ourselves when we consider that we are in a great measure the cause of many of their evils. He did not wish to employ severe language, but it was impossible to use nicer terms on a subject which so much interested the best feelings of humanity. The manner of conveying the slaves also over the seas, after having procured them, was so flagrant and inhuman, that the feelings of the house, from the evidence that had been laid before it, were roused, and had prompted them to adopt regulations to prevent the waste of human lives. But not only from the mode of procuring slaves, and the manner of transporting them, was this trade to be deprecated. The treatment of those slaves when arrived at their place of destination, was also a subject of serious consideration. Those who were conveyed to the West Indies, were not only doomed to be slaves for life, but their posterity also were condemned to the same fate, and their treatment in many instances unworthy the character of men. The hon. gent. then adverted to the objections that had been formerly offered to the measure he proposed. The best arguments, though by no means satisfactory, that had been offered against this measure, was, that the negroes were no better than a species of brutes. To consider them as men, and to reason on their feelings accordingly, was represented as idle jargon. It was curious indeed to observe what had been stated on this part of the subject—not by mean and low authorities only, but by people of understanding and information, and by a man particularly whom he regarded as respectable for his talents and literature, he meant Mr. Long, the historian of Jamaica, who had degraded the negroes to the rank only of brutes. But he would ask, if they are not endowed with recollection—if they are not capable of anticipating the future—if they are not possessed of social feelings, and of remembrances which endear the past? They had been compared to the Ourang Outang in the desert; but nobody who had attended to their mode of acting, or who would attend for a moment to the operation of their feelings, could maintain a proposition of this preposterous nature. The hon. gent. here begged leave to read a passage from Mr. Long's history. "The African Negro," says this gent., "is incapable of civilization." He was willing to allow that they were very deficient indeed in the arts of life, and in many respects insensible to the finer feelings of our nature. He would allow that some advocates engaged in the same cause, had hurt the interests of his clients, by representing them as superior to other men in the acuteness of their feelings, and in the elevation of their natural sentiments. At the same time, he could by no means think they were destitute of those qualities. The same author tells us that "they have no moral sensations—that they have no settled habitations—and, that they have no pleasure in the beauties of nature." What settled habitations, he would ask, could they have—what pleasure could they derive from the beauties of nature, when chased by us into woods and deserts, and compelled to shelter themselves from our cruel persecution wherever the gloom of nature is best calculated to protect them? With this view they hid themselves in woods and morasses, and in such places certainly they could not be supposed to build very permanent or commodious habitations. "In so vast a tract as Africa," continues the same author, "a diversity of human character might be expected." But we must not forget, though this author may perhaps have overlooked it, what share we have had in fixing the uniformity of their character. We must not forget what share we have had in converting them into an ignorant, low, peevish, a bloody, and a thievish race. Our conduct to that unfortunate people has certainly had that tendency. Our cruelty also must have made them ferocious. It is very customary indeed to excuse cruelty, by saying it is necessary, and that its victims deserve it. We therefore wish to make these men every thing that is bad, in order to serve as an excuse for our own conduct. Far from attempting to increase their happiness, or to augment their knowledge and comfort, every step of our conduct seems to have been designed to depress them, and to keep them in ignorance. "An Ourang Outang husband," continues the author, "would by no means disgrace a negro woman." Such strength of prejudice was truly astonishing; but it must be still more so, when it was recollected that this language did not proceed from the impulse of the moment, but was seriously and deliberately introduced into the page of a professed historian. The original invaders of America had entertained similar sentiments of the native Americans. They had stated, in justification of their cruelties to the natives, that though the whole race were lost, there would be no great matter, as they were not men. They did not consider them as men, but as large apes, and attached therefore, no idea of importance to their existence. But those wretched natives that had been made the sport of European soldiers, and that had fallen victims to their cruelty, at last obtained a deliverer;—not from the parliament of this country, or the civil policy of the country who oppressed them—but from a quarter where the rights of humanity had been in general respected—he meant from the spirit of the Roman Catholic religion. To relieve the distresses of those unfortunates, the Pope issued a bull, ordaining that it had pleased him to acknowledge the Americans to be true men, and that they should be entitled to the privileges of men. This bull was issued in the year 1537. To correct those partial views that men have such a propensity to indulge in their own favour, it is necessary only to look to the operations of Providence, which shews such an equal regard to all. Had this unfortunate class of mankind been merely brutes, many of their distinguishing attributes would have been unnecessary. That vast Being who protects all, has exhibited his bounty also towards them. But whatever may have been our former opinions, pursued the hon. gent., respecting those negroes, however much we may have hitherto calumniated them, it will not now be denied that they are capable of thought, of enterprize, and exertion. In the West Indies they have shewn themselves to be something more than mere brutes. They have displayed the highest degree of courage and resolution. They have discovered astonishing perseverance in the pursuit of their purpose. They have shewn that they are capable of a steady resistance; that not any number of men, however small, is sufficient to oppose them, but that they can resist and even prevail. It is material to the honour of the house, that under the influence of strong passions, they had admitted of the injustice and impolicy of this trade. The agents of the West India merchants themselves had acknowledged the truth of what he had stated. M. Brune allows that the campaigns of the native Africans are in general commenced and carried on for the very purpose of making captives. This, at all times, he admits, is a sufficient object for war.—But not only do they dispose of their captive enemies as slaves, but if there is any great demand, they will dispose in this manner of their own subjects. If there is not a sufficient number of the captives, the king will turn round and offer so many of those who have been the assailants for sale, making every principle yield to that desire of gain which this trade has unfortunately introduced. It is true, says M. Brune, that the French must sometimes seize slaves independently of the authority of the prince; and if they have taken too many, they have only to settle the balance with the prince. This observation is confirmed by the testimony of Mr. Moore, Mr. Acton, and other travellers who have visited that country. Such testimonies it is impossible we can read, and deny at the same time, that the slave trade owes its existence to practices of this nature. The remarks of Mr. Moore have also justified another observation he had had occasion to make, on the increased severity and frequency of the punishments exercised in those petty states. Since the year 1704, all punishments have been commuted into slavery; and men in power very frequently have people accused of crimes of which there is no proof, in order to have it in their power to dispose of them. The older writers, who give an account of those countries before the existence of the slave trade, state the punishments as being very mild and easy. They were banished or made slaves, but after a short time were permitted to return home. This, formerly, was the greatest punishment that was ever inflicted, but now the smallest crime is followed by slavery for life. This change has been effected by their connection with Europeans, and the introduction of the slave trade amongst them.—The hon. gent. then adverted to another argument that had been offered in favour of the slave trade. It was said that they were so wretched and so poor that their situation could not be altered for the worse. What harm could there be, therefore, it was asked, in transferring them from a scene of wretchedness to greater comfort and conveniency? The principle of this objection he was strongly inclined to doubt; but, he would ask, if there was no harm in separating men from their families, from their country, from all that they held dear in life? Was there no harm in destroying them on their passage, in maltreating them for their apparent obstinacy, and in dooming them to perpetual slavery without the hopes of return to their early attachments? All writers on the state of Africa allow that slavery is in a very different state now from what it was formerly. In former times it was a mild and patriarchical system. So mild, indeed, was the treatment of the slave, that it was difficult to distinguish him from his master. He was not exposed to the torture, nor under the lash of the whip as he is now, but had domestic privileges he could claim that were secured to him by fixed regulations. As a proof of what he now asserted he could read passages from Mr. Moore and others, if the house were not disposed to take his word.—Another assertion had been made in favour of the slave trade, which he would not have condescended to mention had it not been so much dwelt on, and so much importance apparently attached to it; he meant the argument of those who alleged, that if we did not take those slaves offered for sale they would be all massacred, and that therefore as many women and captives taken in war, with other objects as we are purchased, were so many lives saved. He would admit that in a very small province and for a short time only, this might occasionally be the case: but supposing it to be true it would go to continue the slave trade in all times coming, and prevent any measure being adopted for the improvement of our fellow-creatures. But so far is this from being the case, that those who are brought down to the coast from the more interior parts of the country, and not disposed of according to the wishes of the sellers, are employed in labour, in agriculture, and other avocations, till a better or more profitable opportunity of selling them occurs. There is not, indeed, a more industrious class of people than the slaves of the natives, who are a sort of apprentices, and whose comfort, according to all accounts, is very much studied. Another argument, the hon. gent. said, had been derived from Providence, and even from Scripture itself. He could not help regarding such an argument as in the highest degree profane; and those who offered it, he was persuaded, could have little claim to religion. He would call on the house to recollect what impressions had been formerly made on them—if from the details that had been formerly laid before them they were inclined to believe that religion had any part in preserving or encouraging the system. But the greatest tenderness it had been said, was shewn to them, particularly in conducting them across the sea, treating them like so many children, like so many friends whom we were conducting to better lodgings and a happier mode of life. He would appeal, however, as the best contradiction to this assertion, to the numbers that were generally crowded on board, with less accommodation than we would afford cattle; and to the numbers that died from the treatment and absolute suffocation to which they were exposed. It was worth while to attend to the statements of the opponents of the abolition of the trade. They had stated that the treatment of the negroes in their passage, was a stronger argument in their favour than any other, and that their treatment in the West Indies was not less favourable; that any regulation would injure if not destroy the trade entirely. It had been stated by the agent of Mr. Matthews, that restricting the quantity to two to a tun, would destroy the trade. Another had said, that perhaps some adventurers might try what success they might have under such restrictions, but that the trade would inevitably be losers. Mr. Jones had given it as his opinion, that such a restriction would destroy the trade, and transfer it to France. But these gent. have been mistaken in their estimates, and instead of being destroyed by this regulation, the trade has become more productive and advantageous. The agent for Jamaica, had outrun the instructions of his constituents, for they had expressed no disinclination to a modification of the system, but on the contrary, have expressed their satisfaction in the partial arrangement that took place. If, therefore, these advocates of the slave trade have been mistaken in one point, may we not fairly conclude that they may be so in another, and that the abolition of it will be attended with no worse consequences than its modification, which was so much dreaded? But another argument of a still more serious aspect was derived from the idea that the vessels employed in the slave trade, were a nursery for the navy and marine service. It gave him much pain to have the appearance of opposing the increase of our naval power; but he hoped it was not to the slave trade that we owed the superiority of our naval force. On the contrary, he was happy to find, that instead of being a benefit, our seamen were worn down and frittered away by this trade. Our navy captains, he was assured, when they looked into any of the slave trade vessels, could not find above three or four that they could take on board their vessels. They were so liable to disease, and so apt to spread contagion, that they became unfit for the navy. In one year to which the hon. gent. alluded, not less than 2643 had perished in that iniquitous trade. In another year, however, after the partial regulations had been adopted, instead of 2643, not more than 325 had perished in that trade to the West Indies. The document he had read, and from which he derived his information, was one of their own sent up from Liverpool and Bristol. Another objection to his measure was, that it would be injurious to the manufacture of this country, and must diminish the application of our capital. He was assured, however, that the capital employed in this way was not more than 1 million out of 11, and which might be otherwise applied. Foreign nations, it was said, would take it up; but this would only enable us more easily to apply our capital and industry in some other way, without hardening our hearts in cruelty, or staining our hands with blood. The general law of nature seems to be the increase of animal life. It has been found that men have increased in every country, and under almost every pressure of circumstances. Why then have not the slaves in the West Indies increased, instead of requiring an annual supply to make up the deficiency? It must be owing to something radically wrong in their management. In America, the same class of people had increased nearly one-third in 19 or 20 years. When men are happy and comfortable, they naturally increase. The Maroons even, notwithstanding the many calamities and the distresses and disadvantageous wars they were obliged to maintain, increased rapidly in the island of Jamaica, even during those years that the slaves so rapidly decreased.—The system of keeping up slaves, it is lamentable to consider, has never engaged any share of the attention of those most interested in this business. This is a melancholy fact; but it is one which has not escaped the notice of those writers who have most carefully examined the subject of slavery both in ancient and modern times. Under a form of slavery far more mitigated than that which is the disgrace of this country, the system of encouraging the rearing of slaves was never practised, and Mr. Hume had very justly observed, that in the ancient world, where domestic slavery was so prevalent, all deficiencies were supplied by importation. In civilized countries, articles of consumption were rather purchased than bred, and the same sort of policy seemed to be that which the West India colonists followed. When the subject of the slave trade was under the most serious consideration of the house, and when the gent. chiefly interested in it were examined, it appeared that, though sufficiently well acquainted with other particulars, they had not the slightest idea of the expediency of keeping up the stock of negroes, independent of importation. The result of this examination was also to shew, that the evils attendant on the miserable, degraded state of the negroes, were far greater than had even been conceived. It was found that all the vices of the system had accumulated, and that the number of negroes kept up had been constantly on the decrease. This effect was traced to two grand causes. The first of these was, that the negroes in our West India settlements were not sufficiently fed, and in this respect the treatment of the slaves in the

American states had appeared peculiarly striking. The fact was, that the negroes in America received full three times as much food as the negroes in our islands In Jamaica, the allowance to runaway negroes, who, performing no work, necessarily stood in need of less food, was double that which was given to the slaves who were condemned to the severest toils. Excessive labour in proportion to the quantity of food received, was another cause of the decrease of the negroes in our West India settlements. In this respect, the difference in America consisted in this, that the slaves were employed in task works. They had thus an opportunity of employing the time beyond what was required for labour, to ease and recreation, and one party of slaves had frequently the means of dividing the labours of another. On the other hand, the slaves in our West India islands, were worn away by constant and overwhelming fatigue; they enjoyed no rest, no alleviation of the toil to which they and their offspring were hopelessly condemned. In America, the number of negroes was continually on the increase, while, on the other hand, the decrease in our islands kept a similar proportion.—Another of the vices attendant on the system of conduct pursued to the negroes was, that they were subjected to the tyranny and cruelty of persons of low views, of ignorant minds, and unfeeling hearts; of persons who had no objects in vesting their capital in this nefarious trade but mere sordid interest. With persons of this sort, the first object was to extort labour, and in effecting this object, they stopped at no exercise of wanton and barbarous cruelty. Under the dominion of such men, the whole race of negroes were degraded and bowed down to the dust. Even when people of colour were elevated to the dignity of freemen, they still continued in a state of comparative degradation. Could there then be a stronger proof of the miserable, oppressed condition of the negroes, than the fact that they were anxious to do away this degraded state at the purchases of the earnings and savings of their whole lives. In addition to the causes already mentioned, there might be produced other proofs from which it would not be at all unreasonable to expect among the negroes a very considerable mortality. When facts, however, were referred to, this mortality was not by any means so great as might have been expected. In Jamaica, where the mortality among the negroes has always been greatest, it will be found that taking three periods as a criterion for judgment, the decrease in the negro population falls short of what might have been anticipated. It has in the progress of the last 60 years been gradually diminishing. Their averages might be taken within the last 60, the last 30, and the last 10 years. In the first period, the decrease was about 3 to 4 per cent. on the whole population. In the second period, it was from 3 to 8 per cent. and within the last 10 years, there was not more than three-fifths of a decrease. In Barbadoes and Antigua, the negroes had nearly kept up their number, and in Jamaica, the decrease was not greater than what he had now stated. It was to be remembered too, when he stated this, that in the year 1780, the negroes suffered dreadfully by the tornado, which assailed the island that year. By that dreadful visitation, no less than 15,000 negroes perished, and, in fact, when this was taken into view, the actual diminution by ordinary causes was quite inconsiderable. Those who advocated the abolition, had frequently been accused of being indifferent to the interests of West India proprietors. This was a charge which, he begged leave to say, was utterly unfounded. But though the friends of the abolition were not indifferent to these interests, they had higher calls to attend to, and these were the calls of humanity and of justice. What he had now stated, however, as to the possibility of keeping up the numbers of our negroes in the West India islands, sufficiently proved that, even on the score of policy, the abolition of the trade was not liable to the objections which were urged against it. It was satisfactory to find, that the West India proprietors would sustain no material loss by the immediate abolition of this inhuman and unchristian traffic. It was seen, that even under all the existing vices of the system, the decrease of negroes was not great; and under other regulations which might be adopted, the population of the negroes might be fully sustained. A French writer, Malouet, who has lately written on this subject, is forced to admit that, after the revolution, the decrease in the number of negroes was less than before that event. This he attributed to two causes. The one was, that the pregnant women were allowed more rest, and the working negroes were condemned to less severe labour. Though in obedience to the mandate of the First Consul, he argued for the re-establishment of slavery, yet he is forced to admit that, from the two causes just stated, the condition of the negroes was materially improved. Did not this shew that, under proper regulations, and by the adoption of the system practised in America, the increase of the negroes might be expected to be as rapid as in America. In that part of the world, the negroes were in the same degraded state as in our West India Islands. The only difference in their situation was, that they were better fed, and compelled to perform a more moderate share of labour. There had been another reason urged for the continuance of the trade, which he only noticed because it had been so often and so seriously urged on former occasions. This reason was, that the trade was carried on by other nations. It was hardly possible to allude to this objection in terms of sufficiently strong indignation. There was no species of infamous or wanton cruelty; there was no sort of guilt or villany in the history of nations which could not be justified by this sort of appeal. It could not, however, be seriously meant to lay any stress on an argument founded on such unjustifiable and false grounds. Another argument against the abolition was, that the feelings of the West India proprietors ought not to be injured; that they ought to have time allowed them for full and fair consideration of the subject; that they ought to have an opportunity afforded them of filling up the chasm which might exist in their negro establishment, and to provide for the consequences necessarily resulting from the abolition. To expect that the hearty concurrence of the West India proprietors could ever be obtained; to suppose that they should ever cordially enter into any plan for putting an end to a trade from which they conceived that they derived so many advantages, was altogether impossible. Every additional year gave new proof of the truth of this assertion. Instead of softening and relaxing in their attachment to the system, they seemed to increase in their support of it, and hugged it closer and closer to their bosoms. It was with a view of consulting their wishes, and complying to a certain degree with their feelings, that in 1792 the plan for gradual abolition was adopted, and that the year 1796 was fixed on as the period when the nefarious traffic should in a great measure cease. The year 1800 was fixed on for the period of its ultimate abolition, and in the mean time the importation of negroes was to be subjected to the severest restrictions. In 1796, unhappily, no abolition took place. On the contrary, those most interested in its preservation became more attached to it. When the question of abolition was first started, the West India colonists contended that the trade was wholly carried on in British capital. When they found that this ground was not tenable, they shifted their argument, and began to urge that they had a peculiar interest in the continuance of the trade. They then began to talk of the rights and privileges which they had in those whom they were pleased to denominate their practical labourers. At that time the question of abolition was carried by a majority greater than almost on any question which ever came before the house. If the former cruelties and evils attendant on the system had induced the house, on a former occasion, to come to this determination, surely what recently occurred must have been strengthened and confirmed. First let it be remembered, that since the time that the proposition for the abolition of the trade no fewer, he believed, than 300,000 additional negroes had been imported into the West Indies: thus consigning 300,000 of our fellow-creatures and their posterity to perpetual bondage. Into the island of Jamaica alone there were, he could state, imported no fewer than 140,000 negroes since 1792; a number more than sufficient to keep up the population and to complete the establishment of such plantations as happened to have deficiencies at the time the proposition of abolition was adopted. There was another very important consideration at the present moment, and that was the expediency of vesting British capital in a part of the dominions of the empire which was most vulnerable, most liable to the external attack of the enemy, and most subject to internal convulsion. Before 1792 the amount of this capital so vested was, by many intelligent persons, reckoned too great: but how much greater had it become since that period? At this moment, the profits on capital vested in the West India islands was quite inconsiderable. In Jamaica it was not above 4 cent. and it did not exceed 5 or 6 per cent. in the other islands. The number of executions on West India colonial property was truly alarming. In the course of 20 years these executions were for sums to the amount of not less than 32 millions currency. Let those who speak so much of the importance and value of West India property reflect on these things, and perhaps they may see reason to alter their opinion. But there was another consideration which could not fail to have great weight with the house: that was, that the continuance of the trade was a constant and alarming drawback to the population of the country. As far back as the American war, the colonial assembly of Jamaica had represented to govt. the necessity of having an additional number of troops for the protection of the external safety as well as the internal tranquillity of the island. Under the present circumstances of the West Indies, it was evident that the necessity for fresh demands of British troops must be preferred. New bodies of British subjects must be sent out to inhospitable climates, which had been the graves of so many unfortunate Europeans. These levies, too, were to be sent to protect and uphold the very injustice which had been so solemnly condemned, and to give that security which the importation of fresh ship-loads of slaves had rendered precarious. How long the country would be able to bear these successive drains of men; how long our population could answer these repeated demands, he could not take on himself to anticipate; but surely the policy of that system which rendered them necessary, could not be easily defended. The present situation of St. Domingo, it was impossible for him to pass over without some notice. Was it wise, he would ask the house, to increase the number of new negroes in our West India islands, under the present circumstances of the colonies? During 2 years, the number of negroes imported into Jamaica was not less than 27 or 28,000, and it was perfectly well ascertained that newly imported negroes were the most ready to join in any plan of insurrection. He could only ascribe the fresh importation of negroes at this time to that infatuation which was productive of so many miseries in the details of human conduct. Was it forgotten that St. Domingo was almost in sight of Jamaica, and that Gaudaloupe was in the centre of our Leeward islands? The abolition of the slave trade appeared to be called for by every consideration of justice, of policy, and of humanity. The present opportunity was the most favourable that could present itself. If it was not adopted, such another opportunity might not speedily be found. It had been contended, that the agitation of the question at the present moment was ticklish, and might, in the West Indies, be productive of very serious consequences. It was a proper answer to this objection to state, that whatever danger might be supposed to exist, arose not from the question of abolition, but of emancipation. After the question of abolition was disposed of, any subsequent measures must be left to the colonial assemblies themselves, and with them it would rest how far the condition of the negroes was capable of greater improvement. It was not fair in those who opposed the abolition, to confound it with the question of emancipation, with which, in the first instance, it has no immediate connexion. His motives might be misrepresented, but he should not suffer this misrepresentation to deter him from the performance of a most important duty. The discussion of the subject had commenced 16 years ago, and surely sufficient time had been given to consider the subject in all its bearings and relations. But he was a little astonished at the imputations thrown out against the friends of the abolition. They seemed to think that the inhabitants of Jamaica had no means of knowing what was passing in the island of St. Domingo, though it was perfectly well known that their intercourse with that island was frequent. The negroes in Jamaica must be perfectly acquainted with what had taken place in St. Domingo; and if they had no other means of information, the West India newspapers left them in no want of seeking information in Cobbett's or Woodfall's Parliamentary Debates; their Gazettes were not at all delicate in stating, that the negroes of St. Domingo had shaken off the yoke under which they formerly groaned, and therefore it was quite absurd to talk of his speech producing any consequences which would not more strongly result from the statements to which he had alluded. He allowed that a convulsion in our West India islands was very much to be dreaded. He had long dreaded and anticipated it. He had even wondered that it had not taken place before this time. Happen when it might, it certainly would happen, if means were not instantly adopted to prevent it. Another argument used against the abolition was, that we might depend on the good treatment of the negroes in the West Indies from motives of interest, and on the middle passage, in consequence of the regulations already adopted. Interest was the great motive by which mankind were guided, and it was the interest of the masters to treat their slaves with humanity. In talking of the influence of interest, however, the nature of its operation was always to be kept in view. That was interest only, which was direct and immediate, which strongly addressed itself to the passions of men. No man could seriously believe that many of the enormities which disgrace the page of history, arose from considerations of interest. It would not be pretended that the most detested of the Roman emperors entered into their closet, and coolly devised those deeds of cruelty which disgraced their reign, with any views of individual interest. The fact is, that the enormities of which they were guilty were merely the result of passion, and not of previous calculation founded on ideas of interest. So it was with respect to cruelties practised on the negroes. Till it was proved to him satisfactorily that the masters of negroes had a clear, close, impressive interest in their preservation, he could not be satisfied with mere general pledges of their kindness and humanity. Let the abolition, however, once take place; let it be established that there shall be no other mode of keeping up the number of negroes but by encouraging their increase in the respective islands, and then the masters must feel an interest of the strongest kind to encourage their protection and support. Nothing short of this could correct the evils and remove the miseries connected with the system as it now existed. He conjured gent. before they came to a vote, to consider well the dreadful picture of slavery from one end to the other. He beseeched them to contemplate the miseries which the unfortunate African was doomed to endure from the time that he was first torn from his native woods, to the establishment of his permanent bondage in the West Indies. He was sure that it was impossible for a feeling mind to survey the picture without indignation, sympathy, and disgust. He had often endeavoured to prevail on the house to seal the condemnation of this nefarious system, and now, for the last time, perhaps, he pressed this subject on their attention. Since last he had brought the matter before the house, there had been a new parliament, and many new members might be among those whom he now addressed. There might also be present several of the members for another part of the united kingdom. It had been said, that no venomous reptile ever found its way into Ireland, and hitherto that country had never been tainted by any connection with the prosecution of the slave trade. The Irish were a brave, a generous, a benevolent people. He wished to call on their representatives on the present occasion, to deliver their opinions on the subject, and he was confident that they would not support a system which was the disgrace of this country. Let them now come forward boldly, with the declaration of their feelings, and assist in removing a stain which all good men had so long and so earnestly deplored. Having gone through all the general arguments, the hon. member concluded with a few words connected with his own conduct in bringing forward the business. If, on the one hand, he was accused of pertinacious obstinacy, or on the other of lukewarmness for the last two or three years, he had only to declare, that on every occasion he had been actuated by the most scrupulous desire of seizing on that moment which seemed to him most favourable for the discussion of the subject. If he had delayed the motion which he should now submit to the house, it had been from a firm belief, that on former occasions it could not have been urged with equal propriety or probability of success. The cause which he had undertaken he should never desert, as long as he had a head to understand, a heart to feel, or a tongue to deliver his opinions. He reckoned it one of the greatest honours of his life, that he had been honoured with the original agitation of this most interesting question. It had been his good fortune, in the course of all the long discussions on it on former occasions, to meet with the support (with a few exceptions, of all that is good and great, in the various characters of whom the house is composed; to have enlisted on his side whatever was estimable in talent, in humanity, and in virtue. This support he reckoned not only as the best testimony in defence of the cause which he had undertaken, but also as an honour to himself, who had been the instrument of its engaging so much of the consideration of

Parliament. He did not wish to trespass farther on the attention of the house, and should therefore set down with moving for leave to bring in a bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade within a time to be limited. For differences of opinion as to the time of the abolition, he was prepared to expect; but he called on all who were friends to the abolition, to vote with him on the present occasion, as ample opportunities of explanation would be afforded in the committee on the bill, if it was suffered to be introduced.—The hon. member then moved, "that the house do resolve into a committee, to consider of the propriety of the introduction of a bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade within a time to be limited."—The motion being put from the chair,

Mr. *Fuller* contended, that the situation of the negroes in the West India colonies was equal, nay, superior to the condition of the labouring poor of this country. They were better fed and more comfortably accommodated. He maintained that their labour was not nearly so severe. The best of the negroes did not in general perform half as much labour as even the most indifferent of our labourers. It was not, he argued, true that the negroes felt themselves miserable under English masters. The very reverse was the case, for they felt themselves happy under an English master and an English govt. He had letters in his pocket which assured him of the fact, and he knew it from his own experience. The way of punishing negroes for offences was to threaten them with transportation to their own country, and a return to the govt. of their native tyrants. He had made trial of this mode of punishment, and he had found it effectual. The same opinion had been supported by a member of the colonial assembly of Jamaica, a man of the highest worth, and the most distinguished humanity. The tyranny of the native princes of Africa was so disgusting, that it must have inspired horror. In the history of that country he had read of almost incredible instances of cruelty. Their palaces were not unfrequently covered with the skulls of their murdered subjects, and in their court-yards piles of bones were deposited to inspire the miserable followers with a due portion of awe. It was true, as had been described, that all law was set aside, and that for witchcraft, and other accusations equally ridiculous, thousands of victims were banished their country. When the negroes got to the West Indies, they were not divested of these foolish notions. On his own estate he had been obliged to hang a negro for having killed 4 others on an imputation of witchcraft. A good deal had been said about the capacity of the negroes. He had never heard the Africans deny their mental inferiority. They had never hesitated to confess to him, that they could not vie with Europeans in talent or knowledge. In matters of ingenuity or calculation, they were no match for the inhabitants of the other quarters of the world. It had been contended, that no attempt had been made to keep up the stock of the negroes. This was not a fair statement. The attempt had been made by many respectable individuals, but without adequate success. A very worthy friend of his in Jamaica, and one who yielded to no man in humanity, had carefully directed his attention to this object. He himself had followed the same course; but owing to the impossibility of procuring a sufficient number of female negroes, it was impossible to keep up the stock without fresh importations. He did not deny that the immediate abolition of the slave trade was a great object, if practicable; but it did not appear to him practicable in the present state of the West Indies. Even if we were to give up the importation, negroes would continue to be imported. He had heard, indeed, within the last few days, that Dessalines had determined to take up shipping, to bring fresh cargoes of negroes to St. Domingo. Of the hardship which the negroes suffered, he really knew nothing. They had, on the contrary, considerable means of comfort. They had it in their own power to save money; but this money they preferred spending in wakes and other meetings, where they enjoyed themselves according to their own peculiar customs. The Maroon war had been alluded to, and the situation of the free negroes had been described in very favourable colours. He begged here to state, that in that war only 8 or 10 individuals joined the Maroons. Those negroes who were represented as so oppressed, preferred staying with their masters, to engage in this contest. He admitted that the slave trade was not moral in its nature or origin, but he thought that it arose out of the peculiar circumstances of Africa. We had heard of the history of that country for 600 years, but we saw no rays of improvement or civilization. If the inhabitants had been capable of civilization, they could easily have been able to drive off their coasts a few African slave ships, and thus have prevented the original establishment of the trade. Something in the internal circumstances of the country must then have favoured the establishment of the system, and it had from these causes gradually obtained a footing. He asked the house, by way of illustrating the argument, to reflect on the means by which we had acquired our Eastern empire. In the first instance, we only asked a little corner for the purpose of carrying on our trade. We had gradually usurped the dominions of the natives, had made a conquest of their country, and had become that great people which now enabled us to hold up our heads against all the mischief and ambition by which we were threatened by France. It was plain to all those who studied the history of mankind, that people always got on by degrees in prosecuting their favourite schemes. They began with a little, and soon got on to something more substantial and permanent. So it was with the slave trade. It would have been a good thing if it had been checked before it got to its present head; but as it had gone on so far without correction, he did not see that it could be now abolished. If it could be rendered more palatable, if rules for diminishing its severity could be adopted, he should be happy to give them his cordial support; but he did not think the hon. gent.'s object practicable; he should therefore vote against the motion.

Mr. *Barham* wished to detain the house only a few moments, while he stated the grounds of the vote which he meant now to give in support of the motion. He had on former occasions voted against the proposition of the hon. gent. and the chief ground of his objection then was, that he was not satisfied as to the practicability of the plan of abolition. On the present occasion, as formerly, a good deal had been said of the cruelties to which the negroes were subjected. He did not dispute that these representations were made with a complete conviction of their truth. He felt it his duty then to say, that he believed, or, more properly speaking, he knew that they were in a great measure unfounded, or materially exaggerated. Instances of individual cruelty could not be denied. His own opinion was, however, that the negroes were generally treated by their masters with kindness and humanity. In many respects their situation appeared to him materially superior to that of the poorer classes of the community in this country. He did not wonder, indeed, at the credit which the statements of the cruelties practised on the negroes obtained. It was natural to suppose that power, when totally uncontrolled, should be abused; and unless in the present case such a control existed, such cruelties might have been perpetrated. But in the case of the masters of the negroes, interest operated as the most powerful inducement to humanity. It was impossible to conceive how masters generally could be guilty of inhumanity to their negroes; and the best proof that they felt no revenge or resentment, was their spilling their blood in the defence of the life or the property of their master. These observations he felt it his duty to make previous to his stating the grounds of his intended support of the motion. He had objected to the abolition of the trade formerly, because it struck him that it would have been immediately followed by a contraband trade, to which the control of parliament did not apply. By countenancing the abolition formerly, he was afraid of this sort of uncontrolled traffic, instead of that regular, modified, and controlled trade, which it was the object of the house to establish previous to its final abolition. As a proof that this sort of apprehension was not at all imaginary, he had very good reason to believe, that at the time the abolition was formerly expected, arrangements were actually preparing for carrying on the trade under foreign flags. Conceiving that the plan of immediate abolition was impracticable, his object had been every year to clog and fetter the trade, without producing in its room a contraband trade. His aim was, by every possible means to curtail the importation of negroes, to discourage the working of uncultivated lands, and to offer some compensation to the masters, with the view of effecting this most desirable object. It was his wish also, to have seen every other means adopted for increasing the number of negroes born in the several colonies, to have seen the character and feelings of slavery as much as possible softened and improved. It was an observation of Mr. Burke, whose loss all of them deplored, that slavery could never be abolished on the African coast, but must be first abolished in the West Indies. He had seen a paper drawn up on the subject by that great man, and that was the sentiment which it contained. Opposing the abolition of the trade formerly, he would not oppose it now, because he saw no reason to dread the establishment of the contraband trade now, of which he was formerly so apprehensive. At this time the colonists were less disposed to enter on such a trade. Their profits were not one-third of what they used to be, and their temptations to speculation were consequently curtailed. There would besides be less inducement to wish the importation of fresh negroes, when that importation was at the best only tolerated. On this ground he should support the motion for going into the committee. What the resolutions which the hon. gent. meant to introduce were, he knew not; but he hoped they would be of a wise and conciliatory description. With the colonial proprietors every thing could be done better by conciliation than by force. As to the objection derived from the prospect of emancipation, it did not seem to have such weight as should induce any gent. to oppose the motion: that was a matter of ulterior regulation, and ought not to affect the present question.

Mr. *William Smith* complimented the liberality and sense of justice manifested by the hon. member who had just spoken, and expressed his hope that the sentiments which he had delivered would not fail of producing that impression upon the house to which they were entitled, as they evidently proceeded from a just and benevolent policy—a policy which, he had no doubt, actuated many other West India merchants. With respect to their interests, therefore, he meant to say very little. They who understood their interests best, were forward to coincide in the motion before the house; a motion which he could not help saying that he was surprised to see the house now engaged in debating. What, that after having 12 years since resolved in the most solemn manner that this nefarious trade should be abolished—after the almost unanimous sentiment of parliament, and the country had so long since declared that it ought not to be suffered to exist, the house should at this day be called upon to deliberate upon the propriety of putting an end to it. Although, as to the nature of the slave trade, no difference of opinion ever appeared to prevail at any time it came under discussion, it was extraordinary indeed to find, that after a lapse of 12 years, not one step had been taken towards the execution of an object so universally admitted to be desirable; and it was still more extraordinary, that the few remaining advocates of this traffic should seem to insist that the onus probandi of shewing the impolicy and iniquity of its continuance, lay with its adversaries: but even admitting that, he would ask, could any thing be easier than to shew that it was a business of such a nature, as ought not to be for one moment endured? Could any proposition be more simple than this, that the practice of buying and selling men and their posterity to slavery, was inconsistent with the character of an enlightened and Christian country? The proposition was such, that to state it was enough to insure the assent of all men who thought or felt justly. It was such, in fact, as was supported, independently of humanity, by volumes of evidence, as to its injurious tendency in a political view, and such as could not be opposed by one reason of the least force; unless, according to the vulgar remark, that possession constituted nine points of the law, he could not tell upon what ground this trade could be allowed to stand. An hon. gent. (Mr. Fuller) had observed truly, that this trade ought to have been prevented in the first instance; but that as it had got a footing, he did not know that it ought now to be abolished. That surely, however, was a strange argument, that because injustice had been permitted heretofore, we should not, as soon as we perceived it, put an end to its existence, and particularly where it was an injustice of such a nature, that if it had not been in existence, he had no hesitation in saying, that there could not be found a man who would venture to propose its establishment. Why then should it be held that, because such a trade had continued so long, that therefore it should be suffered to continue still longer? If it should be said, in opposition to the proposal for the immediate abolition of this trade, that the West India planters would be liable to much injury, arising from the scarcity of supply, he would maintain, that such an objection could not be attended to; for those gent. had received sufficient warning of the intentions of parliament. It was incumbent upon them to consider the nature of evidence laid before that house and the country, and to provide against an event which, from the resolution of parliament, they had every reason to look for. He did not mean to insinuate that such provision should arise from any increase of rapacity on the coast of Africa, but from a change of system in the management of the slaves in the West Indian islands; for there was no principle more palpable than this, that the West India merchants, if they complained of any injustice done them by parliament, should not attempt to seek redress among the unhappy Africans; those upon whom such evils were inflicted by this odious traffic, that the conduct of it in that case alone was sufficient ground to rest an argument for its total and immediate abolition. Without referring to the treatment of the slaves on their passage, and in the West India islands, or to those regulations which had been enacted from time to time relative to their passage, which, by the bye, he understood were generally evaded, he was convinced that the proceedings in Africa were alone quite enough to satisfy any good man that it was impossible to justify resistance to an immediate abolition. When he considered the voyage, the transportation of the poor negroes, and all the circumstances connected with such a transaction, all the evils which were inseparable from its nature, he could not think it necessary to adduce any evidence to prove the miseries which must co-exist with this trade; but yet evidence had been laid before the house on a former occasion, which went amply to detail those miseries; evidence which could not leave a doubt of the aggravated criminality of allowing the trade to continue; if even that part of the evidence adduced by the opponents of the slave trade were not resorted to, in order to urge the house to assent to the motion now in discussion, he contended, that the testimony of its advocates afforded abundant matter to sustain the call for abolition; for although the latter was presented with a view to controvert the former, although truth and justice was attempted to be foiled by a vast deal of sophistry and falsehood, he would venture to assert, that the object of this opposition failed so egregiously, that there was no one point which the friends of the slave trade wished to establish, that was not denied and disproved by some part of the testimony of their own witnesses, several of whom contradicted the others, and in some instances one witness contradicted himself. In taking notice of these contradictions and absurdities, he did not mean to say that any prevarication was intended, but merely to observe by what means truth will find its way, and justice triumph, in spite of opposition or artifice. The hon. gent. mentioned several of those absurdities, among others, that one witness stated, that a monarch or master who could sell, transport, or murder his slave, could not urge him to work; another witness stated, that negroes will readily cultivate corn, but very unwillingly cotton, although the labour necessary to the latter is much less than that at the former; another, that although the negroes will not be contented to work at home, they are yet very willing to go to the West Indies, with the full knowledge of the purpose for which they are to go; those statements, the hon. gent. said, he met with in the evidence taken before the Privy Council, and a committee of that house: but the most curious circumstance of all which he found in those depositions, was this, that although the negroes feel it to be a shame and punishment to be transported to the West Indies, they yet had no fear to go there. He found also, that which was certainly a phenomenon in the moral world, that although, as those witnesses deposed, there was no sense of morality among the Africans, and that convictions were so profitable to accusers, the accused becoming their slaves, the trials were, notwithstanding, quite fair, and a false accusation never succeeded. Those monstrous absurdities the hon. gent. quoted from the evidence laid on the table of the house, in order to shew the expedients resorted to to palliate the iniquity of the slave trade. If the witnesses who alleged such things as he had mentioned, asked him to believe them, he would tell them he would go as far as he could to give them credit for believing themselves what they stated. He would, however, be more ready to give them credit if they were mere speculative politicians, if they had no interest in view; but he reflected, that in believing their absurdities he was liable to be led to the sanction of a system of crime; for such persons would not be satisfied with the mere belief of their asseverations, they would require of the house to go forward, until they should stain their hands in blood. His heart revolted at such an object, and he trusted that parliament would indignantly spurn at it. If it were said that the negroes were subject to transportation for the most trivial offence, nay, that some were bred for slavery, he would ask, supposing the information true, whether it was consistent with the civilized character of this country to sanction such a system? There could be only one answer given. As to the assertion, that it was the custom of the native princes of Africa to sell their prisoners of war to slavery, and if the persons on the coast did not humanely purchase them for our merchants, those prisoners would be murdered, he considered it an idle tale. And here he could not overlook, that although it was stated that witchcraft was a fruitful source of slavery in Africa, it did not appear that any of those humane merchants, or their humane agents, ever made any attempt to remove that delusion. The greater part of the slaves sold, however, were brought to the coast from districts in the interior, of which the slave dealers know nothing. Those, which he understood to amount to no less than two-thirds of the whole number of the regular purchase, were condemned to this fate for causes to which the agents of the traffic are strangers, and they never take any pains to remove their ignorance. On the contrary, they say, that "no one would ask any questions on the subject but a fool; that such inquiry would spoil trade." Such was the language employed to excuse such immoral indifference; such insensibility to the fate of men, in all probability capriciously consigned to exile from their family and home. Such participation in the infliction of a severe punishment, without any previous inquiry as to the cause, without taking the least trouble to ascertain whether any guilt attached to the party punished. To guard against the repetition of this and all the other enormities, particularly kidnapping, which were inseparably connected with the slave trade, he called on the house to adopt the motion, and to follow up the purpose of his hon. friend. Kidnapping, than which nothing could be imagined more strongly marked with cruelty, he observed, had, according to the confession of the evidence already referred to, frequently happened, indeed without hesitation, occasionally resorted to. As Christians, as men, and as Britons, he called on the house to interpose and give its zealous concurrence to an object that involved the interest of so many thousands of our fellow-creatures; of those who possessed a common nature with us, and were, it could not be denied, intitled to the rights of humanity; yet towards them what was the conduct of this trade? Why to treat them like beasts of burden, to put them out of the protection of the law, for it was quite absurd, whatever might be said on the subject, to suppose that any law could protect a slave against his master. It was quite impracticable, particularly considering the power which the master had in the West Indies, and the mode of administering the laws. The slave was not, in fact, an accountable being. He could have no property in any thing, who had no property in himself. He had no instructor to let him know what the law was. He knew not how to obtain redress when aggrieved. He could not be bound by any law. To his master he might be bound by gratitude and affection, and it was happy where he was; but there could be no tie of duty upon him, for there was an incurable defect in the title that held him. There was a right inherent in the slave to abstract himself from such a title, while it was the master's interest to make him work and insure his servitude. Those two inclinations were at variance. There was no relation between the two, to regulate which the laws of morality could apply. To attempt to legislate for them would be absurd. Upon the whole, the hon. member conceived that he had stated sufficient reasons to justify the vote which he meant to give in favour of the motion; a motion which he flattered himself would meet an unanimous support; and he hoped that every West India planter would evince the same readiness as the hon. gent. to whom he alluded at the commencement of his observations, to abolish the nefarious and universally execrated traffic which formed the subject of debate.

General *Tarleton* said, that although he must consider himself as one of those persons proscribed by the hon. mover, he could not help expressing his disapprobation of this motion. At the same time he begged to observe, that the hon. gent.'s mode of proscription upon this question was as arbitrary as any that was ever resorted to by Sylla, or any other dictator. The hon. gent. had, he admitted, introduced much new matter into his speech, a thing the more to be wondered at upon a subject so often and so ably discussed. To the principles upon which the hon. gent. rested his arguments he could not hesitate to subscribe. His grounds were religion and morality; but he had pushed those principles to an extreme. Evils were to be met with in every direction; war was an evil of the greatest kind, and yet we were obliged to endure it. Many things were tolerated which could not be justified on strict principle. Though war was an evil, we still engaged in it; and though the national debt was a grievance, we still laid on new taxes, and contracted for loans. The hon. mem. compared the state of the country in 1792, when the resolution for the general abolition of the slave trade was adopted, with the present period, and contended that the difference was such as should urge the house to pause before it agreed to the motion under debate. In the former instance, the country was at peace, commerce and manufactures were flourishing, and only a gradual abolition was called for. Yet now, when the country is involved in a war that requires all our resources, and our commerce is embarrassed, an immediate abolition of this important part of our trade is applied for. Under the circumstances, he could not see the policy of such an application, and he hoped that govt. would interfere to protect the merchants, and defeat the views of the mover. The hon. gent. had taken notice of the alarm which his motion was likely to give to the persons concerned in the cultivation of the West India islands; and certainly the alarm already excited by the state of those islands, this proceeding was of a nature considerably to increase; but about that increase, perhaps, the hon. gent. was very little disturbed. Indeed, the hon. gent. manifested a disposition in this business still more arbitrary towards English trade than Bonaparte himself. The First Consul invited the powers of Europe to join with him in attacking us, in order to partake of our commerce; but the hon. gent. would deprive us altogether of one important branch of that commerce, in order to transfer it to other nations, and this at a time when every branch of our commerce is so much shackled. After stating that he should take other opportunities of delivering his sentiments more at large on this subject, the hon. member said that he did not think it necessary this night to put it to a division.

Mr. *Manning* expressed his surprise that a measure of so much importance as that before the house, should have been brought forward at this advanced period of the session; but yet he was perfectly willing to state that he felt the most perfect conviction of the hon. motives which actuated the gent. from whom it originated. He could assure him, that every proprietor of respectability, from Barbadoes to Jamaica, was grateful for his exertions, and felt much benefit from them. With respect, however, to the proposition for an immediate abolition of the slave trade, he begged to call to the recollection of the house, that by several acts of parliament, some so early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, British merchants were encouraged to vest their capital in this trade. If, then, parliament should determine on the immediate abolition of the trade, it would be felt, he trusted, that the merchants and others connected with West India property, who might lose by such a measure, were entitled to compensation. To ascertain the amount of such loss, he thought that a parliamentary commission should be appointed, and that a proposition to that effect should accompany the motion before the house. If parliament had changed its mind as to the expediency or justice of this traffic, it would be unjust to allow those who had embarked their capital upon the faith of parliament, to suffer any pecuniary loss. He called for this consideration upon the same principle as that which was uniformly acted upon where any public measure was productive of injury to the property of individuals. As no indemnity, such as he had alluded to, was connected with this motion, and also as he was adverse to the immediate abolition of the trade which gave rise to it, he moved that the other orders of the day should be then read.—The motion being put,

Mr. *Wilberforce* rose to state, that his motion did not refer to the immediate abolition of the slave trade, and that the time for that desirable event was to be considered in a committee upon the bill, and not in the present state of proceeding.

Mr. *Devaynes* asserted, that the country was as well governed, and the laws as fairly administered, on the coast of Africa, as in England. The hon. member added, in vindication of the slave trade, that he had had a conversation with one of the African kings, who told him, that if the slave merchants did not purchase from him and others their prisoners taken in war, those prisoners would be killed.

Mr. *William Smith*, adverting to the description he had before given of the law of the African princes, &c. said that he quoted that description from the evidence adduced by the hon. member who had last spoken and his friends. He contrasted some parts of the description, and particularly the statement that the prisoners of war, if not bought by the slave dealers, would be murdered, with the declaration, notwithstanding, of the hon. gent. that those African states were as well governed, and their laws as well administered as in this country.

Sir *William Geary* thought, that from motives of humanity, the total and immediate abolition of this trade should be resisted; because, if the proposition were adopted, he was very much afraid that the effect would be to transfer the trade to other nations, through whom the same miseries would be induced to slaves, of which the house had heard so much, and against which such provisions had been made by the benevolent exertions of the hon. mover of the proposition before the house.

Mr. *Addington* said, he should support the amendment, but on different grounds from those stated by the hon. gent. who moved it. The abolition of the trade, which formed the subject of debate, he always considered not as a question of expediency, but as a question of practicability; and in that view, if the motion had been for the appointment of a committee to consider of the means for the abolition of the slave trade, it should have had his concurrence; but as it stood, he must vote against it, because he felt that it would be impossible to carry it into execution. So contrary was the mode of proceeding proposed to the accomplishment of the object in view, that he was persuaded, should a bill be founded on the resolution described by the hon. member who opened the debate, such bill must be repealed before the trade could be abolished.

Sir *Robert Buxton* thought it most extraordinary that the house should be considering that question, when, 14 years ago it had decided that the slave trade should be gradually abolished. He had always wished, and voted for a gradual abolition; and he thought the character of the house, in point of consistency, implicated in this question. The question now was, whether the slave trade, which the house, 14 years ago, said should be abolished within a time, long since past, should be abolished at all, or not?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that if the motion before the house were for the immediate abolition of the slave trade, he should have no hesitation in giving it his warmest support, because he thought the first moment for abolishing that inhuman traffic would be the best. Nevertheless, he was ready to support any proposition that could approximate that desirable event. He would feel a satisfaction in any measure that tended even to a gradual abolition. To this he understood most gent. who had on a former occasion delivered their sentiments, to be friendly, and with the views of such members the motion was so worded as to coincide. Gent. therefore, of that description, could not, unless they had changed their opinions since the last discussion of this subject, oppose the original motion. Those who entertained an honest prejudice against this abominable traffic—a prejudice which had obtained many converts of late years, would, he hoped, be very far from objecting to the motion of his hon. friend upon such grounds as had been last stated. Into the discussion of the question at present he declined to enter, particularly as the very able arguments of his hon. friend had been quite unanswered; but as to the time of carrying the object of his hon. friend into effect, no time was prescribed by the motion. That circumstance would remain for the consideration of the committee on the bill. With respect to the practicability of the abolition, the right hon. gent. observed, that the same argument upon that point would apply to a gradual as to an immediate abolition; for if it was impossible for a British act of parliament to effect the object in the one case, how was such act to accomplish it in the other. This remark he addressed merely to the professed friends of a gradual abolition; but as to the practicability of the measure of abolition generally, as he had only heard the impracticability asserted, without the arguments upon which the assertion was grounded, he did not think it necessary to go into any argument upon the subject. He was happy, however, to hear from the hon. gent. under the gallery (Mr. Barham) such opinions, combined with other considerations, as fully satisfied his mind that there was no danger of this trade, if abolished by us, being taken up by foreigners—upon that score, there was no ground for apprehension. The right hon. gent. concluded with stating, that he would not at present discuss the question farther, although he could with difficulty refrain from entering into a subject in which he felt so lively and warm.

Mr. *Lee* contended the trade was an utter disgrace to the nation. We boasted of our freedom, and yet we sacrificed the natural rights of our fellow-creatures in this nefarious traffic. The hon. member who had urged this measure with so much ability and perseverance, would retire to his pillow with satisfaction, and enjoy that repose and tranquillity which is the reward of virtuous exertion. If there were hon. members of that house who were interested in this commerce, he hoped they would sacrifice their private emolument to a strict sense of public duty. If there were representatives of great and opulent towns, which owe their importance to such a trade, he trusted they would instruct their constituents rather to resign all future advantages from it than to barter the justice and honour of the country for these acquisitions. At a future time, he would enter more at large on the subject, and on the present occasion, the motion would receive his cordial support.

Mr. *Fox* said that he should trouble the house with very few words upon the question before them. Indeed, he rose principally with a view to observe the very extraordinary manner in which the gent. who spoke against the motion had treated the subject. The abolition of the slave trade was a question which was now 16 years under the consideration of that house. It was now near 12 years since the house had decided by a very great majority that the trade was in itself pernicious, and that it ought to be abolished. The present was a question which above all others might be now fairly said to have come to a crisis; and yet the house was told that it should hesitate. One gent. had allowed that there might some ill consequences result from the continuance of such a traffic, and yet he advised the house not to put a stop to it for the present. Another had also admitted the injustice of our continuing to sanction such a branch of commerce, and had recommended that the house should go into a committee, to consider of the practicability of the measure. What! when the house had so positively declared its opinion about 12 years ago with respect to the abolition. The very circumstances of the times, in addition to the former declaration of the house, were arguments in favour of the abolition. The acquisition of Trinadad was in itself a reason why the house should immediately come to some determination, and either declare to the public and to Europe that it was not consistent with our ideas, or with the policy of our system, to make any alteration in a trade, the injustice of which we have already acknowledged; or else that we should by our actions at once firmly convince the world that we were capable of giving up a species of traffic which appeared to us dishonourable, notwithstanding any profit that might be gained by its continuance. The honour, the character of the nation was at stake. Any person that was in the least acquainted with the Continent, must have already heard it whispered throughout Europe, that they were doubtful of us, and that it was supposed, that, however we might like lessons of morality, we could not be prevailed upon to give up a profitable branch of commerce very readily. If the house continued to act as it had done, admitting the impropriety, and yet at the same time abstaining from the abolition of, or even from giving any check to, that abominable traffic, it would be openly said throughout Europe, that we could but merely talk morality. That after all the sentiment that had been expressed against this trade, we had said again, that we would postpone the abolition of it to some indefinite period. He would repeat it, that on this question, above all others, was the character of the country at stake. There had not been any argument urged in favour of the morality of the subject, and, therefore, the house had now to make a public avowal to Europe of their determination at once to put a stop to that iniquitous practice, or else to announce to the world, that it had agreed to give its sanction to a measure which had not been supported by any principle of honour or of justice, but merely on the supposition that gain might possibly result from its continuance.

Mr. *Egerton* expressed a wish that the hon. mover of the question before the house would expressly declare to what extent he meant to carry his motion, if the house should happen to agree with him. At the late period of the month of May, many gent. had gone to the country, and he hoped the hon. member did not mean to press it in the absence of so many. He would be glad to know, whether it was intended that a bill should be immediately brought in and carried in the present session, or, whether it was now intended merely to obtain leave to bring in a bill for the abolition; and that the bill was to be discussed at the next meeting of parliament?

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, that he had only intended to express his opinion, and moved the house to agree with him on the general question. The committee would afterwards determine as to any particular term.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* expressed himself decidedly in favour of the measure of abolition at any rate. He wished to see the house agreeing to go into a committee immediately for the purpose of considering the propriety of bringing in a bill for that purpose.

Lord *De Blaquiere* observed, that the consideration of the question before the house would, on the present occasion, be for the first time presented to many natives of Ireland. But though it was a question which was new to Irishmen, it was not a question upon which they would find any difficulty in deciding, It was a subject, he was confident, on which the sentiments of all Irishmen would be immediately declared unanimous. The practice of the slave trade was repugnant to their feelings. He believed that he might, without presumption, have taken upon him to answer for the whole bulk of the people; but, for his own part, he had made up his mind as soon as he had heard the terms of the motion, and immediately resolved to give it his most cordial support.

Mr. *Patteson* wished to know, if the slave trade were abolished in the present session, whether we had any security that the Americans, Danes, and Swedes would consent to a similar abolition, as otherwise, the beneficial regulations of the middle passage would be done away, and the slaves placed in a worse situation than they were before.—The question was then loudly called for, and the house divided; when there appeared

For the order of the day	-	49
Against it	- - -	124
	Majority	—75

The original motion was of course carried, and the house resolved itself into a committee, in which the resolution was read and agreed to. The house resumed, and the report was ordered to be brought up to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, May 31.

[MINUTES.]—Pursuant to the order of the day, their lordships resolved into a committee of privileges, and Lord Walsingham having taken the chair, Counsel and evidence were farther heard, respecting the claim of Sir Cecil Bishop, bart. to the barony of Zouche. The farther consideration of the case was adjourned till this day se'nnight.—Several bills, chiefly of a private nature, were received from the Commons, and read a first time.

[CONDUCT OF JUDGE FOX.]—The Marquis of *Abercorn* rose, and stated, that he held in his hand a petition which he conceived to be of the highest importance to the judicial character, to the administration of justice, to the liberty, prosperity, and independence of the country, and to the rights and privileges of their lordships; in so far as it preferred charges against one of the judges in Ireland, in which all of these relations were deeply implicated. The petitioner was a person with whom the noble Marquis declared he was not acquainted, but of the integrity and unblemished nature of whose character, on the most minute inquiry, he had received the most satisfactory and convincing assurances. His name was Hart, and he was a gent. of considerable property in the neighbourhood of Londonderry, and in the county of Donegal, for which county he was one of the grand jury, when he experienced the acts of oppression, degradation, and injustice, complained of in the petition, exercised against him by Mr. Justice Fox, then making the circuit in the northern counties of Ireland. The misconduct of Mr. Justice Fox, had not been confined to this one single and solitary object, who now complained to their lordships, but had broken forth in every place, and on persons of every description, where it had fallen to his province to make the circuit. The petition was then read, a copy of which will be found in p. 529 of this volume. The noble Marquis enumerated a number of other charges of exorbitant fine against magistrates and jury-men, and of other acts of oppression practised by Mr. Justice Fox; one particularly, in which the Marquis himself, who was one of the governors of the county of Tyrone, was the object of his invective and animadversion. In speaking on this point, the noble Marquis declared, that he was actuated by no personal or private motive, in quitting, on the present occasion, the shades of obscurity to appear in public political life. He confessed he had been most grossly and unjustly abused at a period when domestic calamity had rendered privity the only balm which his parental feelings could receive. Such a stroke, probably might have been necessary to have awakened him; but, he trusted, that at this moment no personal feeling operated. He felt solicitous for their lordships; he felt solicitous for every person who might have an official situation to discharge; if they were thus unwarrantably to be dragged forward to public odium. The grandest boon which justice and the public, in these kingdoms, had ever received, was the independence of their judges. The more, however, that they were placed beyond the power of the crown, the more did it become that house to watch over their actions, and to see that justice flowed in pure and unpolluted streams. It was their lordships' province, it was their peculiar and bounden duty, to see, that the robe in which justice was arrayed, did not serve as a cloak for oppression and calumny.—As an excuse for not bringing the matter sooner before the house, the noble Marquis pleaded the peculiar situation in which ministers had for some time stood. He should not, he observed, follow up his present motion further than that the petition do lie on the table. He hoped it would be found a business of so great importance as to deserve the attention of the present ministers, and that he should not again be necessitated to bring it forward. There was another reason, however, which would prevent him from pressing it at this moment. He was anxious to have the presence of a noble friend of his, the Lord Lieut. of Ireland. He had no doubt that the same circumstances which had caused the dismissal of the late minister of this country; the disgrace of having acted conscientiously and uprightly in every part of his administration; the disgrace of having made the basis of his continuing in office a resolution not to use any undue influence or exertion to sway the favour of the public or of individuals; the disgrace of having quitted it, accompanied by the regret and good wishes of his sovereign, and of the public in general; would soon operate, as they equally applied to his noble friend, on occasioning his dismissal also. The noble Marquis then moved, that the petition do lie on the table. Ordered.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, May 31.

[MINUTES.]—Lord Lovaine and William Dickenson, Esq. took the oaths and their seats on their re-election.—Ordered, on the motion of Sir J. Newport, that an account be laid before the house, of the disbursement of 2000l. which was directed by the act of the 41st of his Majesty, to be applied to certain officers from Ireland.—Sir J. Anderson brought up the report of the committee appointed to examine the petition from the corporation of London, respecting a coal market; and upon the report being read and agreed to, the hon. member obtained leave to bring in a bill to alter and enlarge the powers of the act of the 43d of his Majesty, for establishing a Free Market for the sale of Coals in London, &c.—Mr. Cartwright brought in a bill for altering and amending the act of the 28th of his Majesty, with respect to Chimney Sweepers and their Apprentices. The bill was read a 1st and ordered to be read a 2d time.—Sir J. Newport adverting to the motion which he had announced his intention of bringing forward on this day, with respect to the operation of the Property Tax on persons deriving revenue from property situated in Ireland, stated, that as the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer was not in attendance, and as the papers necessary to his motion were not yet on the table, he should wave his purpose for the present, and as the session was so far advanced, postponed it to a future opportunity.—The Felons' Apprehension bill was read a 3d time, and passed.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the Irish Accounts Regulation bill, which was agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.

[CORN TRADE.]—Mr. *Western* moved the reading of the order of the day for the further consideration of the report of the committee on the Corn Trade, for the purpose of postponing the order until tomorrow.

Mr. *Patteson* observed, that the consideration of this report had been frequently postponed, and he wished to know the reasons which induced the hon. gent. to propose the farther postponement of it until to-morrow. The subject to which the report referred, he conceived to be of the utmost importance. It was one upon which he had taken every method in his power to acquire the fullest information. To the committee appointed to consider it, he had paid very close attention, and he had the misfortune to differ from the greater part of the gent. of which that committee was composed. This difference was of such a nature, that he hoped one of the motives for postponement was to reconsider the grounds of this difference. Indeed, the report was such, that he wished it to be totally reconsidered, for it would go, if adopted, to alter the bearing and tendency of our corn laws, and the whole system of our imports and exports, with respect to grain.

Mr. *Western* saw no objection that could, in point of candour, be advanced against deferring this motion till to-morrow. There was in the table proposed in the report of the committee, a deviation from the table fixed by the corn act of 1791; the reasons for which, though founded on the best principles, were not sufficiently explained in the body of the report. To obtain such explanation, and to satisfy the house and the public as to the motives of the change, it was proposed to move the recommital of the report.

Mr. *Patteson* acceded to the motion, and expressed a hope that when the report of the committee should again come before the house, it would come in another shape.

Sir *R. Buxton* thought the motion of postponement ought to be for a later day. He wished to know whether it was intended to-morrow to consider the report on the table, or to move for its recommitment.

Mr. *Foster* stated, that one reason for the proposed recommitment of this report was, that it would in its present form tend to affect the corn trade between this part of the united kingdom and Ireland. This was a subject which it was understood was to form the subject of another committee. With respect to the question to be submitted to the house to-morrow, of which the hon. bart. who spoke last wished to be informed, he had to mention that it would be this, whether the report should be recommitted or not; and from the advanced period of the session, it appeared to him that such recommital should take place as soon as possible, in order that upon the consideration of the general question, the report upon such recommittal, should be laid before the house in due time.—The motion was agreed to.

[DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY.]—Mr. *Ker* rose to ask the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether, as his promised motion respecting the defence of the country was deferred till Tuesday, upon which day an order stood for a committee to consider several petitions relative to the Irish linen trade, it was intended that his motion should precede that order? This question he was induced to put from a consideration of the solicitude entertained upon the linen business by a vast and respectable number of persons in that country to which he belonged, and because, if the right hon. gent. meant to submit his motion, it must, from its superior importance, claim the precedency, and the consideration of the linen question must necessarily be postponed.—Being on his legs, the hon. member said he could not refrain from observing upon the conduct of the right hon. gent. with respect to his long-promised plan of provision for the national defence—a plan which above a month since the right hon. gent. himself told the house that not one moment should be lost in bringing it forward, and yet it seemed that it was still unprepared, nor was the house assured that it would be ready even by Tuesday. The late administration, which he rejoiced in the recollection of having supported, were often charged with tardiness and hesitation, and particularly by that right hon. gent. who, in this instance was guilty of the fault which he had imputed to his predecessors; delay, indecision, want of energy and promptitude, appeared upon this occasion to be peculiarly applicable to himself.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* felt that it would not be consistent with the order of the house, to enter at present into the animadversions upon his conduct which the hon. gent. had coupled with his question. With regard to the question put by the hon. gent. he should say that it was his anxious and earnest wish to bring forward his motion on Tuesday; and if the other motion was likely to give rise to any debate, he should wish his own to come on first.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, *June* 1, 1804.

[MINUTES.] — The Earl of Dorchester took the oaths and his seat.—Lord Sheffield presented a petition from the ship owners, complaining of the suspension of the navigation act. His lordship said, he would not then enter into details, because the petition prayed for an inquiry into this subject; and, on a future day, he should move for an investigation of the complaints of the petition. He would only at present say, that the very naming of the suspension of the navigation laws would be sufficient to express the importance of the question he purposed hereafter to submit to the house. He was assured, that their lordships would feel with him, that they could not entertain too great a jealousy and anxiety respecting that which formed an important part of the whole foundation of our national wealth, prosperity, and power. The petition was ordered to lie on the table. Adjourned to Tuesday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, *June* 1, 1804.

[MINUTES.]—Sir J. Newport brought up the report of the bill for the relief of the poor ideots, &c. in Ireland. Ordered to be printed.—Mr. Wilberforce presented a petition from the debtors confined in the county gaol of York, praying relief. Ordered to lie on the table.—Sir J. Anderson brought up a bill for establishing a free coal market in the city of London. Read a first time.—Mr. Wilberforce brought up the bill for the abolition of the slave trade; which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Thursday next.—The attorney's indemnity bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Wednesday.

[CORN TRADE BILL.]—Sir *C. Bunbury* moved, that the report of the committee on this bill should be taken into farther consideration on Friday next.

Mr. *Patteson* said, that yesterday he had understood, by what had fallen from the gent. who was chairman of that committee, that, instead of any farther postponement, the intention was to have it recommitted.

Colonel *Bagwell* wished to know whether the bill was to extend to the corn trade of Ireland?

Mr. *Foster* replied, that although it might occasion a necessity for some alteration in the laws of Ireland, it would have no other influence on them, and would certainly be no ways injurious to the Irish corn trade.—After some farther conversation it was resolved that the farther consideration of the report should be postponed till Friday s'ennight. Adjourned to Tuesday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, *June* 5, 1804.

[MINUTES.]—The royal assent was given by commission to the volunteer consolidation bill, the Scotch excise licence, the Solway Frith fishery, the Thames and Medway navigation, the Pancras poor bill, and to four private bills.—The Earl of Suffolk presented a petition from certain persons confined for debt in the county gaol of Carlisle, praying relief. His lordship took the opportunity of making a few observations upon the general subject, which he thought one of considerable national importance. In order to bring it more fully to the view of the legislature, accounts should be made out as far as the same was practicable, of the number of persons confined for debt in the different gaols in the kingdom. There were a considerable number of petitions upon the subject on the tables of both houses of parliament, and he wished to know, from any noble lord competent to inform him, whether it was intended to adopt any measure in consequence? He thought some steps ought to be taken in the business; and, in that view, he had to lament the absence of his noble friend (Earl Moira), who could do justice to the subject from his extensive information thereon, and by the force of his eloquence. He understood that a considerable part of the number of those confined were for small debts; for debts under the amount of 12l. There was one principle which should be kept in view in all considerations of the subject: he understood that by the existing law, a person could be held in confinement, notwithstanding he gave up every shilling he had, and all his property to the creditor, for the residue which might remain of the debt. If this was really the case, when *bonâ fide* every thing was given up by him, the regulation, he thought, militated against the paineiples of the British constitution. There was another point connected with this consideration: if the creditor was enabled to hold the debtor thus in custody, he ought, at least, to be compelled to allow him a modicum sufficient to support his existence, which the present rate of allowance was not sufficient to. He also thought, that the number of persons confined for small debts should be distinctly specified in whatever accounts upon the subject should be laid before parliament. He concluded, that the petition do lie upon the table, which was ordered. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 5, 1804.

[Minutes.]—The house was summoned to attend at the bar of the House of Lords to hear the royal assent given by commission to certain bills.—The Speaker having returned, informed the house, that the royal assent had been given by commission to the volunteer consolidation bill, and to several other private bills.—The bill for the regulation of chimney-sweepers and their apprentices was read a second time, and referred to a select committee.—The London coal market bill was also read a second time, and referred to a select committee.—Mr. Shaw brought in his bill for the relief of insolvent debtors. It was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time this day se'nnight.—Mr. Sturges Bourne brought up the returns of the royal army of reserve for England and Wales, as also for Ireland. Ordered to be printed.—Sir J. Stewart gave notice, that on Friday next he should present a petition, complaining of the conduct of one of the judges of Ireland.

[Additional Force Bill.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, pursuant to the notice he had given, rose to lay before the house, the plan which he had in contemplation for maintaining a permanent additional force, and addressed the house as follows:—In entering upon the subject which it is now my duty to bring forward, I feel, Sir, a peculiar satisfaction in being enabled to state, that the principle of the measure which I shall have the honour of proposing, seems to be pretty unanimously agreed on. Not only those gentlemen who have hitherto appeared to have turned their attention most to the military defence of the country, but gentlemen on every side of the house, have expressed very plainly, that it is their clear and decided opinion that it is now important and necessary to devise those means which may be the most effectual for increasing, not only our internal strength and security, but also for considerably augmenting our regular army. It seems to be the unanimous wish of the country that we should have such a regular army as would be sufficient to take advantage of any favourable circumstance which might occur in the course of the war, and which now, and at all times, might be sufficient for preserving to the country that rank which it has hitherto held among the nations of Europe. Being, then, so unanimously agreed upon the general principle, we have now only to direct our best efforts to carry it into execution, and to consider by what means this necessary augmentation of our regular army can be effected with the least possible inconvenience or hardship to individuals, and without weakening those measures which have been adopted for the internal defence and security of the country. Without entering at large into the principle of the measures which have been already adopted for the defence of the country, I shall observe, generally, that the object of the plan which I propose is, in the 1st place, to do away those obstacles which are in the way of the recruiting for the regular army, and which, in a great measure, owe their birth to that competition which now prevails among those who recruit for the regular army, and those who recruit for a more limited description of service, from which competition the bounties are now so high. In the 2d place, I propose not only to do away those obstacles which now exist to the recruiting for the regular army, but to create a new additional force, that may be a permanent foundation for a regular increase of our army. And the third object is to adopt a mode for creating a force which, whilst it will produce the desired effect of furnishing recruits for the regular army, will also so far partake of the benefits of a regular army, as to render our troops of the line a more disposeable force for military services out of the kingdom, which they cannot be, whilst chained down, as at present, for our home defence. What I have further to suggest, may be comprehended under three heads: first, as to the amount of the force to be raised; secondly, the description of that force, including its limitation of service; and thirdly, the mode by which it is proposed to be raised and maintained. First, with respect to the amount of the force; and here my object is only to propose some new regulations, with the view of rendering more productive those regulations which the legislature has already made. My first proposal is, that, in addition to all the force already raised by the act of reserve, measures be taken to enforce the completion, and make good the deficiencies in the amount of the quota enjoined to be raised under that act. The amount of this deficiency may probably be between 8 and 9,000 men. Some difficulty occurs in ascertaining the exact amount;

but by every information and return, I am persuaded it does not exceed 9,000 men. My first object then is, that such deficiency shall be made good; and that under such regulations as I shall afterwards detail. My next proposition is founded on a desire of reducing the militia to its ancient establishment of 40,000 men for England, and 8,000 for Scotland, exclusive of the supplementary militia; not that I mean to propose any immediate reduction, but only to interfere so far as that force is not complete. My idea is, that what remains due should be raised forthwith, and carried to the additional force now proposed to be created. I understand there are about 7,000 men wanting to complete the establishment of the militia of England to the number of 60,000. What I propose is, that this deficiency should be raised and transferred to the army of reserve. I would also propose, with regard to the vacancies in the militia, now existing, or that may occur, that instead of their being supplied, no means should be taken to fill up these deficiencies till the scale be reduced to the number of 40,000. So, far, then, my plan goes to the extent of 9,000 men remaining to be raised for the army of reserve, and 7,000 for the militia. My plan proposes to transfer a portion of that force already voted to this which is to be raised; and that this force shall be completed, subject, however, to a change in the mode of completing it. Supposing, then, that we have succeeded in raising the whole that is now due to these two sorts of force, I wish also to add, what was not contained in the original act of reserve, but which appears to be necessary in order to render this force available, so as to set the regular army at liberty, and to render it a disposeable force, and fit to act in a manner suitable to the station which this country ought to maintain amongst the powers of Europe. I would propose, then, that in proportion as any of this force shall enlist into the regular army, whatever be the number of vacancies thus occasioned, they shall be distributed in order to their being filled up amongst the several counties—and by the same quotas which are already fixed, according to the population of the respective counties; but with this proviso, that the number thus to be raised, shall, in no case, exceed one-sixth part of the whole of the force so to be created. This, I calculate, would produce a supply of recruits for the regular army, of not less than 12,000 men. It appears from accounts which have been received, that the number of those who have thus recruited into the regular army from the other forces, has been about 13,000 men. It has been thus found by experience, that many will afterwards embark in the regular service, after being used to a military life, who would not at first engage in any other than a limited service. Thus, if, by transferring what is due to the militia for G. Britain (which, if complete, should amount to 74,000, this being the number parliament has already agreed to raise) to this new-created force, may not a considerable number be reasonably expected to accrue from thence to our regular army? And thus, may not the proposed plan not only prove advantageous, in the first instance, to increase our national defence, but also be adopted with a view to forming a permanent, and efficacious system, for the recruiting our regular army? If so, I flatter myself that this measure will appear one that answers the description I have given of it, of being likely to afford an important additional means of augmenting, to a considerable extent, the disposeable force of the country?—The other point to which I referred in recommendation of this plan is, that of its removing the present existing obstacles to the regular mode of recruiting. These obstacles are those which arise from the competition between the several species of force, and from the high bounties which are now given to raise men for the army of reserve. As long as the system shall be allowed to prevail, of calling upon any person to serve either by himself, or by paying a heavy fine, as individuals are liable to under the existing laws, so long it is impossible to hope during a time of war, to reduce the bounties within moderate terms. Any person not finding a substitute is liable to a fine of 20l. and that during every succeeding year; the parishes also are liable to a fine of 20l. at each quarter sessions till the vacancies shall be supplied. The powerful motive thus pressing both upon individuals and parishes to free themselves from such a burden induces them to offer high bounties to obtain substitutes. I do not mean, however, to call in question the original policy of the act of the army of reserve, under the existing emergency; but I cannot consider it as one intended for a permanent measure. My wish then is, that we may possess the advantage resulting from the original measure, but that we may guard at the same time against the inconveniency which has been collaterally introduced. I wish, therefore, to propose a mode of ballot less burdensome, by imposing a moderate fine, and excluding those on whom the ballot shall fall from every temptation to offer extraordinary bounties. But, at the same time, my proposal maintains the principle, that the person shall either serve or fine. If the person declines to serve, it is proposed that the ballot shall go on; but if no such person willing to serve, nor substitute can be found by the individual, then the parish shall be bound to provide, but guarding, at the same time, that no higher bounty shall be offered than that which is already fixed by law. I propose that the call to be made on each county for the supply of this force shall be in proportion to its population, and according to the regulations already framed in the acts for raising the militia and the army of reserve, and that the deputy lieutenants shall arrange the numbers to be raised in each division. But where individuals are unwilling to serve personally, then the parishes shall be obliged to raise the specified number. I mean to suggest, that the means of recruiting be referred to the parish officers, to those who may be supposed to have acquaintance, and a degree of influence in their respective parishes; and I would propose that in the event of individuals being fined, such parishes shall incur no pecuniary burden whatever, and I wish this fine not to be considered in the nature of a tax, as it is called for only as the price of service. It is by no means my desire to convert this inaptitude for service into any medium of taxation, nor to call for public contributions. Therefore, if persons, in their respective parishes, can be induced, throughout every part of the kingdom, to influence their neighbours to come forward, I consider that it ought to lie with the state to find the means of paying the men thus to be brought forward, and that the receiver general of the land tax be empowered to advance the money. It is only in the event of default, and the parish not finding recruits in proportion to its population, that I propose the fine shall fall upon it; but at the same time, that the certain and moderate fine which they shall be required to pay shall be carried to the general recruiting fund. The effect of this measure, I think, will be to afford a strong inducement to parishes to procure men, if men can be found; and there can be no doubt in my mind, that the local acquaintance, the exertions, and influence, which parish officers may be supposed to have, will be found a much better means of producing the force wanted, than a general, loose system of recruiting. Add to which, that whatever be the advantage gained by the method now suggested, it will be gained without any sacrifice of the other means of general recruiting, either of those now in use, or which may hereafter be adopted. The benefit accruing from this measure may be fully expected to result from it, whilst we are assured that the bounties to be granted will not be so large as those given to recruits for the regular army. I confess, therefore, that I feel sanguine in my expectation that the general outline of this measure must receive the general approbation of all who are anxious to improve our means for establishing and increasing our regular army, and must particularly meet with the approbation of every gent. who is convinced that it is needful that the obstacles to the recuruiting service ought to be removed, or at least diminished. This plan furnishes a considerable prospect of increasing the army, and at the same time of diminishing the hardships which the country has already suffered from the present method of recruiting. At all events, the trial ought, in my opinion, at least to be made, because it can be done without hazard to any other system, on which, I am apprehensive, we must exclusively rely, if this plan be not adopted. I have no doubt, but that by rigidly enforcing the provisions of the army of reserve, an addition might be raised; at the same time, I believe, that the measure I wish now to propose is as likely to be effectual, and with less hasardship, whilst it appears to me better calculated to increase our regular army, and remove those heavy fines, high bounties, and other inconveniencies, which result from the present system of recruiting. 3dly, If, however, the case should happen, that the parishes should not be able, with the bounty found them by govt., to raise their proportion of men, the next question will be, how is the quota to be supplied? I propose that, in this case, the commanding officer of the district shall be empowered to raise the deficiencies, by means of regular recruiting, and that he shall pay the same bounty to the men thus raised as the parishes were to have done, but less than what is allowed to recruits for the regular army. In this case, I think it is probable that, in large manufacturing towns, there may be found a number of persons willing to enlist for a limited service, and who may be afterwards induced to go into the regular army. As this part of the recruiting service will be under the direction of the officers of the army, with the bounty fixed, and less than that allowed for recruiting the regular army, it cannot induce persons to enter into this species of force, who might otherwise be disposed to enter the regular army; but it may induce persons to enter, in the first instance, for a limited service, who, after being accustomed to the habit of a military life, may afterwards feel disposed to volunteer into the regular forces. Thus, this part of the plan proposes one great advantage; whilst, if it should fail, it can produce no disadvantage. I think that my plan will afford a considerable alleviation to the hardships which the country has suffered since the war; that it will render the call effectual, which has been already made upon the country; and, at the same time, that it will enforce the measures already adopted, but by modes more clement than those before thought of. With respect to those parts of the country which have become liable to heavy fines for not having made good the entire complement of men required of them, it is to be considered that, as the law now stands, every parish is liable to be assessed for every quarter of a year; and, for every man that is found deficient, to suffer those penalties to be exacted, and judgments inflicted, I think would be an act of considerable severity; at the same time, it will be more cheerfully submitted to, if it be stated that they may free themselves from these fines, by raising the men required according to my plan. I think that where there is an accumulation of fines, and these fines not enforced when they took place, it would be unfair on the part of the public to enforce them, if it be found that there is any difficulty in the act for enforcing the payment of them as soon as they become due. But it appears, that in the practical execution of the act, various difficulties have occurred in the way of enforcing the penalties. The commanding officer has been unable to make out the necessary certificates in time to shew the justices at their quarter sessions. Therefore we are not to wonder, nor be discouraged, if the act should not have reached its full effect. And when it is considered, that since the war, we have had to raise both the army of reserve, and also to make a considerable increase to the militia, no argument can be brought to prove that a more successful call may not be made upon those parts of the country that have hitherto been found deficient, and that, by measures less oppressive, and at the same time more calculated for giving it effect in a summary, expeditious, and effective manner.—I have now farther to propose, that the forces to be raised be subject to the same limitation of service as the army of reserve is, namely, for five years, or during the continuance of the war, and for six months after the termination of it; and that, whilst they continue in corps of such a description, they shall not be liable to be called out for foreign service. Then, as to the manner of arranging this force, nothing appears to me better calculated to render it serviceable, as a medium of recruiting for the regular army, than the plan of annexing the whole of it, in the form of second battalions, to the regular army. The house, Sir, are, I am persuaded, sufficiently aware of the sort of connexion that must be formed between the two battalions attached to each other in the manner I propose. The promotion of officers must, of course, be reciprocal and indiscriminate. The consequence of this will be, that a constant interchange between the two battalions will be taking place. The officer in the second battalion, while he is employing his labour to complete his men in discipline, thinks that he may soon meet them in another situation, and reap the reward of his labour by leading them with honour against the enemy. The soldiers, on the other hand, are animated to the discharge of their duty by this reciprocity of services. They cannot hope to escape from their present commanders, who, perhaps, may have been the witnesses of their negligence, their carelessness, or their want of spirit. They have before them the prospect of being under the command of the same officers, under other circumstances, and, therefore, they are anxious to avoid that sort of unmilitary or criminal conduct which may subject them to the censure of their officers, or expose them to the contempt of their fellow soldiers. It is to be recollected, too, Sir, that a certain degree of affection and attachment must arise out of the system which I am now endeavouring to recommend. It is in the very nature of things, that the intercourse arising out of such a connexion must be followed by attachment. The interchange of habits must beget some degree of affection. A kind of family feeling must be created in the whole body. We have seen that out of 30,000 men raised last year, 10,000 were induced to join the regular army, though scattered and disjointed over the whole mass of the regular troops in this country. How much more powerful, Sir, must such a feeling be, when the connexion between first and second battalions is so close and animating as that which I have now described? In the one case there was no previous tie of attachment. In the other, there will be all the influence of known habits, feelings, and manners.—The plan which, with the leave of the house, I wish, Sir, to submit to their consideration, will, I trust, appear to have this additional advantage, that whilst it furnishes the means of recruiting the regular army, it will also render your internal force more complete, respectable, and capable of answering the end in view—the defence of the country. Here then it stands recommended, on the ground of its being the best in point of economy and national policy, for it will improve the quality of your internal force, and make one man equal to what two were before. This plan has the farther effect of rendering your regular army much more capable of being a disposable force than what it would otherwise be, whilst we should have to depend, not only upon the numbers, but on the quality of our troops.—Whatever aid we may justly expect to derive from the various species of our present existing internal force, and from none more than from the numerous and highly respectable body of volunteers; yet it is agreed, on all hands, that it would not be safe to trust the defence of the country entirely to those, who, whatever loyalty and zeal they have discovered, and even training they have had, yet have never had an opportunity of seeing actual service, and who agree in thinking, that some portion of experience, and prime military service, are necessary to give effect to their laudable exertions. But adopt the plan, which, with the leave of the house, I mean to bring forward, and you will not then be under the necessity of chaining down any great part of the regular army.—The explanation which I have now given to the house, nearly comprehends all that appears necessary for me to say at present, by way of the first developement of my proposed plan for the better defence of the country. My object then is to reduce the militia, which now consists of 74,000 men, to its former establishment; and the new force about to be created, will be a most important accession to the country, and will become a great source for the recruiting service. It will also have the effect of rendering the army completely disposable; nor can it obstruct any improvements which may be thought necessary in our military establishment. Now, as to the proposition with respect to the ballot, the only way in which it is to be restrained, is, that it may give us the chance of having the personal service of the individual to be ballotted for; and who, if drawn, may consent to take the bounty and enter into the service. And if he does not enter, he will have but a moderate fine to pay. I am very confident, Sir, that this part of the plan will have the effect of procuring a great many men on moderate bounties, by making it the interest of men drawn by ballot to enter. At least there can be very little doubt but that a great many more of them will enter than those who have hitherto entered. I very lately had the means of seeing an account of the number of those ballotted men who came personally to serve in the force I am speaking of; and I can assure the house that, out of 30,000, the number of those in Great Britain is not more than 2 or 3000; a number so trifling, that every body must feel how little benefit was likely to be derived from the ballot, as it has hitherto been constituted. Besides many inconveniences arose from that mode of ballot. Some persons who were drawn, could not pay the fine; others had subscribed sums of money to ensure themselves against being drawn. The whole sum was sometimes given to the man on whom the lot fell, who then either found a substitute, or served in person. Here no such inconvenience will result, but the effect of the ballot will be much more productive. With all the defects, the expenses, and the inconveniences of the system I am speaking of, I would still be ready to recommend it to the house, if I thought it was material towards raising men for the public service. But when I see the effect it has produced, and when I know how few men, out of those drawn by ballot, entered, I have no hesitation in saying, that I gladly avail myself of such a plan as may relieve the individual from great hardship; I therefore think myself justified in proposing the present plan. It is my intention, therefore, to move for leave to bring in a bill to carry it into effect. If the house will permit the bill to be brought in, I will move to have it printed for the use of the members of the house, and fix on some convenient day, suppose Friday next, for taking it into consideration; and, in the course of next week, the house may enter into the details of the measure. I do not wish to do any thing more at present than to state to the house those points in which the plan I have now stated, differs from the ideas I threw out some time ago upon the subject. There are some other circumstances, connected with our military system, on which I will take another opportunity shortly to address the house. I mean to bring forward some regulations with respect to the state of the army in general. I intend also to bring the subject of the volunteers before the consideration of the house, and to call its attention to that part of the general defence act which relates to the enrolment by classes. But as none of those points are connected with the present plan I am about to offer, I shall for the present confine myself to this plan alone. I therefore move, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for establishing and maintaining a permanent Additional Force for the defence of the realm, and for supplying his Majesty's regular forces, and for the gradual reduction of the militia of G. Britain."

Mr. *Windham* rose, and spoke to the following effect.—I perfectly concur with the ideas of my right hon. friend, so far as they regard the necessity of increasing our regular army, but I cannot help thinking, that the means which he proposes for that purpose, are very far from being likely to prove effectual. His plan, in this respect, resembles too closely the measures which have been pursued for some time past in this country. In many respects I confess that it differs from, and is much superior to, that hitherto acted upon. It is, notwithstanding, liable to considerable objections. Upon subjects of this kind nothing is more natural than that there should be differences of opinion. The plan proposed this evening is very different from that which was announced by my right hon. friend some time since. This serves to shew, that even within a short space of time my right hon. friend himself has changed his mind upon the nature of his own project; and unless he can change his mind still further upon this question, I can hardly flatter myself that I shall be able to support him. Indeed, I much fear that our sentiments are fundamentally different, and that I must be one of those who will be compelled to resist the project which he has to offer. What the points are on which I must oppose it I may more particularly explain upon a future occasion. At present I shall only state, and with as much brevity as I can, the general fundamental principles which urge me to refuse my concurrence to some parts of this proposition. I say some, because there are many parts which to resist would be to resist myself—would be inconsistent with the sentiments I have repeatedly delivered in this house, and which I hold at present. I mean that particularly which relates to the reduction of the militia. This is an idea which I threw out long since, and which I must be proud to find seconded by the authority and talents of my right hon. friend. Although it must be recollected, that when first mentioned it was very much censured, yet now it appears to be generally recognised as a wise and eligible expedient. Another point of the plan of which I approve is, the rejection of the principle of substitution. I should have been very glad to have got rid of this principle upon the condition of commuting service for a fixed fine; in which way certainly the evils of exhorbitant bounties would have been avoided: but I am much better satisfied to have compulsory service put an end to altogether. Both of these alterations therefore, namely, the reduction in the amount of the militia, and the abolition of compulsory service, I heartily approve of, and either expressly or by implication have long since recommended. I am also happy to understand, from my right hon. friend at the close of his speech, that it is his intention to bring forward a motion for a change in the condition of service in our regular army, by which I conceive him to mean, that men shall be enlisted for a certain term of years in lieu of the present custom. This, I think, and have always thought, a thing so desirable, that it was my determination, if it had not been taken up by any other member, to submit the question to the consideration of this house. I am glad to find that the idea seems to be adopted by an hon. gent. who is so capable, from his situation and ability, of carrying it into effect.—Having stated those parts of my right hon. friend's intentions of which I approve, I now come to the less pleasant part of my duty, that of stating the points of which I disapprove. In the whole of the proposed proceeding for raising men, there is introduced an injudicious mixture of the voluntary and the compulsory, of which the latter strikes me to be much too strong. This was one motive of my resistance to the army of reserve bill, the principle of which is preserved in the plan under discussion; and I remember, that in the course of the arguments offered in favour of that bill, the principal ground relied upon by its advocates was, that it would go to raise a body within a short time more effectually than could be done by any other method. This argument, as to expedition, which was founded on the circumstances of the moment, and which was made to overcome every consideration of future advantage, cannot be used with any effect now. We now find ourselves in a state, in which what is called present emergency, can no longer operate to remove from our minds what is due to the consideration of consequences which may take place at subsequent periods. We are not now called upon to consult for the present only. We are at least in circumstances in which we have a little pause and breathing-time to consider what is good for the country permanently, as well as for the present moment. If we were not, the plan proposed by my right hon. friend, must be given up altogether, for with a view to present defence it does not promise to effect any thing. On the other hand, its provisions are, as I before observed, in a very considerable degree compulsory. If the danger to be guarded against were imminent, and that a levy were necessary immediately, unquestionably a compulsory proceeding to obtain that levy might be the most effectual. Measures of that sort are undoubtedly in their own nature the speediest and most certain in their operation. Nothing seems to be so sure and direct in a case where men are wanted, as to pass a law, by which men shall be forcibly taken. But here care is necessary, to consider the nature and constitution of the country in which such powers are to be exercised. What is good for Russia or Prussia may not be good for Great-Britain. It is not that the power of enacting such laws is wanting in Great-Britain. In every country, free or otherwise, there is a power that is supreme; and that supreme power must, by the very description and name of it, be capable of enacting whatever laws it pleases. Whatever the King does in Prussia, or the Emperor in Russia, or the Grand Turk in Constantinople, or, what is still more, the Emperor of the Gauls in France, that may the King, Lords, and Commons, legally enact in Great-Britain. But the question then comes not merely as to the propriety of such enactments, but as to the means of carrying them into execution, and according to those means will be the advantage that is to be expected from the measure. In a free country, therefore, in a country like this, where nothing is to be done but by regular authority, where every thing must be conducted according to law and even according to usage, where there must be a constant regard, not only to men's rights, but even to their feelings, measures of compulsion will often fail of their effect, and show themselves to be ill-chosen, when the same measures, in countries of a different description, would be confessedly the most advantageous and judicious. Where the constitution of things is such, that the power of the state can go straight to its object; where the sovereign, as in Russia, or as in old times in this country, can call upon his great lords, and they again can call upon their vassals; where, as in Prussia possibly, he can send forth his recruiters, and with little ceremony take whatever men are fitted to his purpose, there compulsory measures, as they are unquestionably the most simple, so they probably are the most certain and efficacious: but the reverse may possibly be the case, where they are to be loaded with all the restrictions, exceptions, provisos and modifications, which must be charged upon them in this country. In such a complicated system of movements, half the power of the machine is lost in overcoming the friction.—These are the reasons why we must not conclude that a measure which is good in one country must be equally, or proportionably, so in another. A country and constitution like this is not good for measures of this description. Our compulsion is not good compulsion. It has not the strength and flavour of that which is the growth of more congenial climes. It would not follow necessarily, even if it had, that it would be equally beneficial with us as in other places. Inquiry must always be made, agreeably to what is the fact in the present instance, how the compulsory measure is likely to operate on measures of voluntary exertion that are to be going forward at the same time. Inquiry must likewise be made whether the voluntary measures will not render the compulsory unnecessary; for nobody, I suppose, wishes to have recourse to compulsory measures if you can do without them.—In the present instance, it happens both that the compulsory part, as there is all reason to think, is unnecessary, the voluntary being sufficient without it; and that the voluntary will not be able to do its work, if the other is persisted in. All the parishes are to be called upon for a certain number of men, to enforce their production of which (so much is their inclination doubted) a fine is to be levied upon such as fail to furnish their complement within a certain time. It is understood also, that the militia is to be suffered gradually to waste itself to a certain number, and that this difference is to be made good by men raised, in succession, in the way proposed, and who are to be transferred to this new army of reserve; so that for the regular army, which is professed to be the main object in view, the stock which will be left for direct recruiting, will be those who remain after deducting the amount of the present militia. A hope, however, is entertained (and this is the great strength of the measure) that men when once detached from their original habits, and engaged in military life, will enlist in great numbers from the force thus to be created. The fallacy of the arguments which make the foundation of this hope is obvious, for it may quite as well happen, that after men have so far caught the military spirit, (or rather so far lost the civil one) as to resolve to continue soldiers, they should remain in the corps from which they derived this feeling, and continue on the home service, as that they should enlist into regiments destined to serve abroad. If, however, some men should so enter, as it is to be presumed that many will, there is no reason to expect the number to be greater than will be necessary to compensate those, who having originally been disposed to a military life, and being persons who, if no such limited force had offered, would have engaged for general service, will now be satisfied with the experiment they have made, will have sown their wild oats, and either return to their former employments, or, at least, continue in that species of service in which they find themselves placed. I am not an advocate, therefore, for providing in greater abundance such species of force. I do not want to multiply the opportunities by which men, having a military turn and disposed to betake themselves to a soldier's life, may be drawn into services in which that propensity will be only half-indulged, and in which, in quite as small a proportion, the public service will be promoted. I have the strongest objections to this new-fangled scheme of dividing our public force into two parts—of crippling that part which is disposable, and increasing that which is not, in the ill-grounded hope of providing, through the latter, an augmentation for the former. This is the modern, indirect, circuitous, and fallacious mode of recruiting the army.—It appears now, that the propriety of abandoning the balloting system is admitted, and, in lieu of a ballot, my honourable friend proposes to raise men in another way; he means to commit the recruiting to parish officers. I will not say that this is not an improvement compared to the mode pursued of late, which, besides being so grievously oppressive to individuals, interfered so materially with the supply of the regular army by high bounties, &c.; but yet I would not be understood to believe that the plan before the house, will not operate considerably in the same way. For although the amount of bounty to be paid by the parish officers is limited in form, we can have no security that that bounty will not be generally exceeded. Those officers could have no particular motive for economy, and they must have a strong wish to save their parishes from the proposed fine. This wish will naturally render them anxious to procure men, and ready, if necessary, to give an advanced bounty. From this, all the evils complained of under the army of reserve act respecting high bounties are, in their degrees, likely to recur; for no sum short of the fine will of course be scrupled, so as to avoid the penalty, by raising the complement of men. Some parishes may, from pride, even exceed the fine in the allowance of bounty, rather than not bring forward their quota.—A great deal has been said, now and upon former occasions, about the hopes to be formed from individual exertion; but this appears to me to be altogether imaginary. Nothing can be conceived more helpless than an unfortunate countryman, who, in the midst of his day's work, or at his return home tired in the evening, is told that a ballot has taken place, and that he is one of the unlucky number upon whom the lot has fallen. If he does not happen to be insured, by being a member of an association club, he is as much struck down by the news, as he would by a stroke of the apoplexy. His first resource is probably to vent his complaints among his neighbours: but finding that this is but of little avail, and being told by some one of a substitute that has been heard of in a parish not far distant, he sets out on his mission, roaming about, like *David Simple*, looking for a true friend. In this way he wanders on, from house to house, and from village to village, spending his money, losing his time, tiring his horse, (or his neighbour's horse, as the case may be) filling the alehouses with his complaints, but helping to empty them of their beer, till good fortune or good advice directs him to one of those obnoxious, but, in these cases, necessary personages, called a crimp. There, at least, his labour ends; and, by the help of some 40 or 50 guineas, he is enabled to procure a recruit for the service, and an exemption for himself; at least, until the recruit shall happen to run away. The same thing, with circumstances in a slight degree varying, must happen in the case of the parish officers. What means upon earth have the parish officers to get men but those which they ought not to have? This measure, therefore, which among its other professions professes to abolish crimping, will go, if I am not mistaken, to extend and establish that system. I may almost say, it is to be hoped that it will: for if the parish officers do not supply themselves in that way, it is to be feared that they must have recourse to more exceptionable methods. What is the description of persons to whom they will first apply? and what will be the situation of any of those persons should the application not be successful? A man dependent on the parish, or in a situation of life to be charged with petty offences, will not fare, it is to be apprehended, very well, should the officers and principal proprietors of the parish have deemed him a fit person to serve his Majesty, and he by chance not be disposed to concur in that opinion. Let him take care how he applies, on his own account, or that of any of his family, for parish relief: how he is seen after dusk stepping aside from the foot-path, near any of his worship's plantations. Without saying to what degree these powers will be abused, it is sufficient to know that the bill holds out the strongest temptation to such abuse; nay, that its very hopes of success seem to be founded on that supposition: for if the parish officers are not to avail themselves of the powers which their office gives them, what advantages, I must again ask, have they for recruiting beyond what are possessed by all other men? For what purpose then, it is to be inquired, are these consequences incurred? For increasing the regular army? Not a man in the first instance is obtained for the regular army. All these compulsory means produce nothing but soldiers for home service. To engage them afterwards for more valuable service, we depend on the operation of bounties. Our forcing pumps will carry the water only to reservoirs of a certain height: from thence it must be removed, to the level at which it is wanted, by machinery of another kind.—The idea comes then to be considered, founded on the supposition that a force of this limited nature is to exist and to be made the instrument of recruiting the regular army,—of attaching particular regiments of one service to particular regiments of the other, so as to give to each regiment of the line a peculiar and appropriate source of recruiting, in the battalion of the army of reserve that is attached to it. From this arrangement great advantages are expected, such as we have heard set forth with all the embellishments of my hon. friend's eloquence. It is the great foundation on which our hopes of giving effect to the plan of a stationary force as a means of recruiting the regular army, are made to rest. But of this arrangement it must be observed, that while it affects by its form to be something positive, and to confer powers not before possessed, it is in truth nothing but restriction and prohibition, principles merely negative, and by which, in the first instance, powers must always be taken away instead of being given. When you say that all who shall enlist from the army of reserve shall enter severally into such and such regiments, it is the same as to say, that they shall enter into no other,—a regulation of which the prohibitory part is far more extensive than the enacting, and which, in the first instance, therefore, is calculated rather to diminish the numbers of those who may enter than to increase them. There is little doubt that such will be its final effect. By establishing that connexion which this plan has in view, such a provincial character may, it is possible, be imprinted upon certain corps, as may create motives for entering into the service which would not otherwise exist, and by which men will be gained who would otherwise remain in the home battalions, or would not enter the service at all. But against this must be set, the chance that this provincial character will in innumerable instances never be established; and that when it is, it will not by any means produce effects, equal to the disadvantage of the restriction, by which alone it can be brought about. To make a corps provincial, you must secure to it exclusively the recruiting of the corresponding battalion; in other words, you must deny to the men of that battalion, the privilege of chusing the corps into which they would wish to enter. When you have done all this, such may be, from various causes, the necessity of supplying this corps from other quarters, of making good its losses by other means than those of its own recruiting fund, that its provincial character may be wholly lost, or, at least, but very imperfectly traced: and after all it is to be considered what this character will do, estimating its effects according to the present state of society, and the motives which in general influence those who enter the army as soldiers. The bond of local or county connexion is far less strong than it was in this country 40 or 50 years ago. A thousand motives will operate with men in the choice of a regiment more powerful than their attachment to the name of their county, or even than their desire of finding in the regiment those provincial properties which it may really possess. A man would be disposed to enter, but that the regiment to which he must now be confined is abroad, and he wants to stay at home; or is at home, and he is desirous of seeing the world or has an ardour for service, and would wish to go abroad. The regiment is in Canada or Nova Scotia, and he wishes to go to Gibraltar; is in a hot country, and he wishes for a cold one, or *vice versâ.* For county connexion he cares nothing, having left the county when he was a boy; but by entering with the recruiting party now in town, he shall go where he may hope to see again his old sweetheart, Bet such-a-one, or be in a corps with the comrade, with whom he worked in London, who is now a serjeant, and may have the means, perchance, of making him a corporal. Such are the motives that dictate the choice of particular regiments among private soldiers; and, so far as they operate, this regulation will prove injurious. It will prove injurious, too, in the case of another class of men, be they more or less numerous, those whom my right hon. friend has particularly dwelt on, with a view to the discipline which he hopes to establish in these second battalions. If, says he, a man by idleness or misconduct should incur the displeasure of his officers, he cannot hope to escape them or to secure impunity, by enlisting into the regular army. He will go into a corps where his character will be sure to accompany him, and where he will meet, or be followed by, those very officers to whom his good or ill conduct will be known. It is amazing that my right hon. friend did not see, that this was a reason why he would not go into the corps at all, and not being at liberty to take any other, would remain to the end of his term where he was. In this instance therefore at least, the regulation in question will not do much: whatever advantages it may have with respect to discipline, it will not advance much the recruiting for the regular army. I see on the whole nothing in this plan, for which so many fair promises have been made, that is likely to have any other effect than to produce a large stationary force to be confined to this country. With respect to expense, considering that the measure does, in the first instance, fix the rate of bounty higher than has ever yet been known as paid by government, that the parishes will not be restrained within the rate so fixed, and that, whatever is ultimately given by the parishes, more must of necessity be given to men entering for general service, it will be impossible not to see, that in this view also, the measure must produce effects the most injurious, and that it holds a distinguished place in that system, which in less than forty years has raised the price of a recruit in this country from a guinea, to the enormous amount at which we now see it. Such have been the glorious fruits of a system of balloting followed up by the principle of commuting personal service for service by substitute!—Much has been said by my right honourable friend and others of the influence of a general military spirit in the country, and the propriety of promoting it. Upon this point I must say, that my opinion has always been, however paradoxical it may appear, that to put a nation in a state in which every man was a soldier, was not the way to make a military nation, or to carry the military strength of a country to its greatest height. A country in which every man is a soldier, is a country in which no man is a soldier. A system, such as is now proposed, would rather serve to damp and deaden than to encourage and animate the military spirit. It is a great mistake to suppose, that the military spirit of a country is cherished and kept alive by those only who appear in the military character themselves. The *un*-military part of the community contribute quite as much to this, and in a manner hardly less direct. They are the spectators or audience, without whom the piece would no more be performed than it would without the actors. We need go no further for a proof of this, than to inquire what the influence is, in promoting the military spirit, of that half of the community, which certainly takes no part in the service, namely, the women. In France formerly, a man would hardly have been spoken to, in the female world, who, not being engaged by some other profession, had passed his youth without service in the army. What more was necessary? A country in that state is a military country, let its military establishments be what they may: And the fact, in this instance, perfectly corresponds with the theory; for if we look round the world, it will be found that the military countries are not those in which, by the constitution, every man is enrolled as a soldier; but the contrary. France, the most military country, has nothing but its army. Prussia, Russia, Austria, in like manner. Even Switzerland, if it may be considered as military, was not so in virtue of its militia, but in consequence of the number of its inhabitants, who had served in foreign armies. On the other hand, in America, and in the little state of Geneva, if that may be reckoned, though neither certainly were considered as military states, every man was in some way or other a soldier. The reason of this is not difficult to be traced, and may be considered as two-fold: 1st, states not much engaged in wars, and with whom, therefore, on this very account, the military spirit is not likely to run high, will resort to the system of militia, town guards, provincial enrolments, and other establishments of that sort, in which numbers are to make up for quality; and 2dly, the very existence of such establishments, instead of exalting, will tend to abate whatever military feeling there might otherwise be. It can never be of advantage to that feeling to familiarize men to the contemplation of soldiers separated from those conditions which make the character respectable. An army merely defensive, and that can from the nature of it but rarely see danger, is deprived at the outset of that which forms the real and vital principle of those sentiments which the military character is calculated to inspire. It will, moreover, rarely be found to be a good army. Yet, upon these all the military distinctions, insignia, and decorations, are lavished in as great profusion, as upon troops in which the military character is complete. We may see how the fact is in that respect at the present moment in our own country, but we do not seem to be at all sensible of what are likely to be the effects. The volunteers have cloaths as fine, feathers as high, music of as martial a character, decorations of all sorts as captivating and imposing as those of the regular troops. If we continue to pursue this course, diffusing this lustre of military distinctions on that which is not military, and obscuring and eclipsing the regular army, there is danger, that the real military character may not only be enfeebled but destroyed. If you will resort to a contrary course, the true military spirit may again revive, and operating generally and powerfully, like the air we breathe, resume before long its proper influence, and produce its natural effects. If, in thus objecting to the plans submitted by my right hon. friend and others, I should be asked, whether I had any plan of my own to propose, I should answer, none; nor do I think any necessary. The only change I desire at present, is, to abolish the plans lately adopted, and, in the system of the army, to enlist men for a certain term of years, instead of the practice which now prevails of enlisting men for life. Let things, in other respects, go on as formerly, and there will not, I apprehend, be any reason to complain. I cannot see why all the machinery of law should be set to work upon our established military system. My only wish is to have it released from that machinery—to have all the obstructions in its way removed. A great medical writer, of the last century, has laid down a maxim for the conduct of the understanding in matters of science, which may be applied with little variation to the regulation of men's conduct in civil and practical life. *Vera cernit qui aliena rejicit.* Truth will appear as soon as you get rid of error. Affairs will often proceed perfectly well, if you will only remove the impediments and obstructions that are turning them from their proper course. Something analogous to this idea is what I should recommend upon the subject before the house. With good management, I am quite sure that men enough could be found in this country for the ample recruiting of our regular army. There is no scarcity of population. On the contrary, it is far more considerable than at any former period; and there can be no doubt that with the aid of proper encouragement and countenance, by the grant of certain privileges and immunities to those who had served in the army, such as are granted with sufficient liberality to all who have served in the militia, (viz. the right of setting up trades in corporate towns, &c.) in general by securing to the army its proper proportion of the benefits attached to other modes of life, a supply would be found of men willing to become soldiers, as ample and as well proportioned to the demand, as of men ready to engage in any other trade or calling. I cannot believe it possible that there should not, when I reflect that the poors' rates of this country amount annually, according to the account on the table, to 5,000,000l. and when I recollect the extraordinary measure lately taken in Scotland, the policy of which by the bye I very much doubt, of granting such a large sum of money for the construction of a canal, in order to give employment to the poor of that district, and to prevent their emigration to a foreign country. This idea of laying a tax for the purpose of providing employment for a particular class of persons, I cannot but consider as a real poor rate. It is accordingly liable to all the objections chargeable upon measures of that description. I mention it here for the purpose of showing, that the prospect for recruiting our army is by no means discouraging, either on the score of our population or, (unhappily), of the state in which a great part of that population is placed. But I am then told of our trade, and the numbers employed in various branches. I have, however, no hesitation in saying, that trade is favourable to recruiting, and not less so perhaps in its flourishing and growing than in its declining state. It is rarely that trade can advance rapidly without great fluctuations, the trade receding in one channel as it flows into another; and thus numbers are successively left out of employment, and glad to betake themselves for subsistence to the provision which the army offers. From these considerations I can see no foundation for the endeavours so often made to ascribe to scárcity of population the difficulty which recruiting for the regular army has met with for some time back. Let us try to strip that recruiting of the impediments which have hitherto surrounded it; and there is no reason whatever why we should despair of seeing it go on well. At all events let the experiment be fairly tried. No one surely would wish to have recourse to measures of compulsion in the first instance. When measures of another sort have been tried and failed; when we have employed, without effect, the plain, obvious, and ordinary methods, then will be time enough to resort to the harshness of compulsory measures, and such strange, wild, and new fangled projects as that which is now proposed. — Upon the whole I cannot persuade myself to assent to a proposition that has no immediate object but to form a stationary and half military force; and no tendency to increase our regular army but through the medium of a process from which I have no hopes—by a kind of double distillation, of which no one has hitherto shown either the use or the necessity. A notion seems to prevail, that a soldier is a thing that cannot be produced by one continued act. That there must be a second operation. We create this army of men for limited service, as a kind of false stomach in which the aliment is to be lodged for a time, till it can be removed to its proper receptacle, and there finally elaborated for the use and sustenance of the state. Of the whole of this plan the house has heard enough before. Experiments have been already made upon many parts of it, and certainly not with such success as to encourage a perseverance in the system. But nothing will deter us. There is a perfect passion for legislating upon this subject, and for effecting every thing by the most complicated and circuitous means. My hon. friend seems to be actuated by the same sort of feeling as that of the lover in the Apprentice, who when he is to escape with his mistress, will not suffer her to go out by the street door though he is told it is open, but insists upon her descending from the window, by the means of his ladder of ropes. It is in vain that the maid protests that the door is open, and her mistress has nothing to do but to walk down the great stairs. Oh no! says he, but what then becomes of my rope-ladder? Such is in truth the language of the present moment. In all this multiplication of plans I repeat, that very little is to be found congenial with the true military system of the country. Every thing that has yet been brought forward on the subject has proved to be extravagant, and calculated to produce the opposite of good towards the substantial defence of the country; and of the same nature I am persuaded will the plan be which the house has just heard. I am ready to say that no man is more competent to devise a plan requiring great combination of parts, than my hon. friend; but my persuasion on this subject is, that no such plan is necessary; on the contrary, that it must be injurious, particularly when founded on the principles of the system for some time back acted upon; and therefore I feel it my duty to express my disapprobation of the project he has submitted to the house.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, that after the country and the house had been so repeatedly told of the incapacity of his Majesty's late ministers, for upwards of a month past, he could not refrain from expressing his surprise to find the proposals of the right hon. gent. were nothing better than carrying into effect the very plans of those who were styled inefficient ministers, by suspending the army of reserve, and raising an additional militia. He thought that the recruiting by parish officers would be found wholly ineffectual, and that it would interfere with the recruiting of the regular army, notwithstanding that the bounty was intended to be lower for the one service than for the other.

Mr. *Addington* rose, and said, that he differed considerably with the right hon. gentleman who had brought forward this bill. The strong objection he felt originally to the plan proposed was, that it was of a compulsory character; and under the free constitution under which we lived, we ought not to expect that which only belonged to despotic governments; they must make up their minds not to expect to ingraft upon that constitution, anomalies which were wholly foreign to it. The present plan, however, was not in every respect similar to that last proposed by the right hon. gent., but at the same time, with respect to the augmentation of the militia, he still remained of opinion that it was a wise measure, and he was sorry to hear of any proposal for a reduction of that description of force. It was also to be observed, that the militia had been chiefly kept up by means of substitutes drawn from volunteer corps. This force was altogether of so advantageous a nature, that he could not consent to its reduction, unless something better was proposed in its stead. An unexampled force had been raised since the commencement of the war, and yet the difference made in recruiting for the army, and during the last year, amounted only to one-fourteenth, and therefore experience did not prove that there was any pressing necessity for a measure to expedite the recruiting service. Out of the army of reserve 13,000 had already entered into the regular army, and of the remaining 17 or 18,000 men, they might look for a large proportion for the same service. Under these circumstances, he should hope that the house would not agree to the measure proposed by the right hon. gent., at this season of the year; but if the house determined that the bill should be brought in, and he, for one, should not object to it, he hoped, after it had been read a first time, that the 2d reading would be put off to next session. He was the more inclined to press this, as there was no immediate necessity for its adoption, and there was much reason to apprehend that the measure might prove either nugatory or vexatious and oppressive. It appeared something similar to the quota act of last war, which caused a very large expense, without producing any real advantage. He concluded by observing, that he should defer, till the second reading, any farther objection which he might have against the bill.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he was inclined to support the measure upon those general grounds on which he thought the house ought to decide. The precise military situation of the country ought, upon such an occasion, to be particularly taken into view, as well as the degree of necessity for military efforts. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) appeared on this, as well as on all former occasions, to found his opinion, that the security of the country at home, and its efforts abroad, might be trusted to the ordinary recruiting of the regular army, which recruiting he himself had once thought was to be considerably assisted by a small and limited militia. It had been long since thought expedient to raise the militia to its present height, and besides that species of force to raise an army of reserve, which had in one respect equalled the expectations that were formed, by the great proportion which had entered into the regular army. The country was now however in a different situation; and though parliament and the spirit of the people had already done much, yet something more was still necessary to be effected. Although it appeared so necessary to cease adding to the force for a limited service, yet he was doubtful as to the propriety of allowing the militia to decrease. No man could say that parliament would be warranted in the abandonment of all limited service in order to adopt other measures rendered necessary by the exigencies of the country. Whatever might be argued against the convenience of the measure, he thought it was impossible to object to the plan as being severe. It was in general much more mild in its nature than some acts lately passed, and which he had supported. As far as existing vacancies in the army of reserve were concerned, it certainly must be reckoned efficient in its nature. It was men and not money that we were in want of, and therefore individuals would be relieved of the effect of this bill by the mere exertion of finding a recruit, the state being prepared to relieve them of all expenses whatever. It was a valuable object in point of policy that our limited force should be officered by gentlemen brought up to the profession of arms from their early years, which was not a circumstance much attended to in the militia. His right hon. friend (Mr. Addington), had suggested the propriety of putting off this bill to another session of parliament, after it had gone through a first reading, but there did not appear to him to be any reason for such a postponment.—It had been said that the parish-officers would in this case become as it were a recruiting serjeant; but every one must feel that it is the interest of every individual in a parish to lend his exertions towards raising men, so as to prevent the exaction of fines in lieu of the army of reserve. It was hard to complain of the measure, both on account of its severity and of its mildness. If it would do no great good, gentlemen must admit that it would do no great harm. He did not see that, as far as the proposal went, it was to be reckoned onerous upon the parish. He concluded with giving his cordial support to.

Sir *W. Geary* said, that he considered the proposed measure unjust, when he heard it said that individuals must either find men or pay fines, while at the same time it was well known, that parishes could not find their proper quota of men. The proposed bill was, therefore, to be looked on as one to raise a fund for recruiting the regular army, which he conceived would not be conducive to the objects in view. The real cause of the army not being recruited was the increase of that species of force which the proposed bill went to augment. The disposable force of the country had rather lost than gained by means of the army of reserve. It was a disposable force which we now stood in need of, and not that kind of force proposed by such a bill. He maintained that the country did not at present stand in need of a greater number of men in arms for our defence, than what we already had; all that was now necessary was to render those we had more efficient. He was convinced that 400,000 men were amply sufficient to bid defiance to all the force our enemy could bring against us; and he thought that we were in such a situation that our fleets might now be otherwise employed.

Mr. *Fox* said, he did not rise to give any opposition to the bringing in of the bill moved for by the right hon. gent. He did not know whether he should gain any credit from the house, or from the right hon. gent. in what he was going to say; but he could assure them, that he had endeavoured, by every effort and consideration he was able to apply to the subject, to impress his own mind with a favourable idea of the bill, and to drive away all prejudices which, from his own slight view of the subject, when it was first opened by the right hon. gent., or from the arguments or opinions of others, he might have conceived against it. Another reason which he had to dispose him favourably towards this bill was, that he was decidedly opposed, in principle and in judgment, to all the various plans which had antecedently been brought forward on this subject. He remained, however, confirmed in his disapprobation of the present bill, because he could not conceive it was calculated to fulfil those ends and purposes which it professed to do. In all the objections which had been urged against the various plans proposed by the last ministry for augmenting the regular army, and thereby the disposable force of the country, one of the strongest and most generally urged objections was, that very fundamental one, indeed, of endeavouring to make a limited force a foundation for a general force. He was clearly of opinion that none could be a more defective mode of defence for the country; and he had uniformly given the same opinion on the subject. He could not help objecting to the mode of enlisting men, first for a limited force, and then, by various artifices, endeavouring to prevail on them to go into a service or force of an unlimited nature. He thought it never could be a good foundation for an unlimited army to be drawn from a source, which, in its origin, was supposed to be decidedly and altogether limited. His objection to the present bill was fundamental; and therefore, though he was extremely desirous to lend his aid towards increasing the force of the country, he could not in the present instance do so. If, however, the bill should, on consideration, be deemed by the house to be a good one, he saw no reason whatever why it should not pass during the course of the present session. If there was any thing essentially wrong in it, there could be no doubt but it would either be totally rejected, or modified in such a manner as to meet the approbation of the house; but if it was found to be absolutely good, in the opinion of a majority of the house, it ought surely to pass as soon as possible. He thought it his duty to make these preliminary observations in the present stage of the business, and should reserve his further opinion till he had an opportunity of reading and considering the whole of the bill, during the future progress of which he should have many opportunities of delivering his sentiments to the house.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that as the introduction of the bill was not opposed, he did not wish to trespass on the house at the present moment, by entering at large on the subject. There were, however, some points to which he must entreat the indulgence of the house, till he delivered a few observations. With respect to the question, how far ballots were intended to be continued in any parish, he did not say any thing very decisive as to the militia, because the indirect manner in which the bill referred to that force rendered it unnecessary. No vacancy in the militia was to be filled up when individuals were transferred to another corps. There could be no competition as to the militia and the regular army. There was another point alluded to, as to the possibility of other regulations concerning the constitution of the army, distinct from this bill, which, therefore, was not to be considered as in the most remote degree excluded by the operation of this bill. What he particularly alluded to was, the limitting the time of service in the army. On general principles, he must confess, it would certainly appear that such a mode would be wise and judicious; but it required the opinions of the wisest and most eminent military characters applying themselves to the consideration of the peculiar situation and system of this country, distinguished as it is from all other countries of Europe, with regard to all its internal regulations. If with a full regard to all these distinguishing circumstances, it should appear that such a mode could, with perfect safety and propriety, be resorted to, he, for one, should consider it as an important addition to the strength of our military system; but should it not be adopted, it would not be from any indisposition in his Majesty's ministers to attend to any advantages it might possess. The objections stated to the proposed bill of the hon. gent. opposite, were perfectly fair, candid, and explicit. But he felt himself completely at issue with that hon. member on this fundamental principle in our military system of defence; namely, that an intermediate army would not only be productive of no possible evil, but would prove the best mode of increasing and perfecting the regular army. The object in view was to have a number of men to spare; and if this bill furnished the men and improved the quality of the soldiers; if it was a mode of recruiting the regular army, then it answered the object of the hon. gent. opposite, and of his hon. friend who commenced the opposition to the bill that night, both of whom had declared themselves in favour of an augmentation of the regular army. It had been said that, in his plan, there was nothing proposed that was new; but he would certainly contend that it contained a mode of giving a discipline and an advancement to military perfection, not to be obtained in any other scheme of arrangement for military purposes, by all the ardour and perseverance, and honourable emulation of the officers of the militia, who do all that can be possibly expected from their patriotism, loyalty and volour, but who cannot perform that which can only be attained by military experience. When the army of reserve bill was first introduced, the right hon. gent. objected to it as being calculated to do no good to the army. If recruiting was to be allowed from the reserve to the regulars, his right hon. friend had contended that the discipline would be entirely lost. Every argument urged in its favour was by him considered as only making the measure worse and worse. Now, in the present bill, the only method for preventing the evil was adopted, still his right hon. friend exclaimed, worse and worse, in a new climax, and for no other apparent reason than that it prevented the recruiting of the army he had himself reprobated. In his fund of imagination, which never for a moment left him, but in which it was difficult to follow him, he seemed to forget some of the principles which he himself had laid down. He had contended, with great ingenuity and reasoning, for limited service in the regular army; but here, if we gave limited service, we were told we should spoil the soldier; young men would go in and sow their wild oats, and then quit the profession altogether. In truth it did appear, that the right hon. gent.'s receipt and nostrum for making a regular army was actually to destroy it altogether. He seemed to apprehend something most terrible and tyrannical in the operation of the bill, and conjured up the most alarming phantoms, if parish officers were transformed into recruiting officers; and it was thus attempted to throw a species of ridicule over the measure. So far, however, was he from feeling the force of such misplaced ridicule, that he was well disposed to consider the parish officers as in the way proposed by the bill, and to make the resemblance more perfect, should we propose to them a bounty per head on those recruits they raised under the provisions of this bill. There are, in truth, no material grounds of opposition to the measure stated. It was whimsical to observe the contradictory nature of the objections that had been urged. At one time the parish officers were to be so tyrannical, that all which the house had heard, a few nights ago, was likely to be realized in this country. We were to have the harshness of slave-masters and the tricks of kidnappers practiced among us. At another moment every thing was to be fruitless and unavailing: the parish officers were to be careless and negligent, and the fines were to be paid in preference to raising the men wanted. A great part of his right hon. friend's speech consisted of a metaphysical, moral, and political dissertation on the various modes of raising an armed force in different counties. From all these various lectures and lessons upon compulsion, a plain man would suppose that an attempt was making to introduce some great, new, compulsory system, which was far different from the real state of the business.—Mr. Pitt then proceeded to make a few observations upon what had fallen from the right hon. gent. below him (Mr. Addington) and the hon. gent opposite (Mr. Johnstone); he said, that a considerable part of the annoyance which he should have felt from the attacks of these gentlemen, was diminished by their cross firing; though directed against him, they constantly hit each other. The hon. gent. opposite to him complained that this was nothing more than the measure proposed by the last ministers. The right hon. gent. below him contended strenuously that this measure was by no means like the one proposed by the late administration, but that it was much more severe. Both these observations appeared to him to be groundless. The bill he now proposed to bring in was much more efficacious than the plan proposed by the late ministers, and at the same time it was less severe and oppressive upon individuals. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Addington) had contended, that it was not necessary to make any addition to the regular army; but, surely, he forgot, that almost the last act of his administration was to prepare a plan to augment the regular army very considerably, and it was not contended, on any side of the house, that there was not a strong necessity for the augmentation.—There were some other points upon which he intended to have said a few words, but he did not now think it necessary to trespass more upon the time of the house, as there would be ample opportunity for discussion on the same stages of the bill.—Mr. Addington and Mr. Windham said a few words in explanation; after which the bill was brought in and read a first time.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, June 6, 1804.

[MINUTES.]—In a committee of privileges, counsel and evidence were further heard respecting the claim of Lady H. Fitzgerald to the barony of Roos.—After the house had resumed, the bills upon the table were forwarded in their several stages, and several private bills brought from the commons were read a first time.

[AYLESBURY ELECTION BILL.]—The order of the day, for the second reading of this bill, being moved by Lord Grenville,

The *Lord Chancellor*, having left the woolsack, said, he begged to have it understood, that it was his opinion, as an individual member of the house, that the bill should be proceeded in no further. As the motion, however, that would follow the reading of the order of the day would be, that counsel be heard against the bill, he should not oppose that, but content himself with opposing any subsequent proceeding on it.—The order of the day was then read; and, on the motion of Lord Grenville, counsel were called in.

Lord *Auckland* then made some observations on the point of order, which we could not distinctly hear; but, we understood, that he insisted on hearing counsel and evidence in behalf of the bill.—The counsel were, however, ordered to withdraw; which being done,

The *Lord Chancellor* left the woolsack, with the view of stating his objections generally to the whole principle and object of the bill. It appeared to him a measure founded in such direct opposition to the most ancient maxims of English law, that it ought not to be entertained even for a single moment. He contended, that the evidence produced before the House of Commons, and which had been made the basis of the bill, did not, in the smallest degree, apply to the point at issue betwixt the different parties, whose interests the measure must necessarily affect. The question involved in the bill, was not one over which the House of Commons ought to have direct influence. It had not been referred to their consideration; and even those of their lordships, who thought that the bill ought to be entertained, must be desirous of having the allegations on which the bill professed to rest distinctly proved at the bar. For his own part, he was not prepared, even if these allegations were proved, to give his assent to the bill; even then he felt, that the bill would not be divested of an appearance of unfairness and injustice. It struck him, that the bill had its origin from the efforts of men of power and influence, who, taking advantage of the misconduct of certain individuals, wished to make that the pretext for stripping the electors of the borough of Aylesbury at large of their sacred, important elective franchise. There were three petitions on the table of their lordships; but he maintained, that with regard to two of the petitions which were in favour of the bill, the interest of the petitioners was so feeble as not to be worthy of their lordships' consideration. It was true, that these petitions, purported to be from persons describing themselves as having an interest in the borough of Aylesbury. But it was necessary for their lordships to examine the petitions, to see how far this allegation was established. If this examination had been made, he was persuaded that the petitions would not have even been suffered to be laid on the table. It was a matter of some surprise, that those who were so anxious to prevent the repetition of certain specified abuses, connected with the late elections, were so willing to give up the enjoyment of their own franchises, and to introduce others to the enjoyment of them, who hitherto had not been entitled to this privilege. Perhaps this was to be accounted for on the principle that they themselves knew that fines were hanging over their heads, and wished to disarm subsequent charges by adducing proofs of their innocence at their lordships' bar. This, his lordship maintained, was not an admissible sort of evidence, or one that was at all consonant with the usages of English law. It was not for men who laboured under a fear of punishment to appear as their own compurgators to the prejudice of the ordinary course of justice. He argued, that if the measure was fit at all, it ought to be adopted as one generally connected with the state of the representation. He saw no reason for picking and choosing particular boroughs, but if the principle of the bill was to be countenanced, why not go over towns, counties, boroughs, with the application of the same regulations. Even then he should feel it his duty to oppose the measure as contrary to the best views of the constitution, and founded on idle and theoretical views of reform. It would, however, at least have the merit of some appearance of consistency, which was more than the bill on the table could lay claim to. It was no argument for the bill that bribery and corruption had prevailed to a great degree in the borough of Aylesbury. The common law of the country provided a sufficient remedy for this evil, and independent of this, there were salutary regulations, fully adequate to the punishment of these offences. At this moment there were individuals suffering severely in consequence of their having trangressed these statutes. The noble and learned lord concluded, after a few more observations to the same import, by declaring his decided disapprobation of the bill, and moving, that the order for the hearing of counsel be discharged.

Lord *Grosvenor* supported the bill, on the grounds of an absolute necessity of supporting the purity of the elective franchise, which was one of the most important exercised by British subjects. In the present instance he did not see that the electors of Aylesbury would suffer any material injury. It was a fact, however unaccountable, that electors in general did not so highly prize the elective franchise as the noble and learned lord appeared to suppose. Some electors would go a hundred miles to exercise this privilege, while others would hardly take the trouble to go across a room to be entitled to put it in practice. When instances of its corrupt and vicious exercise occurred, it was necessary to make some striking example to prevent the recurrence of such scenes in future. This was requisite, not only as a means of present punishment, but as a terror against the approach of evils of a still more enormous nature. His lordship illustrated this idea by referring to the miseries which the revolution of France had exhibited. If timely precautions had there been adopted, the innocent and the guilty would not have been involved in the same common calamities. It was with the view of taking evils at their origin, and preventing their accumulation, that he thought bills of the description now on the table were peculiarly worthy of the attention of the legislature. His lordship, at the close of his remarks, referred to the cases of Shoreham and Cricklade, both of which he maintained to be strictly in point. He sat down, by giving his decided vote for hearing counsel on the bill.

Lord *Grenville* followed on the same side, and supported the policy, the necessity, and the expediency of the bill. He thought that even on the principles laid down by the noble and learned lord, the petitioners in this case were entitled to have their allegations brought to a fair issue. If these petitioners were threatened with intimidation by a certain body of powerful individuals, it was proper that they should be allowed to explain the causes of this intimidation, and to ask of the legislature the adoption of means for removing it. He was astonished that the noble and learned lord should oppose a species of reform which he had often gloried in declaring arose out of the very essence of the British constitution. This reform was the power of correcting an existing evil without adopting any theoretical views of reform, started by men who acted on speculation rather than on experience. His lordship particularly referred, on this point, to the cases of Shoreham and Cricklade. The first of these cases was decided on principles precisely similar to those on which the present bill was founded. The general principle was, that as an evil had existed, and was likely to continue independent of interference, measures should be adopted to prevent its repetition. While an existing evil was thus guarded against, a warning was, at the same time, held out to other boroughs, that if similar practices prevailed, a similar result might be expected. In the case of Cricklade, the execution of this threat of the legislature became necessary, and it was accordingly inflicted. So it was with regard to the bill under their lordships' consideration, which was, in fact, neither more nor less than the prosecution of the same principle, applicable to cases of gross corruption in the exercise of the elective franchise. With regard to the case of Ilchester, if a report had been produced by the committee, and if this report had been made the ground of a similar measure, he should, on the same grounds which induced him to support the present bill, have given that measure his hearty support. That no such proceeding had then been instituted, was no sort of argument against the measure now under discussion. He did not see that any set of men would have a right to complain of the hardship of the measure. It was not at all, as described, a bill of disfranchisement. At present, every housekeeper in Aylesbury had the right of voting at elections. At present there were, perhaps, four hundred and one voters, but if one individual more built a house, and obtained a right to vote, would that injure the right of the other voters? It certainly would not, and on the same principle, the introduction of the additional voters proposed by the bill, would not at all injure the rights of those now in possession of the right of voting. His lordship added several other considerations to the same effect in support of the bill.

Lord *Auckland* supported the bill. He was of opinion, that counsel, at least those for the petitioners against the bill, ought in fairness to be heard, and proposed an amendment to that effect in the motion of his noble and learned friend.

Lord *Hawkesbury* supported the bill as a measure absolutely necessary to correct a flagrant abuse in the constitution; and with no injustice to individuals. The individuals belonging to the borough of Aylesbury could not complain of any injury, for nothing was to be taken from them; and if there was, that thing could not be considered in the light of private property. The elective franchise which they exercised was not private property, but a public trust vested in them by the community; and if that trust was abused, the community from which they received it, had a right to take it back again; but even this was not the case here, for they still were to hold the trust; but, in order to prevent them from making a bad use of it again, it merely proposed that several others were to participate with them in the exercise of the same.

Lord *Ellenborough* strongly objected to the bill as an act of great injustice, because it went to inflict pains and penalties on the innocent as well as the guilty. And if such a precedent as this was once admitted, a similar measure of disfranchisement might be adopted in every case of bribery, which might occur at every election throughout the kingdom.

The *Lord Chancellor* reinforced the arguments in his former speech, and, in answer to what fell from a noble baron (Lord Grenville) he contended, that the accession of new electors was an infringement on the right of the old electors. Even the addition of one who should build a house within the borough must be considered as *damnum sine injuria*. He was no enemy to real reform, but he would ever oppose that thing called reform, which was founded in injustice.—After some further conversation, it was ordered that counsel be admitted to the bar. The counsel against the bill were admitted accordingly, and were heard for some time. When counsel withdrew from the bar,

Lord *Grenville* rose, and after recapitulating some of his former arguments in support of the bill, and stating some particulars against the system of bribery, which he described as prevailing at the late election at Aylesbury, moved that the bill be now read a second time.

The *Lord Chancellor* expressed his astonishment at the proposition of the noble lord, after what had transpired in debate respecting the measure, and at that late hour; he was even surprised at the hearing of counsel urged in the then state of the house. He knew it would be vain to oppose the motion, as many lords who wished to deliver their sentiments on this stage of the bill, and who had no notion of its being urged that night, had retired. However, for the honour and character of the house, and that it should appear to posterity there were some of its members determined to brand a measure of so iniquitous a complexion with the character it deserved, he would propose, as an amendment to the motion, should it be persisted in that night, and which necessarily must appear on the journals, importing, in substance, that the bill was read a second time, although there was not sufficient evidence before the house to warrant such a proceeding.

Lord *Auckland* declared that he had left the house, under the persuasion that no step beyond the hearing of counsel would take place that night; and he was convinced other noble lords had done the same.

Lord *Grenville* declared, that it was not his wish to push the matter precipitately through the house. If, therefore, it could be supposed that any noble lord had left the house under the idea that no step would be taken to-night, he should move for the postponement of the order. He should also move that the witnesses do attend to-morrow, declaring it, however, not to be his intention to move for their being called in, as he reckoned any farther evidence in support of the bill unnecessary.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he could not leave that house, without observing upon what fell from the noble lord (Grenville). He said, he had thrown a slur upon the bill: if the strongest protest that his mind could suggest against such an iniquitous bill was so, he pleaded guilty. However, as the noble lord had postponed the further consideration of the bill, he also withdrew his amendment.—The order was accordingly discharged, and ordered to stand for to-morrow; the witnesses who had attended to-day were also ordered to attend; and it was recommended to the counsel also to be present.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, June 6, 1804.

[Minutes.]—Mr. Gideon took the oaths and his seat, for the borough of Kelstone, in Cornwall, in the room of Viscount Fitzharris.—A petition of the several persons confined for debt in Durham gaol, was presented, and ordered to lie upon the table.—Mr. Irving, inspector-general of imports and exports, presented, pursuant to the directions of an act of parliament, an Account of the computed gross produce of the temporary duty of tonnage and poundage of goods imported (commonly called new subsidy) collected under the management of the commissioners of the customs in England, with the several payments thereout, and the amount of the net produce of the said branch, which would have been applicable to the expenses of his Majesty's civil government, if the temporary and hereditary revenues of the crown, enjoyed by his late Majesty had been enjoyed by his present Majesty, for the year ending 5th Jan. 1803; also, an account of all the exports from G. Britain to the West India colonies in the 3 last years; distinguishing the amount, in custom-house value, of British manufactures, or foreign articles exported, also distinguishing the years, and the respective islands; and also, a return to an order of the house of the 18th of May, for an account of the quantities of corn and grain, malt, meal, and flour, exported from and imported into England and Scotland, for 21 years, from the 5th Jan. 1770 to the 5th Jan. 1791, with the bounties and drawbacks paid, and the duties received thereon, together with the average price of corn in England, in each year, distinguishing each species in each year. Ordered that the said accounts do lie upon the table, and be printed for the use of the members.—Sir Ralph Milbanke presented a petition from the ship-owners at the port of Sunderland, near the sea, in the county of Durham, setting forth, that the suspension of the navigation laws of G. Britain has been attended with very injurious consequences, and therefore praying, that the same may be strictly enforced, and that such laws as authorize the suspension of them may be repealed. Ordered to lie upon the table.

[SLAVE TRADE.]—Sir *John Anderson* presented a petition from the planters, merchants, annuitants and others, interested in the British West-India colonies, against the bill now pending before parliament for the abolition of the slave trade. On the question being put, that the petition do lie on the table till the second reading of the said bill, and that the petitioners be then heard by themselves or counsel,

Mr. *Wilberforce* gave it as his opinion, that there could be no necessity for any particular investigation into the merits of the question, as it had been long a subject of discussion before that house, and as all had already been heard that could possibly be adduced by the different parties interested in this question. The opponents of the measure had been fully heard on a former occasion, when it formed the subject of particular inquiry in the year 1793. Nothing new, he thought, could be advanced, and it would be therefore unnecessary to lose the time of the house.

Mr. *Fuller* contended, that it would be extremely ungenerous to refuse a hearing to those who had no representatives in this house. The country, in the prosperity of which they were so much interested, was not represented in parliament. To deny them, therefore, the privilege of petitioning, or what was nearly the same, not to listen to their petitions, would be extremely hard indeed, particularly as he was convinced that not a single word that had been said by that hon. gent. on this subject the other day, was founded on fact.

Earl *Temple* did not think it by any means a good reason for waving the consideration of this petition, that the subject had been formerly under discussion. This discussion alluded to had taken place some years ago, and the circumstances of the petitioners, as well as of the general subject itself, might now be considerably changed. The present state of the colonies required that the proprietors of estates should have every possible opportunity of delivering their objections to the bill. He would move for counsel being heard on the petition.

Mr. *Wilberforce* argued, that no member of that house was more inclined than he was to respect the right of petitioning, but thought the house would do much better not to decide at present whether any petition should be heard by counsel, but to wait for some time till the subject should come under farther consideration.

Mr. *Francis* thought the hon. gent. with whom the objection originated, did not wish that they should refuse to hear counsel on the subject, but only that further consideration was necessary. He thought besides, according to parliamentary usage, that notice should have been previously given.

The *Speaker* said, that it was the usual practice of the house to make an order in all cases for the parties to be heard by themselves or counsel, on the second reading of a bill. This operated as a notice, and if any member had an objection to make to it, he had an opportunity of doing so on the order of the day being read.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that under the explanation given by the Speaker, he acquiesced for the order being made at present, but conceived that every member was at liberty to oppose the hearing of counsel on the order of the day being read.—It was then ordered that the petitioners be heard by themselves or counsel on the second reading of the bill.

Sir *William Young* said, the hon. gent. (Mr. Wilberforce) need not suppose the foregoing was the only opposition to the bill; there was another petition from the merchants of Liverpool against it, which was expected to arrive by this morning's post, but which did not.

Earl *Temple* brought up a petition from Edmuud Pusey Lyon, colonial agent for the island of Jamaica, against the bill for the abolition of the slave trade, praying to be heard by themselves or counsel against the same. Ordered to lie on the table till the second reading, and then the petitioners to be heard by themselves or counsel against the bill.

Mr. *Wilberforce* stated, that he did not wish to prevent parties from being heard, but he could not help thinking the mode of disposing of these petitions premature, as the second reading of the bill was fixed for to-morrow, and gentlemen who might be appointed as counsel could not, in all probability, be prepared.

[WAR IN INDIA.]—Lord *Porchester* rose to renew the notice which he had formerly withdrawn respecting our East-India settlements. When he had withdrawn this notice, it had been in the expectation of seeing an able and efficient administration speedily formed. But when he looked to the present ministry, and saw that more than the one half of them were the very same men whom the other had vilified and despised as incapable of the duties imposed on them, he could not help thinking, that his intended motion was not less necessary than formerly.

The *Speaker* here informed the noble lord, that it was not in order to accompany a notice with any arguments in support of the motion intended. All that remained, therefore, for the noble lord, was to fix any day that might be best suited for his purpose.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* was of opinion, that the noble lord was perfectly in order, seeing that he had not brought forward any argument whatever for the measure he proposed. He thought this day se'nnight, which had been mentioned by the noble lord, would be a very inconvenient day; a bill was now pending before the house, that in all probability would occupy its attention during most of next week.

Lord *Porchester* then agreed to fix his motion for Friday se'nnight.

[LORD ADVOCATE OF SCOTLAND.]—Mr. *Whitbread* rose, in consequence of a notice formerly given, relative to a motion respecting the conduct of the Lord Advocate of Scotland to a Mr. Morrison, a native of that country. He had given some days previous notice of that motion, in order to give the Lord Advocate an opportuniry of appearing personally in his place, to answer the charge, or of giving instructions to some of his friends. It would certainly be far more gratifying to him, who felt it his duty to make such a charge, as well as to the house, that he should have appeared, in order to offer what excuse he might think fit, or to make some apology for his conduct; but he knew that the Lord Advocate had heard of the notice which he had given, and that he had time either to have appeared in person, or to give instructions to his friends. He considered himself, therefore, quite as much at liberty to express his abhorrence of such conduct, if founded in fact, and to be as free in his remarks, as if the learned lord had himself been present. The learned lord, from his official situation, had a very great power in Scotland, and this power he had exercised violently, not to say tyrannically. He had, in the instance which he was about to mention, totally outstepped the bounds of law, and acted in a manner equally unprecedented and illegal. The power of the Lord Advocate in Scotland was somewhat analogous to that of the Attorney General in England. Now it was certain that they could not act glaringly contrary to their duty, without being responsible for such conduct to the laws of their country; yet many things might be done by people possessed of an authority so great, upon which this responsibility could not always attach. In such a case, it was the duty of parliament to take care that the public authority was not abused; and to petition his Majesty to remove those persons who acted in their public capacity in a manner inconsistent with the principles of the British constitution, and with the rightful freedom of the subject. Now he would assume that the Lord Advocate of Scotland had no right whatever to calumniate and fulminate an excommunication against any person; and, far less, to order that person to be arrested; but if he could prove that the Lord Advocate had grossly calumniated this Mr. Morrison, and not only grossly calumniated him, but followed up that calumny by an excommunication, and followed up that excommunication by an order of arrest; and not only this, but had taken upon himself to injure his property, and to dispose of it in certain circumstances as he pleased—if he proved all this, then he was justified in maintaining that such a person was utterly unworthy of the situation of public trust which he held. There was something delicate in the times in which this was done. The defence of the country depended, in a great measure, on the volunteers; but if this was the force on which the country was to depend, ought it not to be voluntary? Now, in the progress of the measure through parliament, many different opinions had been given on different parts of it, and on none more than upon the question, whether any alteration ought to take place in the contracts between masters and servants? The bill was sent to the Lords, and by them the clauses in question were thrown out, and to their amendment this house had subsequently agreed. Now, what was all this but a confession, on the part of the legislature, after mature consideration, that the contracts between masters and servants ought to remain unaltered. He agreed that this was very wisely done, for the best friend to the volunteer system would be under the necessity of confessing, that the inconvenience resulting from the confusion occasioned by the disorders committed by servants, and their insolence to their masters, would be very severely felt: for it was very evident, that when servants were permitted to enter as volunteers, in spite of their masters' orders, they would make use of this liberty as a pretence for neglecting the property of their masters altogether, and ruin their business by their idleness, and excuse themselves by saying, that they were engaged at their volunteer exercises.—The transaction which he was about to submit to the house at present, was as follows: a person of the name of Morrison, a farmer he believed, in Bamffshire, had a servant who went into a volunteer corps contrary to his orders, on which account he discharged him. In this he certainly had done nothing contrary to law. The servant applied to the Lord Advocate by memorial, to learn what course he ought to pursue, or whether he could recover any compensation from his master. The memorial stated, that the servant had engaged with the master, and, without asking his consent, regularly attended the drills of a volunteer corps after his work was over. On a certain day he had abandoned his work, and had gone with the volunteers when they were inspected by the Marquis of Huntley. For this his master had discharged him, although he offered to make compensation for the time in which he had been absent. Now here he would beg leave to make one or two observations. The servant confessed that he had always attended drill without asking the permission of his master; but that, on the 31st of Oct. 1803, he had been absent during the whole of the day, and had neglected his work, and therefore it was reasonable to suppose that Mr. Morrison had no objection to his servant going to drill after his work, though he was unwilling, and perhaps unable, to afford that he should be absent whole days, and therefore discharged him. William Garrow, the servant, concluded his memorial by putting the question, whether he had any resource at law, or any ground of action against, or any claim for wages against his master, subsequent to the time at which he was discharged. Now, if the whole had been confined to the legal opinion given by the Lord Advocate, he had employed the most unjustifiable terms; for his answer to the memorial commenced with the words, "however unprincipled and oppressive the conduct of Mr. Morrison may have been." Now was not this a most unjustifiable attack upon the character of Mr. Morrison, when it was considered that the Lord Advocate had only heard one party? but the answer went on to say "that his lordship was afraid that there was no claim legally for wages, except up to the day on which the servant had been discharged." So then, by the Lord Advocate's own account of the matter, this man, whose conduct was declared "unprincipled" and "oppressive," had done nothing contrary to law.—If there had been nothing but this very opinion itself, there would have been sufficient grounds for the house to interfere in the affair. But the matter did not rest here. The Lord Advocate soon after wrote a letter to the sheriff deputy of Bamffshire, stating the circumstances of the case, as he heard them from the servant. Here he stated, that there were unfortunately no provisions in the volunteer laws against a case like the present, that is, in other words, that Mr. Morrison had done nothing contrary to law. Well, and what in this case did this Lord Advocate do, after the confession that nothing illegal was done? Why, he gravely said, "that the conduct of Morrison was most atrocious." He took upon him to say this without ever having examined the other side of the question, and without having adverted to the circumstance that the servant might have been flagrant in his neglect of duty, might have left his house open, his locks unbolted, and a variety of things that might ruin his master's property. He considered this as the worst point of the whole; for even if the Lord Advocate had been acting in a manner perfectly legal in other respects, yet he had no right thus to stigmatize and calumniate a British subject, and to punish him worse than he could be punished by any other means; to punish him in a manner which every gent. who heard him would think worse than death by the loss of his reputation and property. It would be better for Mr. Morrison, rather than endure this, that the Lord Advocate were tyrant of Scotland, and possessed of the power to hang him up at once, than to be thus calumniated by him. But his lordship went farther, for he exhorts every person round about to treat him (Morrison) with contempt and scorn, and to hold no dealings with him whatever. Could the house hear such words used to a British subject by a person in such a situation of public trust without the greatest indignation; when that subject had done nothing contrary to the laws of the country, even in the opinion of the Lord Advocate himself? Such conduct he trusted the house would think merited the steps which he would think it his duty to adopt, in case the motion he was about to submit to them at present should meet their approbation. But it was not only in his character that this farmer was to suffer; his property also must be ruined. No people were to hold intercourse with him. Should he carry his corn to market, no one were to buy it; or did he offer to sell his wool, all were to refuse to be purchasers at any price; so that this man was to be entirely ruined; his family starved and thrown, with himself, as outcasts upon the world. But still farther, the letter proceeds to state, that there were strong grounds to suspect that Morrison's conduct had proceeded from disaffection and want of loyalty, and as soon as the first Frenchman landed in the country, Morrison was to be arrested, and he (the Lord Advocate) informed of it. If the letter had concluded with this, one would be apt, continued Mr. Whitbread, to ascribe the arrest and imprisonment to a good motive; for Mr. Morrison's life was really threatened by this outrageous conduct. While Mr. Morrison was thus represented to men of liberal education, the mob might look upon him as a proscribed man, or an outlaw, and think they had the Lord Advocate's authority for doing so. The might, therefore, not only pillage his property, but even attempt his life; and one would, perhaps, be apt to imagine, if his lordship had concluded his letter by ordering him to be put in gaol, he reasoned with himself in this manner, "Why, this man's life must be in danger from my excommunication, and therefore to keep him from the fury of the people, I shall imprison him." But when the house heard what followed, they would not be much disposed to give his lordship credit for such good motives. But how had the Lord Advocate power to order this man to be arrested? If he had, it was proper that an act should, without delay, be passed, in order to correct a fault which was utterly inconsistent with the principles of the British Constitution; but he had heard the opinions of Scotch lawyers upon the subject, and he knew that the Lord Advocate had no such power. Well then, suppose an attempt had been made to arrest Mr. Morrison: suppose that Mr. Morrison had thought proper to resist that arrest, and in so doing had killed a man;-could he be tried and found guilty of murder, for so doing? Certainly not. Observe, then, to what dreadful consequences this strange, unprecedented, and monstrous act of authority might have led. But still farther, the letter went on to say, that the Lord Advocate "would do all in his power to prevent Morrison from receiving any compensation, in case his property was pillaged by the enemy, or taken by the King's troops!" A monstrous conclusion to a monstrous business! If Mr. Morrison was a man of feeling, he must say to himself and to his friends, that he had rather the Lord Advocate had been a tyrant with power to hang him immediately, than thus to hold him up to the world as an object of public resentment and detestation; as a man with whom no person should have any dealings or communication, by which his family, as well as himself, were liable to be entirely ruined for ever. Besides, supposing the French had landed, such a proscription was likely to affect his life, as every one must know how ready a mob was to seize on such doctrines as lawful signals to plunder and pillage the object against whom they were directed. These were the bitter sentences passed by the Lord Advocate against Morrison, and they had already operated so far as to make a considerable impression on a person of liberal education in the same country, who had expressed himself with great warmth against Morrison. Mr. Forbes, the sheriff substitute, had fortunately advised the sheriff's clerk to send a copy of the letter to Morrison, and to put the original on record, which gave the means to the house to come at it. Another circumstance, which clearly shewed the injustice of this transaction in deeper colours, was a letter written by the sheriff's clerk, Mr. Patrick Rose, to Mr. Morrison, in which he advised him to buy off the man "by making him as handsome an allowance as possible, as the best means of mitigating the severity of the Lord Advocate." Mr. Whitbread contended, that the Lord Advocate had no authority, even by the law of Scotland, to act in the unprecedented manner he had done, and that such a violation of the rights of the subject ought to raise the indignation of the house. It might, perhaps, be said that Morrison may have his action against the Lord Advocate; but it must be very evident, that though the Lord Advocate has not the legal power to do what he has done, he has yet very great power indeed; and small would be the chance of such a man as Farmer Morrison, after all the expenses that must accrue, recovering a fair compensation in damages from a man in the high official situation of the Lord Advocate. But even though he should recover, it became the bounden duty of the house to interpose for the protection of the subject, the honour of the crown, and the strict but impartial administration of public justice. He had proceeded so far on the authority of letters, which he believed to be true and legal; if they were forgeries, he should have to beg pardon of the Lord Advocate for the observations he had made, and of the house, for having taken up so much of its time in vain. He concluded by moving, "That there be laid before the house a copy of so much of the public records of the county of Bamff, as contains a letter signed C. Hope, dated Edinburgh, 30th Dec. 1803, and addressed to George Forbes, Esq. sheriff substitute of Bamffshire, relative to Mr. Morrison; also, a copy of the letter from Mr. Geo. Forbes, the sheriff-substitute of the county of Bamff. to Mr. Patrick Rose, the sheriff's clerk, on the same subject;" the question being put,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose, and spoke as follows:—Sir, it is not my intention at present to propose any objection to the motion which has been made. I feel, on the contrary, very desirous that the papers called for should be laid on the table. In this stage of the business it would be improper for me to enter at any length into the discussion of this subject, and therefore I shall barely content myself with observing, that the hon. gent. who has brought forward this motion, has, in many instances, attempted to put constructions on the letters which he adverted to which in their obvious sense they will not bear. But to these instances I mean not at present to direct the attention of the house. Let the matter come fairly before the house, and this is a claim which the learned lord has in justice upon the house. Let the matter come before us fairly; let not the minds of the gentlemen of this house be pre-occupied, but let us enter with candour, and without prejudice or passion in this affair, which I acknowledge to be of the highest importance. No one, Sir, can be more ready to acknowledge, that if a private individual suffers oppression from a public man, it is a matter of the highest importance. But we ought to consider the motives by which the learned lord was actuated; and if it appear that the conduct of the noble lord proceeded from the purest zeal operating on a strong and ardent mind acting in critical times; if I say, it should be found that his motives of action proceeded from that ardour of mind which he has always manifested, then this particular case ought not to be too eagerly dwelt upon, nor ought the house to be too ready to condemn him. His conduct has always shewn itself exemplary, and he has proved himself an ornament not only to the public office which he holds, but to his country and to his friends. Such is the character of the learned lord; but on this particular question I mean not to enter, but am rather desirous, for the present, to deprecate discussion, and to avoid debate. I shall therefore only add one circumstance. The hon. gent. has expressed his surprise that the learned lord has not appeared in his place. Sir, no man would more readily meet, face to face, any charge that could be brought against him; but let me in my turn express some surprise that since this business took place, in Oct. last, it has not been brought forward till now. I do not say this with a view to reflect upon the hon. gent.; but it certainly does throw a suspicion upon the party concerned. This, however, was the more unfortunate, as the Lord Advocate was in town lately for some weeks, although he is now confined by his public duty to Edinburgh. The letters I believe, in point of fact, to be genuine; and the learned lord has no intention to deny them. In the one relative to the money transaction, written by Rose, it is scarcely necessary to say that he had no concern, as the hon. gent. has thereof entirely acquitted him, as he certainly ought to be acquitted. All I desire of the house is, that when this business comes again forward, they will come to it with minds free from prejudice, prepared to consider the whole with candour and impartiality.

Mr. *Fox.*—With respect, Sir, to the principle of the motion, as bringing a most serious and weighty charge against the Lord Advocate of Scotland, I shall not at present deliver any opinion. I feel the necessity of having a charge of such magnitude fully and fairly discussed; but I protest, that it is my wish and hope that when the day of discussion shall come, the Lord Advocate may be able to make a much better defence for his conduct than has been offered by the right hon. gent. I hope he will be able to make a much better defence than merely to say his conduct proceeded from the exertions of an ardent and zealous mind, acting in critical times contrary to the law, but with good intentions. Gracious God! Is it in this house that we are to hear this doctrine? Is it in this house, in which we have heard so many discussions on the miseries and extravagancies of the French revolution, and all the atrocities that have marked its different stages, that we are now, forsooth, to be told that every thing is to be excused which proceeds from the exertions of "an ardent and zealous mind," acting, in critical times, with good intentions? If this is to be the received doctrine, what crimes, or what atrocities can there be of a public nature which may not stand excused? The right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) has stated, as a presumption in favour of the Lord Advocate, that whereas this transaction occurred several months ago, it had not been complained of till lately: it is well known, however, to any person who has studied the history of oppression and tyranny, that it is one of the principal features of it, that the person oppressed does not dare to complain against his oppressor, and therefore it might appear more surprising to find that a complaint has been made at all, than that it was not made sooner.—As to the letter written by Mr. Rose, that certainly cannot be laid to the charge of the Lord Advocate, nor can it be at all supposed that he knew any thing of its contents, but it was very material in this point of view, to shew the consequences which might naturally be expected to follow. The whole consequences of an act of oppression are not always in the mind or contemplation of the oppressor; but it is not enough for him to say, "I did not mean that that consequence should follow, when I acted oppressively and against the law;" therefore, my hon. friend was, in my opinion, perfectly right in stating this feature of the case, as a consequence which has taken place, and which was likely to take place, from the conduct of the Lord Advocate. What "a zealous and ardent mind" may intend only as an example of terror, may be productive of the greatest practical injuries; and it would be an absurd defence to say that the impropriety of a man's conduct, or the injuries resulting from it, should be disregarded, if only it could be supposed that his intentions were good. Although in a moral point of view, criminality may principally depend on the intentions of the agent, yet, in every society in the world the essence of crimes, as cognizable before human tribunals, depends principally on the injury it does to society. It is to preserve society from the bad consequences which result from the ill-conduct of individuals, that laws are made and tribunals appointed; not so much to judge of men's intentions, which are best known to themselves, but of their actions, which alone are open to the cognizance of the law. I therefore again say, that I sincerely hope the Lord Advocate of Scotland may be able to make a better defence, when his conduct comes to be examined, than merely to say, that he acted from the impulse of an ardent and zealous mind, and that his inclinations were good. I think it needless, at present, to say more upon the subject, as it appears to be allowed, on all hands, that it is one of such magnitude, with respect to the liberty of the subjects of this country, that it must, on a future day, meet with a full and fair discussion.—After a few words of explanation from Mr. Whitbread, the two motions were severally put and agreed to.

[Irish Election Bill.]—Mr. *J. Fitzgerald* moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the act of the 35th of his Majesty, for regulating the election of members to serve in parliament, as far as the same relates to freeholds in Ireland, under the yearly value of £20. He stated, that the practice of registering at present was productive of the greatest mischief, and led to undue returns and perjury, and that the number of small freeholders registered last year amounted to £79,000. He then stated the manner in which his bill proposed to remedy that; which was, by requiring the registering to be at least 12 months previous to the election, and under the additional forms he then pointed out. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to amend the act of the 35th of the King, respecting elections in Ireland.

Sir *John Newport* said, that he perfectly approved of the principle of the bill.

Sir *John Stewart* observed, that great inconvenience might possibly result from making any great alteration in the terms of freehold leases in that country. In the north of Ireland, almost every weaver possessed a freehold, and it might, in future, be of the utmost importance to the interests of such a description of freeholders, if any material alteration was made in the nature of their tenure.

Mr. *Bagwell* described an instance of the present mode of qualification for freeholders, which appeared to him to be extremely improper. Twenty or thirty persons were gathered round a table, not one third of whom, in many instances, understand a word of English; an oath was read to them in English; and that in so complicated a form, as that it would require some deliberation, as well as a tolerable knowledge of the structure of the English language, to completely understand it. When that was done, the clerk, knowing that every one of them could not understand the plain English words, "Kiss the book," said to them, "Poag a liour," that is, in English, "Kiss the book." Every man kissed the book accordingly, and by that means was as well qualified as a man of £10,000 a year, and possessing the most enlightened understanding, who might have considered and read over the oath at his leisure.—Leave was then given to bring in the bill.

[WOOLLEN CLOTHIERS' BILL.]—Mr. *H. Lascelles* moved, that the second reading of the woollen clothiers' bill should be fixed for to-morrow.

Admiral *Berkeley* reminded the hon. member that another question of considerable importance already stood for to-morrow. He therefore suggested that the reading of the bill should be postponed to a future day.—After a few other observations from Mr. Wilberforce, Lord Temple, &c. in which the thinness of the house was urged as a consideration that should induce the house not to make any order on the business, Lord Temple moved, that the house be counted.—The house was accordingly counted, and there being only 35 members present, an adjournment immediately took place.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, June 7, 1804.

[AYLESBURY ELECTION BILL.]—On the order of the day being moved for the second reading of the Aylesbury bribery bill,

Lord *Grenville* rose and stated, that however consonant to his own ideas the provisions of this bill might be, and however much he might think them founded in justice and propriety, it was not his intention, if a single member of that house disapproved of it, or thought that sufficient evidence of the utility of it did not already exist, to press it on their lordships' consideration, until they had farther investigated its principles. He should therefore move, that witnesses be heard in support of the allegations of the petitioners for the bill; and, as few of their lordships possessed that legal knowledge which might restrain the evidence within legal bounds, he should propose that counsel assist to examine the witnesses. He said, he did this to meet the wishes of the other noble lords, for he was still persuaded that the evidence produced in the committee of the other house, was sufficient ground for their lordships to proceed on with regard to this bill. He then moved, that the second reading of the bill be postponed till Monday next.

The *Lord Chancellor* assented to this course, provided it was understood their lordships called in counsel for their own assistance. He would again observe, however, that no case, whatever may be its enormity, could persuade him that it was fit to pass this bill, on a partial principle, and violating the constitution, as it did. He would also say, that he should be glad that the noble lords were convinced how impossible it was to consider the matter given in evidence before the committee of the other house, as legal evidence for their lordships' consideration.

The second reading of the bill was then postponed till Monday, and witnesses were examined in support of the bill by Mr. Plomer and Mr. Gazelee, and cross-examined by Mr. Adam and Mr. Dampier, counsel against the bill. Their evidence related chiefly to the distribution of money to the electors, as already stated in the printed minutes of the examinations before the committee of the House of Commons. A witness, named John Toms, stated, that since his examination before the committee of the House of Commons, he had made a memorandum of the names of voters who had acknowledged to him, between that time and the present, that they had received part of the money distributed at the election.—Their lordships ordered that this witness should go to Aylesbury for this memorandum, which he stated, he had left at home; and the deputy serjeant at arms was ordered to accompany him, for the purpose of stating to the house the circumstances under which the paper shall be found. He was given to understand, that his being accompanied by the officer alluded to, was not intended to render him uneasy, but to give due weight to his evidence. He was then conducted from the bar, and the house adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, June 7, 1804.

[MINUTES.]—The right hon. George

Rose took the oaths and his seat, on his re-election for Christchurch.—A petition, presented by Mr. Latouche, from the corn merchants of Dublin, and others concerned in the Irish corn trade, with respect to the state of the corn trade between Ireland and England, &c. was ordered to lie on the table; as was a petition, presented by Mr. Dent, from the merchants of Liverpool, concerned in the slave trade, against the bill for the abolition of that trade. Counsel was ordered to be heard upon the latter petition.—The second reading of the woollen clothiers' regulation bill was, on the motion of Mr. Lascelles, postponed till to-morrow.—Mr. Rose mentioned, that a place in the duchy of Lancaster had fallen, by reversion, into the possession of a member of that house; and doubts being entertained whether such member was, in consequence of this circumstance, obliged to vacate his seat, the right hon. gent. gave notice, that he would to-morrow bring forward a motion, which should have for its object to remove those doubts.—On the motion of Mr. Rose, the house proceeded to the order of the day for taking into consideration the last report of the committee on the Liskeard election petition, in which it was resolved, "that John Dayman, the under-sheriff of Cornwall, had acted contrary to his duty, and to the privileges of parliament." He then moved, that the charge against John Dayman be heard at the bar of the house on Monday next; that a copy of the said charge be sent to him; and that he be at liberty to be heard by counsel. Ordered.—Mr. H. Thornton presented a petition from several insolvent debtors, praying for relief.—On the motion of Mr. S. Bourne, the committees of supply of ways and means were put off till to-morrow; and the committee on the Irish revenue regulation bill was put off till Monday se'nnight.

[CONDUCT OF JUDGE FOX.]—Sir *James Stewart* rose, pursuant to the notice he had given, to call the attention of the house to the conduct of Mr. Justice Fox, of the court of common pleas, in Ireland. He was extremely sorry that the painful duty should be imposed on him, of bringing forward a serious charge against a person holding so high and honourable a situation as that of one of the judges of the land. But when such persons made an improper use of their authority, it was the duty of parliament to enquire into their conduct. The hon. bart. then recapitulated the leading points of a petition, which he held in his hand, and which, he said, came from a very respectable magistrate in the north of Ireland. He then presented the petition, which was read by the clerk. It purported to be the petition of John Hart, of Ballymagard, in the liberties of the city of Londonderry, and set forth, "that the petitioner is possessed of considerable estates, situate chiefly in the counties of Donegall and Londonderry, and has usually, for many years past, served as a grand juror for the said counties, and in that capacity the petitioner attended at the last summer assizes for the county of Donegall, the hon. Luke Fox, one of the justices of the court of common pleas in Ireland, then presiding as a judge in the crown court of the said county; and that a person, named Anderson Dobson, was put on his trial, at the said assizes, for a misdemeanor, in having procured a magistrate to sign an affidavit, purporting to have been made to account for the due expenditure of public money in making a road, without having actually administered the oath to the person stated to have made the affidavit, and which person, together with the petitioner, had been appointed overseers by the grand jury to make the said road; and that he did not at all act or interfere in making the said road, but altogether left the business to the other overseer so appointed; and that the petitioner, on the said trial, was called upon, by the said Anderson Dobson, to bear testimony to his being a man of a fair and honest character, which testimony the petitioner did give; and the evidence being closed, Mr. Justice Fox, in charging the jury who tried the issue, stated what the petitioner had sworn, and, in animadverting on his testimony, said, "but who, gentlemen, will "give a character of this Mr. Hart, degrad-"ed and disgraced as he is by this transac-"tion, which will intail eternal infamy and "disgrace on his posterity?" though the petitioner had not, in any manner, been concerned in the transaction which caused the said trial; nor was any evidence then, or at any time, given to warrant even a suspicion that the petitioner could be guilty of such an offence; and that the jury having retired, remained some time enclosed, when they were sent for by Mr. Justice Fox, and asked if they had agreed to their verdict, and they informed him, that they were divided in opinion, that some of them were for finding the said Dobson guilty, and others were for acquitting him; and those that were for acquitting him said they had no doubt of his having prevailed on the magistrate to sign the said affidavit, without having administered any oath to the person who was stated to have sworn it, which they thought was a bad act, but they did not think he had been guilty of any such fraud as was laid in the indictment, he not having pocketed any thing by it, or words to that effect; and that the jury having again retired, they were enclosed till about half past 7 o'clock in the evening, when Mr. Justice Fox sent for them, and, on their coming into court, they said they were still divided in opinion, whereupon Mr. Justice Fox desired them to go back to their jury room, and concluded, by saying, if they did not agree in ten minutes, he would adjourn the court till 6 o'clock on Monday morning, it being then Saturday; whereupon the jury retired, and not having agreed within the time to which they were limited by Mr. Justice Fox, he did adjourn the court till Monday morning, and proceeded to dinner with the grand jury; but, before he got to the head of the dinner room, and dinner not having been served, he was followed by the sub-sheriff, who informed him, that the jury had agreed; to which Mr. Justice Fox replied, "they may cool their "consciences till 6 o'clock on Monday "morning;" and the jury, being under the necessity of remaining enclosed till the Monday following, and having again returned to their former opinions in consequence of their confinement, they were on that day conveyed to the verge of the county, and discharged by the said judge; and that he was not present in court at the time when Mr. Justice Fox used the expressions above stated reflecting on the petitioner, and, not being informed of it, the petitioner, early on Sunday morning, waited on the judge at his lodgings, where he found him accompanied by the clerk of the crown; the petitioner said, that he came to make a request which he hoped would not be considered unreasonable, as the business of the grand jury was over, and nothing remained for them to do but to pass the presentments: Mr. Justice Fox asked, "Pray, Sir, what is it?" to which the petitioner answered, that he hoped he would permit him to return to Derry on that day, as he had ordered a meeting of the inhabitants of the lower liberties of Derry, by public advertisement, at 12 o'clock on the next day, for the purpose of forming a corps of yeomanry for the defence of the country. Mr. Justice Fox thereupon said, "Sir, you know your "duty, and I know mine; your attend- "ance to-morrow is indispensably neces- "sary;" upon which the petitioner retired; and Mr. Justice Fox having gone into court about a quarter of an hour after 6 o'clock on the Monday (which was the 29th of Aug. last) directed that the crown solicitor should be called, and he having appeared, Mr. Justice Fox addressed him in these words; "Go, Sir, and do as I directed you "yesterday;" upon which the crown solicitor went out of court, and took one William Chambers, the conservator of the roads (who had been the principal prosecutor of Dobson) with him; the grand jury (amongst whom the petitioner attended) having been previously called over, and attending in court, the crown solicitor and Chambers having shortly afterwards returned, and Mr. Justice Fox thereupon ordered a magistrate, who was then standing in court, to take Chambers' examination against the petitioner, and an information, ready drawn out, was then produced by the crown solicitor, which information, the petitioner has reason to believe, was prepared by the instruction, and under the immediate authority and direction, of Mr. Justice Fox himself; and that the crown solicitor having handed the information to the magistrate who had been ordered to take it, the magistrate was proceeding to read it, conceiving it his duty so to do before he should examine and swear any person to the truth of its contents, upon which Mr. Justice Fox reprimanded him for so doing, and would not permit him to read it, which induced the magistrate to express surprize that he should be ordered to take or subscribe an information which he had not read previous to its being sworn; however, by the command of the said judge, the magistrate administered the usual oath, and took the said information; and that, as soon as the information was thus sworn, Mr. Justice Fox turned towards the grand jurors (with whom the petitioner then was) and said, he had much concern in calling the attention of the grand jury to another subject of much moment; that a member of the grand inquest of the county stood charged before him with a very atrocious offence; he then proceeded to state, that Anderson Dobson had been put upon his trial before him on Saturday, and he detailed very minutely the evidence which had been given on the trial; he said, that after the evidence had been closed, and the trial over, Mr. Hart had come on the table of himself (which the petitioner denies to have been true, the petitioner having been called on by the said Dobson in his defence) to give a character of the traverser; and that when he came to animadvert to the petit jury on that part of the evidence so given by the petitioner, he had thought it his duty to say, "who, gentlemen, would "give a character of this Mr. Hart, degraded and disgraced as he was by an "infamous crime, by which he has intailed disgrace on his posterity, and infamy "on his character and name?" Mr. Justice Fox then proceeded to apply the evidence so stated by him to have been given against Mr. Dobson to the petitioner, and stated, that in consequence of such flagrant conduct, he had directed the crown solicitor to prosecute him; and, an examination having been sworn, he must order him into the dock, and desired the sheriff to take the petitioner into custody, whereupon the petitioner was taken into custody by the sub-sheriff, and placed in front of the bar, where traversers usually stand for trial; which being perceived by Mr. Justice Fox, he directed that the petitioner should be put to the bar, in consequence of which direction the sub-sheriff then put him in the place where felons are arraigned, and receive sentence; and the petitioner being placed in that degrading situation, and standing as a convicted felon about to receive the judgment of the law, Mr. Justice Fox contumeliously asked him, what have you, Sir, to say? you are now at liberty to go on, addressing him in the style and manner as if he were really a convicted felon; but the petitioner being so affected and confounded by an address so violent and unexpected, and from being placed in so public and so degrading a situation, could at first scarcely articulate a word with an audible voice, but having recovered a little from his embarrasment and distress of mind, he did make a few observations, after which he was obliged to listen silently to a most reproachful address from Mr. Justice Fox, who, whilst the petitioner was in custody, untried, and in the hearing of those whose duty it would be to put the prisoner upon his trial, and to decide upon his guilt or innocence, and holding up the petitioner to the resentment and indignation of his country, amongst other things, addressed the petitioner in the following words: "You have charged me, "as a judge sent to administer justice, "with criminal conduct, because I directed you should be put upon your trial for "a most infamous crime. Whether the "agitation in which I see you proceeds "from a sense of insulted honour or detected guilt, from a wounded spirit or "habitual depravity, I know not; but I "can only attribute your conduct to a "hardened sense of being used to such "malpractices. A charge of the most "enormous nature is made against you, "disgracing the grand inquest of the coun"try, not in their persons, but yours." Mr. Justice Fox, in the course of the address, expressed his determination of returning the ensuing circuit for the express purpose of trying the petitioner, and in the hearing of the grand jury, declared that, if they should hesitate in finding the bill of indictment, he would direct the solicitor for the crown to apply to the Court of King's Bench for an information against the petitioner; and that Mr. Justice Fox, in furtherance of such his avowed determination to return next circuit for the purpose of trying the petitioner himself, desired that his lodgings should be kept for him; and that, after he had remained some time in the dock, without knowing what Mr. Justice Fox's further intentions were, or for what alleged crime or offence the petitioner was then committed, and placed in the common felons' dock, Mr. Justice Fox informed the petitioner, that, as it was then too late to have an indictment prepared, the petitioner might give bail, and directed that the petitioner should be bound in 1,000l. and two sureties in 500l. each, for the petitioner's appearance to take his trial at the ensuing assizes for the offence contained in the said examination, which the said judge would not suffer to be read, or even stated, but which offence, be it what it might, the said Mr. Justice Fox had prejudged, and pronounced the petitioner to have been guilty of. The petitioner, therefore, entered into such security, and was accordingly released, but remained so but a short time; for, shortly after the petitioner was so released, the said judge did again order the petitioner to be taken again into custody, on an allegation that the petitioner had entered into some conversation with some of the jurors after they had been locked up for the purpose of considering their verdict on the trial of the said Dobson, and directed the petitioner to be prosecuted for such offence, and accordingly the petitioner, at the ensuing assizes, was tried and acquitted of such charge; and that the petitioner attended, as he was bound, at the ensuing assizes, and no bill having been sent up against the petitioner for the said alleged offence, for which the petitioner had been so committed to the felons' dock by Mr. Justice Fox, the petitioner instructed his counsel to ask the crown solicitor, in court, on the second day of the assizes, whether the prosecution was intended to be abandoned, and he replied, that he believed it was not intended to send up a bill of indictment against the petitioner; and that the petitioner, believing there was no charge contained in Chambers' said information against the petitioner that would, in the opinion of the lawyers concerned on the part of the crown, warrant the grand jury to find a bill of indictment on it against the petitioner, and the petitioner feeling it extremely unjust and oppressive to have such a charge undisposed of, did again instruct his counsel, and they did apply to the court, on the last day of the assizes, to make the crown solicitor either send up an indictment, or that the petitioner, and his sureties, might be discharged from their recognizances; whereupon the crown solicitor handed an indictment to the clerk of the crown to take up to the grand jury; and that the grand jury did ignore said bill, as no charge whatever appeared to warrant it on the face of the information which had been taken under the direction of Mr. Justice Fox himself, and on the authority of which he thought proper to commit the petitioner to the dock, and hold him up to his country as guilty of some foul and disgraceful crime: and that the petitioner presumes to represent these facts to the house, conceiving that the rights of the subjects of this realm have been grossly and wilfully violated in his person, and as he has no means of redress by appeal to any court of law, or of vindicating his character from the imputations most unjustly thrown upon him, submits the consideration of this case to the house, involving a subject of equal importance to the public and the individual, and in which parliament alone is competent to give redress."—On the motion that this petition should be laid on the table,

Mr. *Francis* rose to ask, before the order should be made, whether it was the intention of the hon. baronet to take any proceeding grounded upon this petition?

Sir *J. Stewart* replied, that after the petition should lie a certain time on the table for the examination of the members, he certainly did intend to move that it should be referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole house.

[DEPUTY SERJEANT AT ARMS.]—Sir *Charles Morgan* rose to call the attention of the house to a subject which, he was confident, would not fail to interest its liberality. It was to the case of a very old and faithful servant of that house, their late deputy-serjeant at arms, Mr. Clementson, who, after having discharged the duties of that office with the most scrupulous and indefatigable diligence and fidelity for 35 years, had now, in the 70th year of his age, retired from the arduous avocations of that office. Having witnessed his faithful services during so many successive parliaments, he was persuaded that his conduct, during so long a series of years, in that important office, must have attracted the notice, and even the approbation of the house, he trusted that the motion he was this day about to make, for some provision for that faithful officer, in his old age, as a mark of approbation to this long and irreproachable discharge of his duty, would readily meet the assent of the house. He concluded by moving, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to order some provision to be made for John Clementson, Esq. who has for near 35 years, faithfully and diligently executed the office of deputy serjeant at arms attending this house, and who, on account of his long and laborious services, and advanced time of life, has lately resigned the same."

General *Norton* rose to second the motion. He observed, that every man who served the public faithfully and diligently, during the greater and the better part of his life, is entitled to a comfortable provision for the remainder of it. He had observed how Mr. Clementson had conducted himself in his office, and approved it; but what was still more important in his view, a relation of his who filled that chair, had expressed to him his entire approbation of Mr. Clementson, as an officer, for which reason he heartily concurred in the motion.

Mr. *Addington* most cheerfully concurred in the motion, and could not deny himself the satisfaction of rising to express his approbation of the faithful and exemplary conduct of Mr. Clementson, during the 12 years in which he had an opportunity of experiencing his deserts, by the scrupulous and indefatigable discharge of his arduous duties. He believed it had been the good fortune of Mr. Clementson to conduct himself, not only without offence to any, but with satisfaction to all. It happened to him, during a period of twelve years, not only as a member of the house, but in an official situation, to have many opportunities of observing the extraordinary diligence, the prudence, and propriety of the conduct of Mr. Clementson. He was confident that gent. was worthy of the favour now proposed, and certainly nothing would be more honourable than to be recommended by that house to the marked regard of the Sovereign; to this Mr. Clementson had entitled himself, by the zeal, fidelity, and diligence with which, during the period of 35 years, he had executed the orders of that house.—The motion was agreed to *nem. con.*, and the address was ordered to be presented by such members as are of his Majesty's most hon. privy council.

[PRIZE AGENCY BILL.]—The order of the day was now read for the second reading of the bill for the better regulation of the business of prize agents.

Mr. *Dickenson, jun.* rose and observed, that he thought the bill a measure of such great importance, and as affecting the interests of so great a body of men as the whole of the prize agents of this country, and the whole of the officers and men of his Majesty's navy, that some further time ought to be given before the house was called upon to decide finally on the measure. The Board of Admiralty, he said, had taken the subject into consideration, but found it so complicated, and involving so many contrary interests, that they had not yet come to any decision upon it. He hoped, therefore, there would be no objection to postponing the second reading till Tuesday se'nnight.

Mr. *Addington* rose to remind the house, that this bill had already been a considerable time pending; that it was founded upon the report from the commissioners of inquiry into naval abuses, of which abuses, those of prize agents formed a considerable part, and was made so long since as last July; that his hon. friend, (Captain Markham), had brought forward the bill so long since as February last; that although various causes had since occurred to delay the progress of this bill, yet it was one of great importance, because it went to rectify and ascertain the mode by which the sailors of the British navy, who fought the battles of their country, were to receive fairly the produce of the prizes they had won, as the remuneration of their gallantry. The session was already so far advanced, that any farther delay would risk the loss of this bill in the present year. The house would recollect, that on appointing commissioners to inquire into the abuses in the naval department, the subject of prize agency was one to which, in a very particular manner, they had directed the vigilance of the commissioners. The object of the present bill, founded, as it was, upon the result of minute inquiry, was to establish the most rapid mode of decision possible, by which the British captors of lawful prizes might be enabled to obtain their rights, and to appoint a safe place of deposit for the proceeds of their captures, until such time as their rights should be ascertained, and where they might apply for information, or payment, in the proper time, instead of being left at the mercy of prize agents. Against the principle of the bill he was confident there could not be, nor did he understand that any objection was likely to arise; but he trusted, that the circumstance of the present Admiralty Board not having had time, in the multiplicity of their concerns, to come to any decision upon the bill, would not be allowed to operate with the house, as a reason for further delaying, beyond this day, the second reading, which would acknowledge the principle at least. But if the govt. would even pledge itself to support the bill in the next session, it would afford high satisfaction to his mind, and render him the less anxious about pressing it forward at so late a period as the present.

Mr. *Pitt* said, that his hon. friend, in naming a particular day for the second reading of the bill, which, for the reasons he had assigned, he thought more eligible than the present, ought fairly to be understood as giving a proof of his intention to go on that day into the discussion: but, really, upon looking into the bill, it was found to contain many points so extremely knotty, and so likely to excite much difference of opinion in the detail, that the Board of Admiralty, in the multiplicity of important concerns which had pressed upon them since their accession to office, had not time to give it the necessary deliberation, so as to make up their minds on the bill. His Majesty's govt. would, therefore, give no pledge upon the subject one way or the other: they would not content themselves with saying the principle was a good one, and therefore pass the bill without examination or comment. They did not chuse to amuse the house with empty words, or pledge themselves to the adoption of a measure without examination or alteration; nor did he think the matter so very pressing, after so long a delay as it had already experienced, to defer it only for a few days longer. This species of argument, he was sure, had little chance of being satisfactory to the hon. gent. who spoke last, and who, notwithstanding the delay the bill had already experienced under his auspices, was ready to defer it till next session. But it was pretty extraordinary that though the bill was alleged to be founded upon a report so remote as the month of July last, and the bill brought forward so early as last February, the hon. gent. who thought it now so urgently necessary, did not take a much earlier opportunity, when he might have so done, to press it forward with more expedition.

Mr. *Johnstone* could not but disagree with both the right hon. gentlemen who spoke last; as the former had procrastinated for so many months the progress of a measure which he seemed to think so pressing, and the latter and his colleagues had had full time enough since their accession to power to investigate the subject; and also, as it was understood from the secretary of the treasury on the last day this order was postponed, that the second reading should take place this day. Upon the principle and detail of the bill before the house, the hon. member reserved the declaration of his sentiments till another opportunity, of which he should avail himself, to shew that much complaint connected with this subject lay against the Court of Appeals, whose conduct was a reproach to the administration of justice in this country.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* denied that he had given any thing like a pledge, that the business should come on this day; when he requested it might be postponed, his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) had not at that time taken his seat, and he certainly did not mean to give any pledge that was to govern his conduct. Business of importance pressed at this moment on the Admiralty Board; and as it was impossible for them to decide upon a measure which went to establish another Board, they wished to put off the the consideration of it for some time longer.

Mr. *R. Ward* thought the right hon. gent. (Mr. Addington) would find himself mistaken in supposing that no member could object to the principle of this bill. For his own part, he thought it very objectionable. It proposed to introduce a new code quite different from that which has existed since the reign of Queen Anne, and to erect a new office under the direction of the Board of Admiralty, with salaries of £6,000 a year. Every man in the navy, below the rank of captain, was also to be deprived of the right of nominating his own agent; and that control over the proceeds of prize money while an appeal was pending, which seamen now had in consequence of a late act, was to be done away.—After a few words from Capt. Markham and Dr. Laurence, the second reading of the bill was postponed till Tuesday se'nnight.

[Slave Trade.]—Mr. *Wilberforce* moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade.

Mr. *Foster* intreated the hon. member to allow precedence to another order of the day, for going into a committee on the petition of the Irish linen manufacturers, as it was upon a subject of the most pressing importance, involving the interests of the staple commodity of Ireland, and upon which the petition of all the linen manufacturers and merchants in Ireland, were before the house; besides, the Irish great linen market at Dublin was to be from the middle to the end of the month, and all the great orders for exportation remained pending the decisions of the house upon the subject.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, it was possible to accommodate both; for as the debate upon the slave trade bill might take place in a future stage, namely, on the motion for the speaker's leaving the chair, previously to going into a committee, all that he meant to press that evening was, merely the second reading of the bill, and the hearing of counsel and examination of evidence.

Earl *Temple* said, that as the mail for the West Indies was to depart this night, he could not consent to suffer the anxiety which the planters must feel upon this subject, to be aggravated by hearing that a bill for the abolition of the slave trade was allowed to be read a second time without any observation against it.

Mr. *Pitt* said, that however important the noble lord might conceive it to be, that the West India mail of this night should carry with it the decision of the house upon this question, he feared if the house should even go into a debate upon the bill, that the mail would have taken its departure before the house would have formed its decision. He was, therefore, for acceding to the proposition of Mr. Wilberforce, as the day on which counsel were to be heard on bills, however important, did not happen to be days of full attendance, and as it would be too late an hour to go into debate, after evidence should have been gone through, and the arguments of counsel concluded.

Sir *Lawrence Parsons* thought the subject of the slave trade abolition was, under existing circumstances, a new subject to most of the members of that house. In the year 1796 a bill had passed that house for abolishing the African slave trade after a limited period; but then it was upon a principle agreed on, that in the interim measures should be taken for increasing the native population of the West India islands. Was the house, then, prepared to proceed with a bill of this magnitude, without inquiring what progress had been made in this respect? A correspondence of considerable length had taken place between the sec. of state and the West India govt. upon this subject, the papers upon which were now lying on the table. He was confident that not ten, or even five, members of the house had read those papers. He was even sure the hon. member who introduced the bill had not read them; he, therefore, hoped the house would not be precipitated to a decision upon a subject which occupied 70 millions of capital, which produced 2 millions of revenue, which brought to the country 8 millions of produce, and enabled us to export 4 millions of produce, until those papers were printed, and time allowed to members for due consideration. He was as much an advocate for the abolition of the slave trade as any member of the house, nevertheless, he wished the house to proceed with deliberation, and not in its furor to promote the purposes of humanity towards the West India slaves, to defeat those purposes.

Mr. *Wilberforce* stated, that he had read the papers alluded to by the hon. bart., and would have thought himself culpable not to look over documents which had now been above a month on the table, and which were so intimately connected with a subject in which he felt such a particular interest.

Mr. *Dickenson* said, that the petition of the West India merchants had only been received the day before, and that, therefore, sufficient time had not been given to members to turn their minds to the subject. He then moved, that instead of the word "now," the words "this day se'nnight" should be substituted.

Mr. *Rose* said, that a pamphlet had been just published, and had very widely circulated, which he knew had produced a strong impression upon the minds of the members of that house (we understood the right hon. gent. to allude to a pamphlet entitled, "A concise View of the Question regarding the Slave Trade.") This impression was such, that he wished the house to decline coming to any immediate decision upon this important bill.

Mr. *Wilberforce* thought, that as the house had determined on the second reading of the bill for that evening, no sort of objection could be rationally taken to it on the ground of surprise. Those who opposed the measure were perfectly attentive to their own interests. He had seen the counsel in his way to the house, whose habits of industry and attention were, he was sure, sufficient to bring them before the house perfectly prepared for the question. As to the pamphlet alluded to, he had read it with great pleasure and approbation, but he could not see what improper effect it could have. Was the house to be supposed to be taken captive by that book, so as to require another week to enable them to recover their judgment?

Mr. *Fuller* opposed the bill. It was by meddling with the colonies in this way that the French broke down their monarchy. By the operation of this measure persons were about to be plundered of one of the finest properties under the canopy of heaven, in order to gratify ill-designing men in this country.

Sir *W. Young* spoke in favour of further delay. It was no contest of parties for victory's sake, but a question on which depended the fate of the empire.

Lord *Castlereagh* thought that the great mass of information on the table should have been printed for the advantage of the members of that house. He could not come properly to the discussion without a knowledge of the details. He was a friend to the abolition, but in looking to that object he differed widely from the mode proposed by his hon. friend. The house, on former occasions, in voting for abolition, had always in view abolition with regulation, but abolition without regulation had been always rejected. His hon. friend, he was well assured, proceeded on the principles of a benevolent and virtuous mind; but the experience of former propositions, both in this and the other house, sufficed to shew that he had not, in the present instance, taken the most prudent and discreet line.

Mr. *Foster* said he was a friend to the abolition of the slave trade, and would support the present bill. His motive, in wishing to put it off, was in order that the question of the Irish linen trade might come on first. But as the debate now stood, he would bring on that business to-morrow.

Mr. *Dennis Browne* said, he was a friend to the principle of the bill; but, before he voted for it, he wished for further information.—A division then took place; when there appeared, for the second reading of the bill this day 74. For postponing it 66.—When strangers were re-admitted into the gallery,

Sir *W. Young* was opposing the second reading of the bill. He condemned the hasty manner in which the hon. gent. was proceeding to push this bill. He thought much more time ought to be given for the serious consideration of a measure of such vast importance, not only to our West-India islands, but to the great body of merchants in this country, engaged in the trade to Africa. He contended, that the passing of a measure, like the present, was nothing less than a proscription of the colonists of the West-Indies, and an unjustifiable attack upon their property. He himself, he stated, was a member of the society which had done so much towards exploring the interior of Africa; but he never heard, till Wednesday last, of the high state of civilization in which the Africans were. He observed, that the Africans were accustomed to slavery in their own country, and the taking them to another quarter of the globe, was therefore no great hardship. He adverted to our revenue from the West-Indies, and the great advantage which the empire derived from the colonies, all which benefits would be lost if this measure were to succeed.

Sir *R. Milbank* thought that the delay of carrying the abolition into effect, after the house had so long since decidedly come to a resolution for that purpose, was much more likely to create a revolt than the passing of the present bill. The cultivation of the islands might be carried on fully by promoting the increase of the present negroes, and by the aid of horses, asses, or machines.

Mr. *William Smith* said, it was not a hasty measure, for it had been before the house for 12 years. The parallel with the negroes of St. Domingo did not hold. It was not surprising if these did not spare; for if ever any thing was more disgraceful to human nature than ordinary, it was the conduct of the French settlers in St. Domingo. The conduct of the govt., or of its agents, was such, that it might provoke not only uncivilized negroes, but the most patient of Christians to retaliate. But the Africans were slaves in their own country—true, but it was a patriarchal slavery, and as different from ours as day from night. He contended that policy, no less than humanity, called for this measure; but, at any rate, those who argued against its policy, ought first to have shewn that the slave trade was reconcileable to the rules of justice.

Sir *John Wrottesley* considered the bill as founded upon correct notions of humanity, but he did not perfectly concur in the mode of proceeding.

Mr. *Charles Brooke* expressed himself in favour of the motion. He mentioned one estate in Jamaica, within his own knowledge, on which not a single negro had been purchased since 1794; at that time, the slaves on it amounted to 368, and they were now 476; which clearly proved, that sufficient numbers might be raised, if proper care was taken, without fresh importations. It had been said, that negroes could be imported at a less expense than they could be raised. This might, he believed, be the case; but he was well convinced, the labour of new negroes was not so valuable as that of those raised in the country; and, as such, he would support the present bill.

Mr. *Francis* rose to speak to order. He conceived, that when an amendment was negatived, it was the rule of the house, or at least the custom, that the original question should be carried without further debate. A number of gentlemen having gone away in this persuasion, it appeared, as if the opposers of the bill took advantage of the accident to overset the declaration of the house in its favour. He wished to know, whether, if the question for the second reading of the bill now was negatived, the bill would be lost for the session. If it would, the loss of it would be effected by an unworthy artifice.

The *Speaker* stated, that it was only in the case of an amendment by the previous question, that the rejection of the amendment precluded further debate on the original motion. If the question for the second reading of the bill now were negatived, it would be open to any gent. to renew that motion on any other day in the course of the present session.

Mr. *Grinsell* thought that the bill should pass on every ground of humanity, justice, and policy.

Sir *John Newport* supported the bill. He denied, that the improvement of the condition of the negroes by their removal to our colonies, if it were even real, was any excuse for taking them away from their own country. He maintained, that the consideration of revenue, trade, and navigation, even if those things were to be affected, should have no weight when put in competition with justice and humanity. It was a traffic which had its foundation in injustice and in blood, and against such an abominable article of commerce, he would ever raise his voice: *fiat justitia ruat cœlum.*

Earl *Temple* said, that, if the question were now whether the slave trade should commence, he, for one, should be against it decidedly; but the question was, to what degree we were to consult the interest of the colonies, to preserve which the faith of parliament was pledged; and, as to the ground of humanity, he contended, that unless the hon. gent. who brought this measure forward could give security that the rest of Europe would not take this trade up, when we should drop it, the purpose of humanity would be so far from being answered, that it would be defeated, by our putting out of our control that power which we used with moderation, and giving it to others, who would exercise it with cruelty. Another great point to be considered was, what would be the situation of the whites in the West-Indies, if this trade was abolished? Did the hon. gent. mean the emancipation of the negroes in the West-Indies to follow this abolition of the African trade? If he did, let him say so at once; this would be telling the slaves in the West-Indies, that they were the only slaves upon earth; that their brothers in Africa were to be free in future, and they alone were to be slaves. This, he apprehended, would be sealing the death warrant of every white man in the West-India islands and plantations. Another point was, how far the house was justified in putting an end to a trade in this island, after it had encouraged the produce of certain commodities there, depending upon the trade, and altering the course in which so much money was vested? or in other words, how far we were justified in breaking our contract? These were the general grounds on which he opposed the second reading of this bill; but most emphatically, he said, he opposed it, because he believed the moment this bill was past, the death warrant of every white man in the West-Indies would be sealed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer.*—Sir, the arguments of my noble friend, if they succeeded, would not only prevent the second reading of this bill now, but prevent any farther progress in the measure at any future period. I have stated, that it did not appear to me that much would be advanced upon this subject; but my noble friend has convinced me of my error, for he has said something new upon it, and not only new, but extraordinary; because it is extraordinary, that a man of my noble friend's understanding, should, upon the ground of humanity, use such arguments. From his desire to spare the effusion of human blood; from his eagerness to spare the lives of human beings; nay, from his desire to consult the feelings of the negroes in the West-Indies; from compassion and charity towards them, it is extraordinary, indeed, that he should insist on the continuance of this traffic. This is the way in which my noble friend would sooth and assuage the fury of the negroes by telling them, that not only they shall continue in slavery, but the whole of their progeny, spread over a vast quarter of the earth, are to be doomed to be the sacrifice of this horrid traffic to all eternity. I own, if any thing ought to surprise me after what I have heard in support of this trade, this species of argument might do so; but what has given my noble friend the confidence to use this argument is that which has frequently been urged by those who oppose the abolition that the negroes in the West-Indies are to be emancipated; and my noble friend thought he collected an answer, but it was not so intended by the supporters of this bill. He then gave way to his effusions of humanity, and desires us to consider the state of the feelings of the negroes in the West-Indies, when they were to be told, they were to be the only slaves in the world. Now, I never heard it said by the advocates for the abolition, that the emancipation would be immediate; that has always been stated as the consequence of the abolition by its opponents, and as constantly disclaimed by its friends.—Here Mr. Pitt proceeded to observe, that no man who had considered the subject well, had any thought of the emancipation of the negroes in the West-Indies, but that it was considered as one of the numerous good effects of the abolition of the African trade, that it would ameliorate the condition of the negroes in the West-Indies, and bring them forward into that state of improvement that might fit them for a condition of much less rigour than they are compelled of necessity to endure now; because when it was known that a stop was put to this inhuman, though lawful traffic, not only compassion to them, but the immediate interest of the planters, would lead them to take better care of the stock they had, since they could not replenish it; and then the hitherto harassed and oppressed negro may be comprised in the list of those who enjoy comforts allowed in general to the rest of the human race; and he had always thought it a fundamental error in those who opposed the abolition, to think that either the emancipation of the negroes in the West-Indies would be the immediate effect of the abolition, or that it would not be accomplished at all, with safety, until the negroes in the West-Indies were fit for emancipation; when, in truth, an improvement in their condition would be one of the many good effects, and necessarily so, of the abolition, and which could never be produced without it. He then proceeded to shew, that it was for the interest of the planters themselves, and for the benefit of all the islands; and those who look at the subject with reference to the principles of general philosophy, would most readily admit that the system of restraint was as unprofitable as it was odious; that the labour of a man who was conscious of freedom, was much more valuable than of him who felt he was a slave; that he who was conscious he was free, was much more likely to improve than he who felt himself in bondage. Thus, he would venture to say, that, if the slave trade were abolished, there would be an end of that state of alarm; for, said he, alarm there is for the safety of the lives and properties of the planters and proprietors of negroes in the West-Indies. There would then be a cure for the fever which has agitated the spirits, and disturbed the understanding of many persons, and made them blind to their true interests, when they have been considering this subject; for so they cetainly were, when telling us, as they have year after year, that the state of the negroes is such, that we ought not to agitate the question of the abolition of the African slave trade, lest the misunderstanding of it should deluge the islands in blood. And what is the conclusion they draw from this? Why, the noble lord, who, if the trade were now to begin, tells you he would oppose it, tells you, at the same moment, that it must continue, and continue for ever; for so it must, upon the principle on which he supports it, and that for the safety of the West-India islands. Now, I appeal to every gent. in the trade, whether, by the importation of slaves, since the year 1792 to the present time, their property, I mean the original property embarked in this trade, has been improved? Or whether the whole of the importation since that time has not been for the sake of employing capital in the cultivation of new land in rivalship to the old property in the slave trade? Whether new colonies have not arisen to rival the old ones? And then I would ask the same gentlemen, what they think of the increased danger to the islands by that great and sudden increase of black population, and this at a time too the most critical, after the planters have been, year after year, applying, as they are doing now, for the interference of govt. in their behalf, on account of having produced more sugar than they can find purchasers for all over the world? To continue this traffic would be to continue these evils and to increase this danger. My noble friend says, that the abolition of this trade, would seal the death warrant of every white person in the West-Indies. I say that the death warrant would be the continuance of the traffic. I would ask any man, who understands this subject, what he would expect to be the result of that continuance for ten years? As to the bad effects which the abolition would have upon the minds and feelings of the negroes themselves, my noble friend could hardly be serious, when he said, the effects would be so dreadful. He supposed, that upon the abolition of the African slave trade, the negroes in the West-Indies are to be told, "you are to be the only slaves in the world; the rest of your countrymen are to have freedom, and all the happiness which freemen enjoy in human society; they are to have all the comforts of indulging their attachment to their native soil, of giving entire sway to their partiality for their old habits, and they will be happy, provided they are not liable to the unnatural intrusion of others." The noble lord supposed, that this is to be said to the negroes in the West-Indies on the abolition of the slave trade. Now, how does this tally with what we have been told by every opposer of the abolition, that the negroes themselves in Africa were interested in the continuance of the slave trade, for that they were, when slaves under us in the West-Indies, in a state of happiness compared with that of their native country, where torture and death would be the consequence, if we were not so kind to them as to draw them into a state of slavery? It is impossible for such an argument as this to have any weight. I would, therefore, intreat those who oppose this measure, to consider the dangers with which the West-India islands have been threatened.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer next adverted to the situation of St. Domingo, and shewed, that nothing was so dangerous as the influence of jacobinical emissaries on the African negroes. He said, no other nation but England, from its capital, and its hostile and commercial marine, could continue the slave trade; and he concluded with asserting, that this was the most fortunate time at which the humanity of this country could be exercised for the annihilation of this nefarious system. There never before occurred such an opportunity as now offers for the accomplishment of this acknowledged desirable purpose, and which perhaps, if we neglect it, may never occur again.

Dr. *Laurence* paid a just tribute of praise to the declamatory powers of the right hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer. He, however, differed from him in opinion as to the propriety of the bill before the house. The condition of slavery he thought bad in any country or with respect to any description of human beings. However, he could not think that the mode now adopted for doing away that state of slavery was as efficient to the purpose as the other. The hon. and learned gent. argued, that those who contended for the abolition of the slave trade, must also contend for the emancipation of the slaves, and the abolition of slavery itself in any part of the dominions of this country. He would not say, that it was just to impose the condition of slavery on any man; but he maintained, that the mode now proposed to remedy the evil was neither just nor effectual. In the course of his speech he stated that Mr. Burke had reprobated the attempt to abolish slavery.

The *Attorney-General* lamented, that with all the hon. and learned gentleman's anxiety for the abolition of any state of slavery, he neither could bring his mind to agree to the measure now before the house, nor yet to bring forward any new proposition for that purpose. He, however, covered himself in general terms with a recommendation of "the other mode," as if it was so generally known that there was no necessity to define it, although that mode had never before been heard of, or at least he had never had the happiness to be present when it was described. — He expressed his sentiments on the policy of the present measure, and lamented that it had not been adopted when it was moved for in the year 1788, being convinced, that the situation of the islands and their inhabitants would, in that case, have been in much more security.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that it was in vain to argue whether or not the question was a matter of humanity, but to consider the practicability of it. It was not proper for the house to be carried away by the eloquence to which such a question might give rise. To proceed upon the system of prohibition was absurd in that house, while we had so many instances of its being rejected in the upper house. It was impossible for any one nation to put an end to that evil, because it was only a signal for other nations to take the lead in the importation of slaves, and the peculiar war in which we were engaged, rendered our squadrons not so capable of preventing a contraband trade as it might do in times of peace. The measure upon the whole would do more harm than good, and the state of St. Domingo did not alter his opinion upon the subject. He had always looked to the West Indies with serious apprehensions, as being a channel which exposed us to all the calamities of war, of climate, and of dangers arising from the discussion of this question of rational humanity. There was, however, no other mode to combat these evils, but to find some mode in which other nations would co-operate with us, for without such co-operation, any attempt on our part to attain such objects was only misleading ourselves. The demand for colonial produce was daily increasing, and would continue to do so. In the end we should only find that we had deprived ourselves of the means of accomplishing our object, and that the evil must subsist till terminated by other means. He would wish the trade to exist in favour of the commercial interest of our country, instead of thus being thrown into the hands of Denmark, Spain, or any other country in Europe. There might be some methods taken to increase the population of the country; and such a subject was a very proper consideration for a committee of the house. Supposing that a duty of 10l. was to be laid upon each male slave, and 5l. upon every female, it might be calculated to produce about 140,000l. which sum might be applied judiciously towards the encouragement of the population of the West Indies, and he was convinced there could be no plan more congenial to the feelings of our Sovereign, or more consistent with the genuine dictates of humanity. If the master was to be taken up by other countries, the West-Indians, by adopting any other plan, would be acting contrary to human feelings, at the same time that they would be injuring their interests.

Mr. *Fox* said, that the noble lord had alluded to the question of practicability in a manner which he could not understand. It was not, however, a question which was new; and as to the regularity of alluding to what had passed, or might yet pass, in another house, he confessed that it was undoubtedly true, that bills of regulation had been there thrown out; but that single circumstance did not argue that a different result might not happen on the present occasion, or that we might not yet have the chance of the coalition of that house, because it had undergone changes in every respect. Was there not a reverend bench of bishops there who had in general shown that they understood the true principles of religion, and were consequently disposed to leave, as it were, the question of practicability behind? It had already been proved that, in proposing the abolition of the slave trade, we never could have the cordial consent of the West India planters. In the year 1797, an hon. member of that house had proposed a recommendation to the King, in order to promote a purpose similar to the present bill. That motion had been carried, and he would now wish to learn what had yet been done towards the abolition of that illegal traffic? There had been neither abolition, diminution, nor regulation adopted, tending to that desirable end. If there had been any thing done in consequence of such proposal, the country would have had occasion to have boasted of it at this day. The only question that now remained for consideration was, whether we could or could not abolish it, and it was extraordinary to hear the arguments against it. Could not the Parliament of G. Britain prohibit the subjects of this country from carrying on any trade whatever, and why should it be said that they could not do so in the present instance? If it could not do so, it was no govt. at all. The noble lord seemed to argue from religious principles which he (Mr. F.) could not understand. He had heard of some extraordinary instances of the wonderful effects of religious influence upon some people's minds; and he could mention one in the case of the late Mr. Cowper, the poet, who, during a considerable part of his life, was deprived of his senses, and was troubled with ideas the most horrible in human nature, conceiving that the Governor of the universe had marked him out for eternal perdition, and therefore he thought it was incumbent upon him not to lift up his hands, or offer a prayer for his salvation. How far such a case might apply in the present instance, he would leave it for the house to determine. We were thus going on from day to day, violating all the laws of humanity and every principle of justice, and saying, that it was not us alone, but all the nations of the world, who were doing so. The slave trade was to be considered in the present instance a British trade, and no other, and therefore it depended on ourselves to obviate it, and adopt what means we chose to meet the effects of a contraband trade. The description of the African trade, as given by Mr. Park, was well worth the attention of the house. That gent. had said, that in proportion as the districts of that country were remote from the coasts, the slaves received better treatment. Was it to be said that, because we were not bound to go like knights errant to Africa, in order to relieve these slaves, that we were entitled to go and add to their oppression? Supposing that the slaves, when in their native country were guilty of robbery and other crimes, was there any thing binding upon us to go there, and act as the police officers of the King of Dahomy? Let that King act as he pleased, there was surely no necessity for our performing the office of the most humble individual and becoming executioners, or in other words, to act as the Jack Ketch of the King of Dahomy. No person could deny, that the situation of St. Domingo was a serious and awful warning to us not to increase the numbers of blacks over the whites on our colonial possessions. It was our duty to afford an example to other countries, and in five years hence we should find it adopted by those who had not thought proper to persevere in what they themselves had attempted.

Mr. *Windham* admitted most readily the justice of the principle on which the abolition was brought forward and supported, but saw many difficulties that might occur in carrying the measure into execution. He much doubted if it would not be productive of very serious consequences to the national prosperity. He adverted to the influence our example was supposed to have, and did not see that the full effect of what had taken place in St. Domingo could be yet ascertained. He was against the abolition, on the ground that if this country were to give up the trade altogether, we had no security that other powers would not continue the traffic.

Sir *Lawrence Parsons* said, he would wish to see some plan proposed for the gradual abolition of slavery, but disapproved of the present measure, as being highly prejudicial to the mercantile interest.

Mr. *Barham* supported the bill. He was formerly against it; but the order of things which had taken place in St. Domingo had brought us to a crisis, which must determine us now, either totally to abolish the trade, or to renounce for ever the design.

Mr. *Deverell* said, he had been as sanguine an advocate for the abolition as the hon. mover of the bill; but an entire revisal of all the arguments had made him a convert to the contrary opinion.

Mr. *Whitbread* thought it incumbent on him, as an ardent friend to the bill, to offer a few words in reply to an hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) on the bench below him. He said he was a friend to the abolition of this disgraceful traffic, but he did not think himself bound, on that account, to vote for the emancipation of the negroes in the West India islands. That unfortunate description of men were not in a state fit either to comprehend or to enjoy the blessings of rational freedom. With regard to the statement of the opposers of the bill, that it would involve the ruin of 70 millions of property, it was undeserving of credit; for, he was persuaded, there was not one 70th of that capital embarked in what was properly called the slave trade; and he fully agreed with the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, that if there was an end put to the trade to-morrow, the West India islands would not be less cultivated than they now are. We had a dreadful example before our eyes in what had happened in St. Domingo; and he feared that the abolition, if it was even carried at present, would come too late. Had the proposition originally made by the hon. mover of the bill been then adopted, the West India proprietors would not be placed in the state of apprehension and insecurity that they now are.

Mr. *Wilberforce* rose for the purpose of defending the memory of the late Mr. Burke from imputations which had been thrown upon it, from a quarter he should have little expected. He would put it to the recollection of many persons now present, whether that great character did not declare in his place in that house, that he had long entertained some distinct ideas respecting the alleviation of the miseries of the negro slaves: but that since the house had, with such honour to itself, taken up the subject upon a more enlarged and liberal plan than he as an humble individual durst venture on, he would throw those ideas to the wind, as the magicians that we sometimes read of were said to throw their mystic leaves. He recollected also, that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) who now so strenuously opposed the measure, when he rose to speak in that house on the first introduction of the measure, and Mr. Burke was then living, commenced that speech which delighted and astonished all who heard it, by declaring that he laboured under the same difficulty that a man would do who was called on to prove a self-evident proposition. He lamented, from the bottom of his soul, that the right hon. gent. had abandoned the cause of justice and humanity. He regretted that such high talents and virtues should have lent their great aid to the continuance of a traffic, not only dishonourable but destructive to the nation. He could not help applying to him the couplet of our immortal poet:

> Who would not laugh, if such a man there be?
> Who would not weep, if Atticus were he?

He would not at that late hour answer any of what the supporters of the trade called arguments against the bill, but contend, that if once the progress of the trade were arrested in Africa, the situation of the negroes in the West Indies must be improved, and for this, the strongest of all reasons, that it would be the interest of their masters to do so.

Mr. *Windham* shortly explained; and the question being called for, the house divided on the question of the second reading.—Ayes 100, Noes 42—Majority 58.—The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Tuesday next.—On the question for calling in the counsel, a conversation of some length ensued. The question was carried in the affirmative: but Mr. Scarlet, on opening the business, pleaded a want of preparation on his own part and that of his colleagues. Their further hearing was therefore postponed to the next stage of the bill, and the house adjourned at two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, June 8, 1804.

Counsel and evidence were called to the bar respecting Tighe's divorce bill, but the evidence then adduced, with respect to the solemnization of the marriage, not being of that full, satisfactory, and technical nature required by their lordships, it was ordered, after some conversation on the subject between the Lord Chancellor, Lords Westmeath and Ellenborough, and the Bishop of Rochester, that the further consideration of the bill be postponed till Tuesday se'nnight, to afford the petitioner an opportunity of bringing forward the required evidence, &c. —The bills upon the table were forwarded in their several stages; after which their lordships made considerable progress in hearing evidence respecting the Aylesbury election bill.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, June 8, 1804.

[Minutes.]—Petitions were presented from the prisoners confined for debt in the prisons of Carlisle, Nottingham, and Beverley. Ordered to lie upon the table.—Mr. Dent moved, that the several petitioners against the slave trade abolition bill be heard by themselves or their counsel, on the report of the said bill. Ordered.—Mr. H. Addington said, that on account of a material informality in one of the clauses of the cotton manufacturers bill, he begged the house would allow him to withdraw it, and bring in another in its room, which should be strictly conformable to the resolution. Leave given. The right hon. gent. then obtained leave to bring in the new bill, which he brought in accordingly. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday, and to be printed.—On the motion of Mr. Coke, the report of the committee on the corn bill, was ordered to be re-committed to the same committee.—Mr. James Fitzgerald brought in a bill for amending the election act for Ireland, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday se'nnight, and printed.—On the motion of Mr. Lascelles, the second reading of the clothiers' bill was fixed for Monday next.—Mr. Dent moved, that there be laid before the house, an account of all the West India produce imported into Great Britain, from the 1st of Jan. 1803, to the latest period to which it could be made up; distinguishing the nature and value of such produce. Ordered.—On the motion of Mr. C. Dundas, the committee on the misdemeanour bill, was deferred till Monday, for the purpose of proposing some new clauses.—Sir L. Parsons moved, that the papers presented on the 7th of May, respecting the slave trade, be printed. Ordered.—Sir W. Elford, after alluding to a motion of which he had given notice, but which, from various reasons, he had been prevented from bringing forward, respecting the conduct of the late board of admiralty, wished now to withdraw that motion; because the first object which it had in view, viz. the removal of the minister who presided in that department, had already been obtained, and he now only wished that justice would be done to the individuals who had suffered from that conduct. That justice would be done them, he readily expected from the liberality and clemency of the noble lord who now presided in the same department. Should he, however, be disappointed in that expectation, which he could not well bring himself to believe, he reserved to himself the right of again resuming his motion until the latter object of it was accomplished.—Mr. J. Fitzgerald rose to move for several documents; among others, a return of the names of the commissioners who had been appointed to inquire what compensation had been made for those boroughs in Ireland which have ceased since the union to return any members to parliament. Sir J. Wrottesley suggested to the hon. gent. that there were none of the ministers present who were more particularly connected with the govt. of Ireland, and begged leave to remind him, that it was the pretty general practice of the house to give notice of such motions. Mr. J. Fitzgerald readily acquiesced in the suggestion, and gave notice, that on Monday next he should bring forward a motion to the same effect.—Mr. Rose, in allusion to a notice which he had given yesterday, said, that an hon. member of that house had accepted the reversion of an office in the duchy of Lancaster, viz. the place of prothonotary in the common pleas in that duchy, and some doubt had arisen in his mind, whether on his accepting that office, the hon. member alluded to should vacate his seat, agreeably to the act of Queen Anne. He looked for precedents on the journals, and he found some, where members, on accepting such offices, had actually vacated their seats; yet, as the duchy of Lancaster was separate from the crown, he did not well see how the above act could operate in that case. To remove these doubts was the object of the motion which he wished now to bring forward.—Mr. Banks observed, that the intended motion of the right hon. gent. seemed to involve a point of some delicacy and difficulty, and it was his opinion the house should not come to a precipitate and unprepared decision upon it. He, therefore, wished the motion might be postponed to a future day.—Mr. Rose acquiesced, and gave notice of a similar motion for Monday.

[IRISH LINEN TRADE.]—Mr. *Foster* moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee on the petitions from the linen manufacturers of Ireland, praying for a repeal of the duties lately imposed on the export linen trade.—The house having gone into the committee, the right hon. gent. proceeded to state the ground of the different petitions. They prayed for the repeal of the 4½ and 4 per cent. duty lately laid upon the export of Irish linen, which formed the staple commodity of Ireland, and on the export of which principally depended the prosperity of that country. That trade had, of late years, very considerably decreased; for since the year 1800, down to the last year, the export of Irish linen had decreased from 46 millions of yards to 36½. This decrease was greatly imputable to the tax; and in his mind, instead of the imposition of a new tax, a bounty should be granted on the export. Indeed a certain bounty had already been granted; but that bounty was counteracted by the tax, which involved an evident inconsistency in the measure. Instead, therefore, of a fresh duty being imposed, an increased bounty should, in his opinion, be rather granted. He could assure the house that it was the sense and feeling of the people of Ireland to solicit no favour, but what might extend to the advantage of the empire at large, and that they did not wish to acquire any benefit in which all, every part of the empire, did not equally participate. Under that impression, he moved the committee for leave to bring in a bill to exempt linen from all duties on export, from all the ports of the united kingdom.

Sir *R. Peele* observed, that cotton was applied to the same purposes as linen: perhaps, therefore, it might be well not to confine the indulgence now solicited to that branch only of our manufactures. Such a partial indulgence might have an unfavourable effect; perhaps, therefore, the house, at a future period, might feel it necessary either to put a check upon the indulgence now to be granted, or to grant a similar indulgence to the cotton branch.

Sir *J. Newport* said there was a striking difference between the condition of the two manufactures, the one flourished, the other was rapidly decaying; was it, therefore, to burthen with increased taxes the branch that was on the decline?

Mr. *Lee* contended, that the cotton manufactures had already been expressly exempted.

Sir *R. Peele* said, that he seemed to be misunderstood by the hon. gent. He did not mean to discourage the present application, he confessed that the linen trade was more depressed than the cotton; he, therefore, at present, asked no indulgence for the latter.

Mr. *Foster* complimented the worthy baronet on his liberality, and expressed his earnest wish that the two countries might meet each other in the foreign markets not as rivals, but as mutual friends. The only race which he was anxious to see Ireland run with Great Britain, was the race of liberality.

Mr. *Dawson* directed the attention of the house to the impolicy of the tax, the injurious effects of which were already so visible, and he trusted his right hon. friend who had brought forward the business, and who was now in power, would use that power for the protection and benefit of that trade on which the prosperity of Ireland almost solely depended. He did not, however, observe, that he had vacated his seat on accepting his high office.

Mr. *Foster* said, there was no ground for his vacating his seat, and if he had vacated it, he could not now be present.

Mr. *Ormsby* said, he should be always vigilant to see that no violation was made in the spirit of the articles of the union as they related to the mutual commercial advantages of the two countries; and he rejoiced to see that in the present instance that spirit was faithfully adhered to.—The motion was put and agreed to: the report of the committee was then received, and a bill ordered to be brought in pursuant to the resolution.

[SLAVE TRADE.]—Mr. *Fuller* begged leave to ask the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, whether he would agree to a motion for an address to his Majesty, praying for directions to be given, that there be laid before the house copies, if any, of a treaty said to have been entered into between Gen. Dessalines, of St. Domingo, and Mr. Corbett, of Jamaica; in which treaty it was to be stipulated, that the govt. of St. Domingo might import slaves from Africa.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that he was not yet prepared to give an explicit answer to that question. He felt, however, no hesitation in saying, that he understood an overture to that effect had been made by the govt. of St. Domingo; and he believed the fact, that a stipulation was proposed for leave to import negroes.

Mr. *Fuller* said, that the right hon. gent. had given him the whole of the information which he was anxious to obtain.

[ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day to be now read for the second reading of the additional force bill. It was accordingly read, and upon the question that the bill be now read a second time,

Col. *Calcraft* rose to offer a few observations upon the subject of the bill. He owned that he felt some share of surprise, that since his Majesty's councils had received the additional aid of the right hon. gent., for he by no means considered the administration a new one, and after all the house had heard from him before upon the subject of the defence of the realm, and all the eloquence he had displayed in reprobating the inefficiency of those plans adopted by his predecessors, he did expect, now that he came ostensibly into office, to hear from him a plan fraught with all that energy, vigour, and efficiency of which he had talked with so much ability. He could not have thought, that after such an opening of his purpose as that with which he had a short time since entertained the house, and amused the country, that he should come forward with a plan, which, so far from seeming to his view to contain any feature of the promised efficiency, abandoned the only part of the plan of the former bill, which promised any thing like expedition, or efficiency, in completing the numbers of the public force, namely, the principle of ballotting; and that the only point of efficiency on which he seemed to place his first reliance, or, indeed, that at all promised to be productive, was that of calling on the several counties to make up forthwith the deficit of their respective quotas of 9,000 men army of reserve, and 7,000 militia, still wanting to complete the number voted by parliament, which promised no further increase, in any reasonable time, than the addition of 16,000 men; while he abandons entirely the principle of ballotting, the only one which promised expedition and effect, and resorts to a principle by no means new; for it was no more than the revival of the plan carried into operation in the year 1796, for raising men for the navy, by calling on the counties and districts for quotas of men, but which did not procure above one tenth of the number proposed. The mode in which the right hon. gent. proposed to apply this measure, was by throwing the men so raised into second battalions, though raised for fencible service, in hopes of thus infusing into them a military spirit, and inducing them to enlist in the first battalion, which may, at the same time, be upon duty in the East or West Indies, and thus to confound every idea of regularity in the service. But this was consistency and perfect order, compared with the proposal of the right hon. gent., for the promotion and interchange of officers, whereby the senior officer in the second battalion was to be promoted to the junior rank in the first, and the junior in the first sent back for senior rank in the second. Thus, officers who had been detached to the East or West Indies, or other foreign countries, upon the most arduous service, and whose superiors falling in action opened to them views of speedy promotion, would have the mortification of being sent back to England, after years of arduous service, to a second battalion, and senior lieutenancy, perhaps, while officers who had remained quietly and comfortably in England, would be sent to receive promotion in the senior battalion, in whose arduous services they had borne no part. This arrangement, he was confident, so far from being satisfactory and encouraging to meritorious and active officers, would be productive of general discontent. The mode of raising the men also, instead of by the ordinary one of recruiting, was to be by the parish officers, at a bounty of six guineas, to whom some small premium was to be given per man, by way of encouraging their diligence in the raising of these men; but if they failed in completing their quota within a given time, then a penalty somewhat higher than the bounty was to be levied upon the parish for each man deficient. It would be recollected, that while the parish officers were allowed to give only six guineas per man, the recruiting serjeants were allowed to offer ten guineas: the result of which would be, to create so much difficulty in raising the men, that the parishes would rather abandon the task altogether, and pay the difference between the bounty allowed them and the fine to be levied, and then the expense would operate as a partial tax upon landed property. He was not prepared at this moment to go fully into a detail of the whole bill, which, however, appeared to him, in many parts, fraught with very objectionable principles. It had been very aptly described by an hon. member, not now in his place, as a renovation of the quota bill of 1795; and he was confident it would have a similar effect, and not raise one-tenth of the number of men proposed to be obtained by it. He could not forget that measure, and the manner in which it was carried into effect, as the immediate source of the calamitous mutiny which shortly afterwards occurred in our fleet at the Nore. The right hon. gent. seemed to think otherwise, but he thought there could be no cause more likely than placing on board our fleet men so totally different in all respects from the character of British seamen, men who were ripe for any species of sedition, or conspiracy, the very scum and dregs of the population of the country. The object of this bill was to raise men expeditiously for the army of the line, but the question for the house to consider was, whether or not it was likely to effect that end? For his own part, he thought the contrary would be the result, and that the ordinary mode of recruiting would be incomparably more productive, if the right hon. gent. could make up his mind to abandon the grand impeding principle of inlisting for life. He felt the fullest confidence that if the right hon. gent. would consent to abandon that principle, and make such arrangements as to constitute the West-India duty a distinct service, he would effect the object of completing the public force with a rapidity and effect which, under this bill, would be impracticable. He should therefore oppose the second reading of the bill.

Sir *Robert Buxton* denied that the men to be raised by the present bill could be fairly compared to the quota men of 1795. A very material distinction was to be seen in the manner in which the two bodies of men were raised. The quota men were raised at the expense of the parish, with the dread of a very heavy penalty if they were not raised within a limited period; the parish officers, therefore, had recourse to extraordinary means to obtain them. The men to be raised by the present bill were to be raised at the expense of govt.; the parish officers were only made the instruments of raising them; and if any duty was imposed, without a fine being imposed in case of failure or neglect to perform that duty, there was but little use in saying that the duty should be performed by one person more than another. There was besides this, a great good to be seen in this measure, which the hon. gent. had seemed entirely to overlook; the ballot, which formerly excited so much apprehension in the minds of the public, would be now put an end to. The effects of the bill would not be, as formerly, to throw the burden entirely on the poor, but would place them on an equal footing with the rich, as far as the operation of the bill went. From a due consideration of the state of the country, from the absolute necessity which he saw for raising an additional military force at the present period, and from the excellence of the plan proposed, he should give it his most hearty support.

Mr. *Yorke* declared, that in rising on the present occasion it was not at all his intention to give any thing like factious opposition. It was a principle which he should always hold, that it was the duty of every one to support the govt., if he was satisfied that their measures were calculated to promote the interests of the country. Consistently, however, with the opinions which he had formerly delivered respecting the defence of the country, and the idea which he had formed of this bill, from the short consideration which he had been able to give it, he could not afford it his support. Some parts of the measure he certainly did approve of, while others were of a nature which did not seem to him fit to be entertained by the house. He confessed that the idea of enlisting men for limited service might, if properly organized, be productive of the greatest advantage; and he allowed, that such was the system adopted by all the great military powers of Europe. Still, the practicability of recruiting the army effectually by this plan was a matter of doubt. A scheme, indeed, of separating colonial from general service had been in agitation, and if reduced to practice might produce very important consequences. Till, however, that was effected, we must look to other means of keeping up our regular military force. Till such a measure was brought about, he did not see how, independent of ballot, this supply could be regularly obtained. It was never attempted in any of the countries of Europe to keep up the army by voluntary offers of service. In Austria, in Prussia, in France, in Russia, compulsory measures were uniformly resorted to, and a ballot more or less extensive was employed for the purpose. Without such a measure, the military establishment of these countries could never have been preserved; and, in the present circumstances of this country, ballot was equally necessary to keep up such an army as our present situation imperiously demanded. As a friend to the militia system, as well as to the army of reserve, he could not but think that the ballotting system ought to have been retained. But, to direct his observations more particularly to the question, he declared, that to the general principle of the bill he had no specific objection. He objected to the bill; first, as to the amount of the men proposed to be raised; secondly, as to the manner of their being raised; and thirdly, as to the time in which the measure had been brought forward. Before he proceeded to make a few observations on these points, he begged leave to say, that it was pretty generally allowed, that under the measures of the late govt., a degree of security as applicable to any foreign danger had been obtained, and that we had come to that state which called on us to look to our means of providing a disposable force. The danger formerly existing was admitted to have been at least so far abated as to give us an opportunity of turning our attention to a permanent system for recruiting and keeping up to its full complement our regular army—an army not only calculated to meet the emergency then existing, but to prepare us for any future contests in which we might happen to be involved. It was with this view that the bill was introduced, and the house were called on to view it as the foundation of a permanent military establishment. In this light he considered it, and viewing it in this light, he meant to apply his present observations. The number of men proposed to be raised was the first ground of the objections which he had to state against the bill. The number appeared to him to be too great to be at all consistent with the recruiting for the regular army. It was proposed that the militia should be reduced to 40,000 for England and 8,000 for Scotland. In this case there would be a diminution to the amount of 20 000 for England, while the diminution for Scotland would be to the amount of 4 000. This number it was intended to throw altogether into the army of reserve, by which arrangement the number would be augmented to no less than 65,000. This was an arrangement which he could not possibly support; for it directly interfered with the recruiting both for the regular army and for the marines, the number of which were now considerably below the number voted by parliament. The knowledge of the deficiencies in both of these branches of the service, was, he declared, one strong inducement for him to propose the suspension of the army of reserve act for one year. With regard to the proposed reduction of the militia, he had no objection to the plan, and he did not see that leaving the whole number at 48,000, would be attended with any bad consequences. But what he objected to was, the throwing all the vacancies as they occurred to be filled up, in the army of reserve. If the army of reserve were thus to be supported, it was quite ridiculous to talk of filling up the regular army, which, now that our means of internal defence were completed, was admitted on all hands to be the great object of attention. If it was attempted to fill up the numbers of the army of reserve to the amount proposed, he had no difficulty in declaring it as his opinion, that the attempt would be totally disappointed. With regard to the mode in which the men were to be raised, he had an equally distinct objection. He was convinced, that in proportion as the severity of the provisions of the army of reserve act were relaxed, the plan of filling up the the deficiencies would become altogether nugatory. An hon. friend of his (Sir R. Buxton) had congratulated the house on the idea that, as the plan now stood, it would release the land owner from the severe pressure under which, by the provisions of the reserve act, he had laboured. He himself confessed that he was rather at a loss to understand how this was to be effected. The only efficacious principle of the plan, as it now stands, is, the infliction of the fine, in cases where a sufficient number of men were not procured. If the fine was to be levied at all, it must be levied principally on the land owners, and this being the case, it was not very easy to see in what the alteration adverted to by the hon. baronet consisted. The present measure appeared to him to have in its mode of execution, a considerable affinity to the quota bill. It had been said, that a right hon. friend near him (Mr. Addington) had on a former night, declared, that not one-tenth of the number of men to be raised by the bill had been procured. Undoubtedly, this assertion is not to be taken in the full extent, so far as the recruits for the army and navy were concerned. As to the navy, nearly the quota numbers were procured; but it was very different indeed with the army. It was true that about 7,000 men were raised; but then, out of this number, not more than 1,400 were retained as efficient for military service. He had reason to believe, that when he reckoned the number so high, he rather over-rated than diminished their amount. At this moment, the whole remains of these recruits which had been connected with different corps, were embodied in the 61st regt. at Malta, and their whole number was not above 600. With these facts before them, he called on the house to consider how far it would be proper, under the existing circumstances of the country, to lay aside the balloting system? He asked, whether it was possible reasonably to expect that we should, independent of compulsory measures, have such an army as all professed anxious to see established? The principle of the militia establishment was founded on ballot. It was recognized and acknowledged by the wisdom of our ancestors. It had, on many occasions, been the grand source of our security. At the commencement of a war, it enabled us to preserve our rank and consequence in the scale of nations. It was not, therefore, wise nor politic to give up a certainty for an uncertainty, to relinquish what had been proved, what had either not been tried, or had been tried and totally failed. As to the bounty proposed to be given to those who volunteered their services, there was nothing novel in the plan. The same regulation, though to a less extent, had prevailed ever since the year 1756, when it was fixed that those who were balloted for, should receive one-half of the bounty.—On the whole, he was convinced, that if the men were to be obtained, they would be obtained only by compulsory measures, or by the operation of a ballot. With regard to the time in which the plan was brought forward, he had to offer a few observations. Having provided for the defence of the country against the dangers, however formidable, which threatened it; having at this moment 500 000 men in arms; a force, which, if it was not adequate to repel any invader, the country was not worth defending; the great object, as he had repeatedly observed, was, the augmentation of our disposable force. When he alluded to this, he referred to the augmentation of our infantry of the line, for we had a sufficient supply of cavalry and artillery. Under this impression the members of his Majesty's late govt. had applied themselves to the consideration of this object, and formed a plan for carrying it into effect. They had resolved that a certain number of second battalions should be raised, to be attached to some of the oldest regiments in the service. They had determined also, that ten new battalions should be formed, principally in Ireland and Scotland, with the greatest possible dispatch. He took it for granted that this plan was now to be abandoned; for if the bill proceeded, the number of men proposed to be raised could not be procured. Those who were most sanguine in their expectations from the bill, trusted a great deal to the patriotism and public spirit of the people. He would be the last man to disparage this patriotism or public spirit. In the application of the army of reserve act, they had unquestionably displayed themselves in the most conspicuous colours. By the numbers of men which, under the aid of this spirit, that act had procured the foundation of our security was permanently established. Whatever sanguine expectations gentlemen entertained on the subject, he was free to confess that he did not at all relish the mode in which this success, if it was effected, was to be obtained. If parish officers were to act in procuring the recruits from their respective districts, they must of course expect to receive some compensation or reward for their labour. In this way he could not help conceiving that they would assume the character and habits of mere crimps; a species of beings to be detested and scouted in every virtuous community. It did not appear to him that in point of time the bill was at all of an urgent nature, that it held out any rational prospect of the immediate effect of the bill, even if passed into a law, and that no ground had been adduced for the house proceeding with precipitation, he therefore should oppose the 2d reading of the bill on the present occasion. He thought it should lie over till next session, and, in the mean-time, the right honourable gentleman might consider the whole military system of the country.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* said, he was happy to find, from the speech of the rt. hon. gent. who had just sat down, that he did not at all go into the ideas of another rt. hon gent. (Mr. Addington) on a former evening, that the bill was inconsistent with the principles of a free constitution. He was equally satisfied to see that the measure was not described as one either nugatory or oppressive. The rt. hon. gent. had contended against the efficacy of the bill, but had not maintained that its provisions were at all vexatious. It had been distinctly admitted, that at the present moment there was the strongest necessity for the augmentation of our regular disposable force. With the view of accomplishing this object, the bill, among other things, proposed the reduction of the militia, and this he conceived must appear a very important consideration. If a large disposable military force had become necessary, there was one of the most efficacious means for obtaining it. It had for a considerable time been the decided opinion of some of the best informed individuals in the country, that the present extent of the militia establishment was equally impolitic and inexpedient. Recent circumstances had occurred to give additional weight to that opinion. Since the union with Ireland, it has been found desirable that a large disposable force should be left for the service of that part of the united empire, and for that reason it has been contended that the services of the respective militias should be reciprocal. For grave reasons, it had not been thought proper at present to adopt this arrangement; but at the same time, if a disposable force for the protection of Ireland was on all hands admitted to be necessary, this afforded a strong argument for the gradual diminution of the militia of this country, and in their room to have a force whose services should extend to every part of the united kingdom. This was the object of the bill, and so far it had his decided support, and appeared to have powerful claims to the support of the house. As to the means by which the number of men to be raised by the bill were to be procured, he begged leave to make a very few remarks. It had been contended that, as the measure now stood, it would operate with peculiar pressure on the land owners; and for that reason, a right hon. gent. (Mr. Addington) had described it as highly oppressive. He confessed himself astonished to hear such language from the right hon. gent. under whose administration not less than 100,000 men had been raised by ballot. Did the rt. hon. gent. mean to assert, that the balloting system was attended with no inconveniencies and no hardships? He certainly could not hold such language. The thing was altogether impossible. If the question came to be strictly considered, it would be difficult to shew that there was even justice, far less humanity, in the system of balloting. The fact is, it either operated on the lower orders as a measure of compulsory service, or on those of better circumstances as a tax for the commutation of their services. Whether it operated in the one way or the other, it was impossible to deny that it was accompanied with harshness and severity. It had been argued, that though the army of reserve act was severe in its pressure, it was only a temporary, instead of what the present act meant to be, a permanent measure. It was not very easy to see on what ground this assertion was founded. If the army of reserve act was carefully examined, it would be rather a hard task to shew that it was not, in all points of view, as much of a permanent nature as that now before the house. There was not a single clause in the reserve act from which its temporary duration could be inferred. It was not fair, then, to employ these sort of arguments against the measure. It was but what candour required that it should stand on its merits impartially stated. The present bill was confessedly more lenient than the reserve act, and all argument drawn against it as a permanent measure were premature and unjustifiable. It had been affirmed that the present measure was nearly assimilated to the quota bill, and that this last measure had not obtained one-tenth part of the number of men which it was designed to procure. He was really at a loss to know what the documents were which could warrant an assertion so confidently brought before the house. The documents respecting the number of men procured for the army were not prepared with sufficient accuracy. With regard to the number procured for the navy, however, this was not the case. He could state confidently that of the 6,000 which were required, nearly 5,000 were actually levied and distributed among numbers of his Majesty's ships. But the present measure differs in one most important respect from the quota bill. In that case the bounties were unlimited, and in many instances they were enormously high. The whole was done by the parishes without the interference of the legislature at all. In the present case, the bounties were to be positively restricted. It was insinuated, that the men procured by this bill might be in character similar to those obtained by the quota bill, who had been described as the scum of society, as a set of individuals who carried with them disease and disaffection wherever they approached. On this point he had to say, that if improper persons were then introduced into the army and navy, it was not because they were drawn from the scum of society. It was because, in many instances, the bounties were so enormous that persons even above the lower orders of life were induced to enter the army or navy who otherwise would never have thought of entering into either. Such an inconvenience was now to be completely removed, and the only object which was in view was to prevent all the clashing and competition which high bounties had produced in all the branches of the service. If even the plan should not be so efficient as the system by ballot, still the regular army would have a better opportunity for recruiting, divested of all rivalry and competition. But a good deal had been said relative to the expediency of enlisting for a limited term of service. If the right hon. gent. however, who spoke last, was well founded in his opinion, that the bill would be altogether inefficient, then the recruiting for the regular army would not be at all affected. It had been admitted, that there was a deficiency of 9,000 men in the army of reserve, and the late ministers had confessed, that to attempt to supply this deficiency was a vain attempt. The bill professed to make this attempt, and it was surely but fair that the experiment should be tried. But it seems that a large body of men were to be raised for general service. He professed he did not see when it was found that the inducement of high bounties and limited service did not allure men to enlist, how a hope can be entertained of effecting this object without these inducements, and under the positive existence of reduced bounty. The great drawback to the recruiting formerly was, that those who had a desire to go into the army kept back in the hope that a still higher bounty might present itself. But, by the measure now before the house, this expectation would be removed. A permanent system would be looked up to, and recruiting would then have a chance of fair and full operation. The effect of the measure would, in the first instance, be to raise a force only for limited service; but the experience of what took place in the course of a few months, was sufficient to give us the best hopes of its effects. In these few months no fewer than 30,000 troops had volunteered for general service, and if this was the case, under very unfavourable circumstances, what might not be expected under those of the most encouraging nature, and when the number of the reserve would be increased from 40 to 60 or 70,000? On the local recruiting, which the bill goes to encourage, he wished to make a single observation. The effect of this system he needed not to describe. It must be obvious to every one who reflected for a moment on the subject. During the existence of the ballot, if a substitute was to be procured, those wanting him were not confined to their own district. They might go into the most populous districts and towns in the kingdom, from which alone the recruits for the regular army could be expected. By the provisions of the bill, however, this evil was remedied, and the field was left clear for the recruiting of the regular army. On the whole the rt. hon. gent. was fully convinced of the expediency of the bill, and sat down by giving it his decided support.

Mr. *Bastard* said, he thought he should find vigour and efficiency in the measures of the present administration, from the frequent charges made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer against his predecessor, for neglect and tardiness, but he was surprised that no proof was as yet given of the superior excellence of the one to the other. On reading this bill, he found, that it gave a power to the crown to enrol and raise 60 or 70,000 men, and to apply the money for raising them independently of Parliament. From the mode to be pursued by this act, the power of raising the money for this purpose was entirely put out of the control of parliament, and entirely subject to the disposal of the crown. Combining this point with the permanence of the army establishment under this bill, he must say, that he felt some jealousy, if not alarm, from carrying it into effect. History was loud and convincing on this subject; it informed us how dangerous it was to raise large permanent military forces, which had generally overthrown the very governments which gave them birth, and involved in the ruin of the government itself the destruction of property, liberty, and independence. He was educated in principles contrary to such an establishment, and could not help being influenced by his early prejudices in favour of a constitutional force. When he looked at, and considered the tendency of this bill, he trembled for the consequences so much, that he should refuse it his assent. In considering the essential part of the bill, it would be found inadequate to the purpose for which it was framed, namely, the augmentation of our regular force. It proposed to raise a number of men in a particular manner; but it did not do so on any ground of certainty, it left the increase of that force, which was desired, entirely problematical; hence we could never calculate, with any degree of precision or accuracy, the state of our real strength. Notwithstanding all the preliminary details of the right hon. gent., yet, if general recruiting failed him, this whole force, from which we were to expect such advantages, must disappoint its sanguine supporters; for although the sum to be paid for the man was limited, yet the fine, in case the quota could not be procured, was to be given and applied in the ordinary way of recruiting; hence recruiting in the usual manner was the only ground of raising the men ultimately. The object was evidently then to embody and fix a regular standing army, in doing which, it was proposed to reduce and depart from the militia system, which was a constitutional force, found hitherto adequate to the purposes and exigencies of the country; a force which, in its principle, was consonant to the wishes and feelings of the people, and sanctioned by our ancestors. If he had the option, or if his opinion could have any weight in the decision of this question, he should undoubtedly prefer a constitutional force, as being, in his mind, the most efficient in every point of view. He should depend on the energy, spirit, loyalty, and zeal of such a force, actuated by a reverence for the constitution, a respect for the laws, and impressed with an awe for the institutions and memory of their ancestors; he should place greater reliance on such a force than any other, on the principle that those who felt that they were fighting for their own freedom and rights, would not invade the rights or privileges of the rest of their countrymen. Another objection he had to this force was, that it would be separated from the people; that a kind of unnatural barrier was raised, by its constitution, between it and the rest of the community; no interchange of sentiments, no collision of opinion, no reciprocity of interest or good offices were to take place between the armed and unarmed descriptions of the people. This was not what he wished for, it could not be agreeable to the feelings of the public, or of any man who reflected seriously on the calamities which might happen from a force thus excluding all social intercourse and communion with the rest of the nation. He should like to see a force established which would comprehend in it the gentlemen of the country, who would not be warped by any military or excluding spirit from the real interest of their native land, and who would, therefore, be always prepared to counteract the dangers which might be otherwise apprehended from a standing army. But it was said, and ardently hoped, by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) that the men will readily enter into the regular army out of the army of reserve. Will they enter it at all, or transfer their service from the one force to the other without an additional bounty? If the right hon. gent. thought so, he was afraid experience would fatally convince him of the fallacy of this opinion, for there was not a man in the country so ignorant, who was not aware, on entering the army of reserve, that it was intended he should enter into the line; hence, from the very beginning, his idea of bounty must be present to his mind. But how were the men to be procured in the first instance? By the exertions of the parish officers and overseers of the poor. They shall provide the men, says the right hon. gent.: it would be more appropriate, perhaps, if he had said, they may procure them if they can. He disapproved of the fine proposed to be paid, if the men could not be procured in the parish or district, and considered it a direct tax on landed property. He thought it an extraordinary and severe clause in this bill, to oblige those parish officers to pay a fine for what they could not perform. If they had used their utmost endeavours to find the men, and failed, surely it was contrary to every principle of justice and of the British constitution, to inflict a mulct or fine on them for not having done what they strove to do, but were unable to accomplish. With regard to the officers, therefore, it was unfair on the face of it, if they fruitlessly exerted themselves; and if they did not, then their neglect, for which there was no remedy provided, would be unfair with respect to the country, which was obliged to pay, or add to the fine, in order to raise the number which the officers might have provided, but which they had neglected. In the machinery of the militia and army of reserve, he recollected that the want of this controling principle was very much felt; for it was not unusual to postpone the general meetings for balloting during many months; and although much inconvenience had arisen from such delays, yet there was neither fine nor penalty imposed. It was better, perhaps, that they did not take place, because, in all probability, no person could be found to undertake the execution of them. He regretted that the present ministers left it in his power to apply to them all the terms of tardiness and inefficiency which they had used against their predecessors. In speaking of the ministers, he wished to be understood to allude to one half only, the other being composed of the late administration. He thought, upon the whole, that the last administration had gone on quietly and unostentatiously in adopting measures sufficient for the security of the country; and he did not know how the majority of the present cabinet, who were also the majority of the last cabinet, could now condemn their former measures; unless, like the French surgeon, who supposed the transfusion of young blood would make an old animal young again, they should now suppose that the accession of a few men of considerable talents altered completely the cabinet.

Mr. *Bankes* did not think that, among the various objections which gentlemen might choose to make to this bill, they would urge that it was unconstitutional. At such a period of difficulty and danger as the present, menaced as this country was by a formidable and powerful enemy, surely there could be but one opinion as to the necessity of raising a large disposable force, capable not only of contributing essentially to our defence at home, but able likewise to avenge our wrongs, and assert our rights abroad. There was no plan which was not liable to objections; that was no reason, however, why one with the fewest defects should not be adopted. But the hon. gent. who spoke last, said, in censuring other parts of the bill, that the country would be unsafe with 60 or 70,000 men, raised according to the present plan; he seemed to think that the establishment of such a permanent force at home would lead to the overthrow of our freedom. In answer to this objection of the hon. gent., he could urge the controling power of parliament, which, as it erected that system, could also arrange, reduce, or abolish it. He was not one of those who came under the description of saying, that the country was not in a state of defence, or that the force of the country should have been carried to a much greater length than it was by the late ministers; his opinion was, that the force of the country ought to be raised with as little pressure as possible on the people, and with the greatest respect for their feelings, disposition, and prejudices; if this mode were adopted, he was sure that gentlemen would find the source of recruiting more abundant than they imagined. In this view of the subject, it must be satisfactory that balloting was entirely done away; for if there was one part of the system more than another which excited general disgust and disinclination to a military life, it was balloting. He did not mean to censure this system, when he considered the time at which it was adopted; he spoke now of the army of reserve, for that was a most critical and dangerous period, when it became incumbent on us to resort to every temporary expedient in order to put us out of peril; but seeing that the apprehension which then existed for our immediate security, was now in a great measure done away, the view which the people would take of a permanent establishment at present would be exceedingly different from that which they might heretofore, when they had acted under the impression of immediate danger, to repel which they were not so well prepared. At such a time the house must be aware that they would submit cheerfully to many sacrifices which they may be inclined to refuse now that the storm has to a great extent subsided. When they felt themselves perfectly safe at home, they would be the more inclined, and justly, to enquire and scrutinize the mode of raising our disposable and offensive forces.—With an obvious regard to these important considerations, the plan before the house proposed limited service in the first instance, as that which was most popular, and of course most available. It was fair to expect from its operation that it would be attended with all the success which was expected, particularly when it was considered, that the army of reserve had already supplied 13,000 recruits to the troops of the line. Was there not reason, therefore, to hope for a further continuance of the same benefit and augmentation from this source? He was certainly a friend to limited service, and approved of the proposition of the hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) who made it; particularly if an arrangement was made for raising a colonial force, as he heard it was the intention of the minister to do; such an arrangement would meet the approbation of every humane and liberal mind that considered the losses this country had sustained by maintaining an European force in the colonies. He did not mean to say, however, that he had penetrated the mind of the right hon. gent., or had any knowledge of what he might have in contemplation on this subject. He must differ from the right hon. gent. opposite to him, (Mr. Addington) who would postpone the farther consideration of this bill till some time next session. As it was agreed, on all hands, that the regular force of the country should be augmented, surely then, the progress of a bill which had this object in view, ought to be facilitated and promoted with the utmost rapidity. When the men raised according to the provisions of this bill were trained and disciplined, then our whole regular force, which was at present much restricted, would then become disposable to the amount of 70,000, of which it consisted in G. Britain, Ireland, and in the Islands in the Channel. This plan could not be considered different from that of his Majesty's late ministers, who proposed bringing over the Irish militia in order to effect the same object. He was not a friend to innovation on the militia system, but was friendly at the same time to the alteration intended in it, for the sake of increasing our disposable forces. He knew no better mode of succeeding, in this respect, than by raising the men locally, and through the medium of parish officers, who may be presumed to be the most fit for that purpose, from their knowledge of every circumstance of the individuals within their jurisdiction, aided also by the local influence of the gentlemen, who would be induced to exert it, from a desire to save the fine, as well as from motives of zeal and patriotism. The quota men had been spoken of, and relied much on, as ground against this bill, by the right hon. gent. opposite to him (Mr. Yorke); but, although the act for raising them was not attended with all the advantages expected from it, yet he apprehended the deficiencies were not as great as they were represented to have been; for which reason he could wish that the returns were before the house, in order that it could make up its mind fully and satisfactorily on the subject. But when gentlemen talked of the hardship of this bill, he wished them to recollect the oppression felt by the country from the army of reserve, and the consequent aversion of the people to its continuance. The cause was obviously the hardship imposed by the balloting. This was not the only objection to it. But it should be considered, that so long as the balloting continues, its concomitant evil of high bounties will not cease to operate. He should again refer to the plan of the hon. gent. below him (Mr. Fox), for limited service in general, and observe, that if it were adopted in time of peace, or of less danger than the country was menaced with at present, he should give it his support, and entertain the greatest hope of its success; but he did not think that experiments could be made under the circumstances of the nation at this moment. We should, therefore, continue a plan which was tried to a certain extent, and found to answer; it takes away that which was considered objectionable and oppressive, he meant balloting and high bounties; it did not call for one man more than the country was already obliged, by the existing acts, to furnish, with this material difference, that the mode of doing so, and of complying with the act, was more easy, and of course more popular. From every consideration he was obliged to give it, and from every view he had taken of it, he was convinced that it was eligible, and fully adequate to the purposes for which it was intended.

Mr. *Atkins Wright* wished the present bill to be judged of rather by its own merits than by comparing the system of the present administration with that of their predecessors. He could not give a silent vote on the present occasion, but must declare his disapprobation of it. He did not like to impose on the people burdens which were laid in a partial manner, as it seemed to him these fines would be; as they would frequently operate with a considerable degree of hardship on those who, from their own act or their own inclination, had been guilty of no fault whatever, but had only had the misfortune of not being able to raise men. He objected particularly to that part of the bill by which overseers are permitted to raise men even in adjoining parishes. He should have disapproved of it, had they even been confined within the limits of their own parish, as a bad mode of raising men; but, as it now stands, they are made, to all intents and purposes, recruiting serjeants. He thought, also, that it was an unjust, as well as a round-about way, to raise men for unlimited service, by means of an intermediate and limited service. Why, he asked, not do it at once? By the mode proposed by the bill, it will become a policy to enter first into the army of reserve, and having received the bounty for so doing, to obtain a second and a higher bounty to enter into the regular army, which would be an additional burden on the public. He found himself, therefore, under the necessity of with-holding his assent to a measure which was, in his mind, inadequate to all the purposes for which it was intended.

Mr. *Ellison* felt himself actuated by no principle or motive but that of doing his duty to his country; and, therefore, did not wish to enter into any comparison between the present and late administration. He could not forbear, however, from observing, that he saw nothing as yet produced by the present minister which was entitled to greater confidence or respect than what his predecessors had brought forward. He granted that the army of reserve was necessary in its first institution to meet the pressing exigencies of the state, and to repel the dangers which seemed to menace us with destruction. But it should not be said, that, because a measure was introduced, and thought necessary at one time of imminent peril, that it should be therefore continued, when the danger and critical circumstances in which it had originated had ceased to exist, at least to any great degree. The substantial result of the plan would be to endeavour to augment the regular army through the agency of poor-house overseers and parish officers, and to raise a force, at the same time that the money would be supplied without the control or superintendance of parliament. It was giving a power to raise money or a tax on the people, who were already sufficiently burdened by the demands of the state, for carrying on the war. The army of reserve bill he had always considered as extremely oppressive; and in support of this opinion he instanced one estate within his knowledge, amounting only to £2,700 a year, which had paid £400 in the course of seven months to the army of reserve. He objected to several parts of the bill, particularly the fines; and concluded, by saying, that if the house consented to raise an army by such partial modes of taxation, they would, in his opinion, be doing the greatest injustice.

Colonel *Mitford* could not agree with an hon. gent. as to the security of the country being so great as he represented, though he acknowledged that its security was greatly increased. Nothing, however, appeared to him more strange, in the variety of opinions delivered on this subject, and amidst the collision of the great and leading characters, who had taken part in discussing it from time to time, than that they should have forgotten or neglected to state how this force should be disposed of in time of peace, and how it could be raised constitutionally. History too fatally proved the danger of raising new forces without great deliberation, and warned us of the peril to be apprehended from the establishment of a large army on any ground but the most pressing exigency, which he acknowledged to exist at present. Yet the house should not forget that the parliament in the reign of Charles the First did not foresee the conduct of the army which they had raised, or that it would be the instrument of overturning the power which it was designed to uphold. France was another instance of the danger incurred by establishing a permanent and large army. Every member in the house knew, that 25 millions of people, animated by what was called the ardour of freedom, had, under that impression, performed prodigies of valour; yet that they had at length submitted, and were now succumbing under the most degrading yoke, and most ignominious slavery, which had at any time disgraced the world, or tarnished the page of history; and we all knew that this strange event was accomplished by 3 or 400,000 men. This was an example which this country would do well to consider with attention. Our constitution was altogether different from that of the continental nations, and he much wished, that ministers would employ their talents in improving the military system, which in this country was most powerful, when most consonant to the free principles of our civil constitution. With these impressions upon his mind, he should be under the necessity of voting against the present bill.

Sir *John Wrottesley*, before he entered on the discussion of the question which was regularly before the house, wished to make some observations on the argument which was principally urged by the three gentlemen who last spoke against the bill, and that was, that by the operation of it a very great burthen would be thrown on the parochial officers. He could not concur in that objection, for any one who looked into our municipal regulations would perceive, that for the last 50 or 60 years that description of persons have always been charged with the duty of raising men. Where was the hardship then? If any gent. read the present bill, he would find that there was no compulsion on the parish officers to procure men, they were subject to no fine in case of not succeeding, and he could not see why, at a crisis when all of us were by duty bound to contribute our most strenuous exertions towards the protection of the state, that whatever they, in furtherance of that great object, should be required by the present bill to perform, could be considered as either onerous or oppressive. The other argument which had been advanced by those hon. gentlemen, that it was raising men not by parliamentary taxation, was, in his mind, quite as untenable as the one he had adverted to, and he hoped confuted. To be convinced of that, he would only call on any gent. who doubted it, to read the bill, and he would there find, that the only taxation the parishes would be subject to was a moderate fine, in case the recruits they were charged with were not procured. Whatever differences of opinion might have subsisted between the various parties in that house, there was one thing in which they were agreed, that it was necessary to create a great disposable force. For if any thing could put an end to the war in which we were unfortunately engaged, if any thing could convince the active and daring enemy with whom we had to contend, that we are not with impunity to be unjustly attacked, it would be the circumstance of having a great disposable force at our command. Occasions may, and, he trusted, would arise, when it would be necessary for us to employ it; we should, therefore, be prompt and decisive, and prepare ourselves for that possible emergency. A right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke), objected to the measure, because he considered it as compulsory. He feared the right hon. gent. had not read the bill, and that he had taken his opinion of it from what he had heard thrown out on a former night; for in the bill before them there was not a single clause that could be considered as compulsory in its operation. Another right hon. gent. (Mr. Addington), had suggested the propriety of deferring the measure to the next session, but in that, he believed, he could scarcely find a person to agree with him, at least among those who usually sat at the other side of the house. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke), who is a friend, he might almost say by birth, to the militia system, was of opinion, that the measure would be inefficient, and for this reason, that he thought the country had been exhausted by the recruiting service, seeing that 30,000 men had enlisted into the army of reserve. He could not coincide in that opinion, and he was sure the right hon. gent., when he made it, did not consider that there was an annual supply of recruits to be obtained in this country, chiefly from the large manufacturing towns, and from young men who were just out of their apprenticeships. He gave his hearty concurrence to the bill, as destroying altogether the system of ballot. He would not longer trespass on the attention of the house, as no doubt there were many gentlemen anxious to deliver their opinions on the plan—a plan which, in its present constitutional form, had his hearty support, and to which most probably he would not have objected as originally proposed, if the necessity of our situation had unfortunately required it.

Mr. *Fuller* expressed himself adverse to the provisions and operation of the bill, as pregnant with the greatest partiality and injustice. It would be absolutely impossible for the magistrates in the county of Sussex, which was one of the most populous counties in the kingdom, to carry this bill into effect in the manner now proposed. The poors' rates in that county were greater than in any other part of the kingdom. If the fines proposed by this act were, in addition to that high rate, to be imposed, it would be a burden hardly to be borne. Looking over to Mr. Addington, he assured that right hon. gent., that he needed not view him as one who entertained any animosity towards him. He had never meant to turn him out of the ministry. He had merely meant that administration should comprehend the greatest man in the country. He had merely wished to see it comprehend that hon. gent. (Mr. Fox), who would have carried on the war greatly and honourably; whose coming into office would have roused and secured the spirit of the country; and who would, if it could be obtained, have procured us an honourable peace. He was sorry to see proscriptive doctrines characterise any of the measures of this country. He knew his Sovereign; he knew his opinion of that hon. gent.; and he knew that while he had the bravest and most magnanimous, he also possessed one of the most forgiving spirits in the country—(A cry of Order! Order!)

The *Speaker* begged that the hon. gent. would recollect himself.

Mr. *Fuller* observed, that he would not wish to say any thing out of order, but he thought the Sovereign's name might be mentioned, if it was not introduced to cause any influence on the debate. He then said, that next to our beloved Sovereign's ——.

The *Speaker* repeated, that what the hon. member said was not connected with the present debate.

Mr *Fuller* continued—Well, then, Sir, I am sorry there was not a coalition; a sentiment, which, I am convinced, pervades the whole country. As to that part of the bill which relates to the militia, it appears to me to be very proper, and I hope that in the course of 4 or 5 years, we shall be able to bring the militia to its original form, which was to instruct every man in the kingdom in the use of arms, and which came up to what the hon. gent. below me (Mr. Fox) so properly and emphatically called an armed peasantry, which I coincide in opinion with that hon. gent., would be the most tremendous force that any invading army could possibly have to encounter. As I approve of some part of the bill, I shall not oppose its going into a committee, in case the house should agree to the second reading, but on the report I shall give it my decided negative.

Mr. *Dent* said, he could perceive that the adherents of the late administration, as well as their principals who composed it, could not be induced to approve of any bill for the national defence except that which they had brought in. For their success and ability in that respect, he would only refer to the volunteer bill and the income act. The former they were never able, with all their means and perseverance, to push through both houses of parliament, and the income tax was so unintelligible that little or no collection, even to this day, had been made under it. Of the gent. who had spoken in such vaunting language of his acting from conscientious motives, he would ask, was the member for Lincoln the only independent man in that house? was he the only member who did not want a place?—(Order! Order! Chair! Chair! from different parts of the house.)

The *Speaker* decided it to be disorderly to make any personal allusions.

Mr. *Ellison*. I appeal to you, Sir, and to the house, whether I brought a charge against any member of the house, either for city or borough, or against his constituents, for not sending independent members. I ask, and I hope I am not wrong in so doing, if I did any thing more than assume to myself independence; and that I did not trouble the house often, and never but from a sense of duty? If I said any thing calculated to offend any gent., I most humbly beg pardon; if I have said any thing that tended to convey a thought that hon. members were actuated by any but independent motives, I am liable to be called to order for indecorum, and I am obliged to the house for overlooking an offence which I had no intention to commit.

Mr *Dent* professed himself satisfied with the declaration of the hon. gent., and, disclaiming all intention of meaning any thing personal to him, conceived he had a right to advert to what had been thrown out in debate. The object of the bill was to provide for the deficiency produced in our military system by the former administration, a deficiency which had been often alluded to, and censured by the gentlemen on the other side of the house, and which, he had no doubt, they would have occasion to censure again. An hon. member opposite to him (Mr. Fuller), had disapproved of the bill for a most extraordinary reason, namely, that the present administration was not formed on a broad basis. If we had not an administration on a sufficiently broad basis, it was not the fault of the right hon. gent. below him (Mr. Pitt); but that was no argument against reading this bill a second time, which he supported, conceiving, that if there were any material faults in it, they might be removed, and the whole bill ameliorated in the committee.

Sir *Lawrence Parsons* said, he could discover but one opinion in the house as to the necessity of increasing our force, and the only difference that existed in sentiment was, as to the manner in which that force should be raised. Although he considered the mode proposed by this bill as creating a disposable force as inferior to others that had been suggested, he was, notwithstanding, prepared to support it. It was formerly proposed to raise men for rank, a mode to which he saw no important objections, subject as it would be to the excellent regulations introduced by the commander in chief; and yet, no sooner was it mentioned, than a clamour was instantly raised against it, and he heard nothing from all quarters but the cry of "would you ruin the army?" When the proposal was made to raise men by ballot, the outcry was, if possible, much greater. When it is proposed to recruit in the regular army, then it is objected that the country is exhausted, and that there can be no hopes of drawing any considerable force from that source; so that there was not a possible mode of recruiting men, to which some extraordinary, and, as those who urged them conceived, insurmountable objections were not offered. All confessed that it was necessary to raise a great force; and yet every mode that was proposed for accomplishing it, was objected to. How long, he would ask, was the country to go on this way? A right hon. gent. opposite to him (Mr. Windham) had, in a former debate, suggested the propriety of enlisting men for a limited term, and that was immediately objected to by his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Yorke). What was demanded by the supporters of the present bill? Why, nothing more than to allow it to go into a committee, and to see whether it could not receive improvement there. There was no plan, no system that human ingenuity could devise, that might not be liable to objection; and yet the possibility of imperfection was but an ill argument against all effort of attaining to practicable utility. He thought his right hon. friend's mode the best of the two; but when there were two ways proposed of getting at a thing, if circumstances put it out of his power to follow one, he would take the other. He presumed that it was in the contemplation of govt. to apply the measure recommended by this bill to Ireland. If that were the case, he had no doubt of its complete success, for he was persuaded there was not a parish in that part of the united kingdom, which would not raise the men, rather than subject itself to the fine. He would vote for proceeding with the bill.

Mr. *Chapman* was of opinion, that the colonial and home demand for our military force could not be carried to a greater extent than it actually was. He wished that govt. had fallen upon some mode of lessening that demand. He thought that it would be advisable on many grounds, that our possessions in both the Indies should be garrisoned and defended by troops drawn from the East-Indies, by Sepoys, who were inured to the climate of those latitudes, who could support the inconveniencies of them without risk of the dangers that Europeans were subject to, and who could, from the population of the countries they were drawn from, be supplied to any number. He fully agreed in the praises that had been bestowed upon the militia; that might be truly denominated the constitutional force of the country; and he trusted it would always be increased in a commensurate degree with what was called the regular force.

Lord *De Blaquiere* said, he had so often experienced the indulgence of the house, that he would now beg leave to trespass on them for a very short time. The observations he had to make on the present bill, would go to the general principle of it, rather than to the detail of any of its parts. This, he conceived, was the manner in which the question now before the house ought to be debated. The question was immediately connected with the defence of the country, and the best means of giving it stability. Was it not fit, therefore, that it should be proceeded in? and would the house disgrace its character, by scouting and driving away a measure which had so important an object in view? The measure certainly did not go far enough; it did not go to establish that force which he conceived to be sufficient and necessary for our purpose. But it went to the attainment of a certain object; and if he considered it to be the last effort of the great mind of him who brought it forward, it would not now have his support. He considered it merely as a measure which was to give effect to a thing that the late ministers had abandoned, namely, the army of reserve, the operation of which they had been on the point of suspending. This went not only to give it effect, but to render it beneficial. He could not conceive this, however, to be the last effort of the present minister, for if it was, it must be unworthy of his great mind. It was merely to bring into operation a piece of imbecility that had been engendered by other men; a thing which was a nullity, and which subjected him who had introduced it to the imputation of a blockhead. He was confident the present plan would procure men for the regular army; he had himself tried the experiment of enlisting men from a limited service into a regiment of dragoons, and he succeeded in it. Then to allow the supernumerary men, who were to be reduced from the militia, to enter into the royal army, was a plan against which no reason could be advanced, and which was to be admitted. He would, therefore, support it with the utmost of his power. The right hon. gent. who brought it forward, should always have his good wishes and support. He could not, however, help deploring the exclusive administration that had been lately formed. He deplored the loss of so much talent as that which he saw arranged against the right hon. gent., and was grieved to think it was not more united with his. He particularly lamented that the administration had not the benefit of the talents of an hon. gent. who had just gone out of the house (Mr. Fox). Here there was a cry of order! upon which

The *Speaker* got up, and said, he must appeal to the noble lord, whether the topics he was dwelling upon, belonged to the question before the house?

Lord *De Blaquiere* resumed. He said, he conceived it was a part of his argument in support of the question, to express the confidence he had in one of the ministers, and the regret he felt at that minister's not having the assistance of more talents, in the arduous situation he had accepted. This was certainly a public calamity. But, at the same time, he thought the right hon. gent. could go on, even with the assistance he had.

Mr. *Windham* said, that after the declaration which he had made of his sentiments on the subject of this bill last week, he would not have troubled the house this night, if it had not been for the variety of topics thrown out in the present discussion. He did not know whether the house was influenced by the opinion of the hon. baronet opposite (Sir L. Parsons), so as to resolve to go into the committee, and pass the bill at all events. He wished the house to pause a little on this doctrine. The use of a second reading was to debate the principle of the measure, and the greater the importance of the measure, the more necessary was it not to let it pass this stage without some discussion. The hon. baronet seemed to be of a directly contrary opinion, and was for letting every measure, good or bad, go into a committee, and trying whether it might not be made to answer its purpose; and it was on this ground, he supposed the hon. baronet voted for sending this measure to a committee, though he preferred another on the ruin of which this was founded. His maxim seemed to be *laudo manentem*, to approve always of the measure before him. For his own part, he approved of the old practice rather than the novel doctrine of the hon. baronet; and therefore, though he had offered his sentiments before, he would repeat, shortly, his principal objections. He agreed in the object of the bill, but he was sure the bill did not tend to forward that object; and, therefore, he thought it right to put a stop to it as soon as possible. It appeared to him not only inadequate to its object, but adverse to and destructive of it. There were three ways in which the measure had been considered, and which, though not all of them separately of importance, it was at least important to keep distinct; 1st, what the measure was in itself, and how far it was likely to attain its object; 2d, what its merits were compared with measures which it was meant to supplant; and 3d, what the result was of a similar comparison with measures which might be proposed in the room of it. All these deserved consideration; and first as to a comparison of the measure with that which it succeeded.—Here he could not help noticing the conduct of several gentlemen, and particularly of his hon. friend (Sir J. Wrottesley), and of the learned gent. who spoke early in this debate, (Mr. Sturges Bourne), who triumphed because the ballot was got rid of, not recollecting that in this triumph they were passing a pretty severe censure on the hon. author of the present measure, who was among the first promoters of the system of ballot, and who certainly had not in this bill got rid of the principle of compulsion, the fine being, as it had been properly expressed, the *screw*, which was to *screw* up the parishes to the exertion required. It must not be forgotten either, though the hon. baronet and the learned gent. seemed to have forgot it, that till almost the present moment, ballot was to have been the foundation of the measure now produced. The hon. baronet seemed to make it quite a matter of reproach to us, that we did not appear to join, as quickly and as heartily as we ought, in condemning a measure, which, till within these few days, he and his friends were prepared to tell us was the only one fit to be resorted to. Now this measure was condemned; and by a curious kind of argument the condemnation of this was to be proof of the excellence of that which was to be substituted in its room. But this kind of argument was only good where the choice was limited to an alternative. If there were only two things to chuse out of, it was plain that to condemn one was to recommend the other; but that was not the case where there were other courses to be resorted to. He was asked for his plan: he repeated now what he had said on a former night, that his plan consisted in rejection merely, in getting rid of the evils of the former system. What had all the advocates of the bill, and particularly the learned gent. (Mr. Sturges Bourne) been able to say in favour of their own measure, but that it removed impediments? When he (Mr. W.) was asked how we were to go on in the simple way after the mere removal of impediments; he asked the hon. gent. how he meant to get on in *his* way? When he was asked where men were to be found by his plan, when the country was exhausted by war, he asked where the advocate of this bill expected to find men by theirs? Hon. gentlemen must recollect, that though this measure was compulsory in one way, inasmuch as it called for exertions which, if not successful, would expose the parties to a fine, yet that neither this, nor even the army of reserve act, which was more directly compulsory, did necessarily compel the service of any individual. It was always open to the party to commute his service for money; that is to say, to engage another to serve in his stead, and this, it was notorious, was so generally done, that hardly any portion either of the militia or army of reserve consisted of men serving otherwise than as substitutes, that is, as men entering voluntarily for a bounty. When, therefore, officers of high authority in such matters, declared that the proportion of men that hung loose on society in this country, was not sufficient to supply the army by simple recruiting, the answer was, which no authority could over-rule, that near 200,000 men were serving in England in various descriptions of forces, engaged in no other way than by simple recruiting, that is, under the inducement of a bounty. The men were, therefore, to be had, on the bounty being given and the proper means of procuring them being adopted; and it was plain that government thought so, for the only difference from the ordinary system contained in the present bill was, that the distribution of the money was given to parish officers. It was evident, therefore, that men were to be got for money; the only question was, whether this money was to be given in the ordinary mode by serjeants, corporals, and other military officers, or by parish officers, with fines imposed to quicken their exertions. This latter mode, he could not but consider, as bad, with a view even to its own purposes. Should it be determined after all, that a force such as that now proposed, namely, of troops for home service merely, ought to exist, he should think that it ought to be recruited in the same way as any other, though at a reduced bounty. But the question previously to be determined was, whether there ought to be such a force at all; and he was decidedly of opinion that there ought not. He wished to hear what were its advantages; for the objections to it were certainly most powerful. First, it was adverse to the military feelings of the country. If the country was to be military, its army should be a body wholly and decidedly military. All military honours and advantages should center in this. The exhibition of a body having the semblance of soldiers and sharing the honours, titles, and decorations, without participating in the dangers, must ever be injurious. The honours, in particular, should never be separated from the dangers. He had been himself in office when a measure was adopted for giving military dress and rank to certain officers of the barrack department, and when a proposal was even made for extending the same to barrack-masters in general: but he had decidedly resisted that proposal, and was happy to think that both upon that point, as well as in his judgment upon the general question he was supported by the concurrence of military characters of high authority. The existence of a large defensive force was, he was sure, adverse to military feeling. Another thing he objected to was, this connexion of particular battalions of the home force with particular battalions of the other service. It might in some instances have the effect of inducing men to enter the first battalion for general service, but in other instances its effect would be directly contrary. If the second battalion was used for recruiting the first, a system of discipline must ensue from the sort of electioneering which would be practised to induce the men to go from limited to extended service, which would have the most injurious effect. He repeated his former argument, that this plan would not create a disposition for general military service. It might unsettle men from their domestic habits, it might give them an inclination for military service at home, so that when their first term would be expired, they would renew again for the same period; but it was not likely to produce the effect of inducing them to engage in another kind of service.—It seemed by this plan as if the second battalion was to be a kind of false stomach, from which the man was to be thrown up, and ruminated before he could be digested into a regular soldier. If some men were attracted by the connexion to enter into the first battalion, he was sure many would be discouraged; and if a general liberty was allowed to the men of entering any battalion they pleased, the general service would be more advanced. The right hon. gent. contended, that one of the effects of the system would either be to convert the parish officers into crimps, or to compel them, like other persons in trade, to get people to crimp for them. They would of necessity be made the instruments of oppression and persecution. The bill would operate as a sort of constructive vagrancy act. The first object of the parish crimp would be to collect all the vagrants together to furnish the quota, and though he might, like Falstaff, be ashamed of his company, they would equally be offered and must equally be accepted. It was a curious idea that this conversion of churchwardens into recruiters, was to form a new connexion highly advantageous to the interests of the army. He had heard of a union of church and state, but this was to be union of church and army. What fine subjects of discussion for a parish vestry! And what a noble way for exalting the character of the soldiery, and inflaming the military ardour of the country, to fill the army with all that could be collected from jails, bridewells, and penitentiary houses!—The bill, though not a quota-bill in all respects, inasmuch as it would not raise the bounties to the same inordinate amount, was completely a quota-bill as to the class of people, that it would get in the first instance; at the same time that it was far short of a quota-bill, if considered merely with respect to its efficacy. Even the efficacy of the quota-bill was not much to be boasted of. While it was perfectly efficacious as to filling the fleet with mutiny, it had neither completed its numbers, nor in most instances, out of a thousand men raised had it produced three hundred who ever rendered the country any useful service. One aspect of the bill would certainly be, that it would afford ample matter for law disputes. The learned gent. talked of the justice of the bill, but he would ask, what justice could be found in a bill, of which the effect was to impose fines for the failure of service which was not capable of being performed. This he was justified in contending to be the fact, for it expressly stated that if the parish was *unable* to find men, then the fines were to be imposed. Was this a principle of the law of England? or was it to be found in any new code of justice, which the learned gent. was about to instruct them in? The whole host of new recruits, if obtained, would counteract the object which his right hon. friend had in view; for they were to be enlisted for home service, and the object for this new mode of recruiting was professedly admitted to be general service: so far, therefore, as these were persons, who, if there were no home service, would have entered for general; as must be presumed to be the case with numbers; so far, instead of advancing, they counteracted the purpose of the bill. These were the objections which presented themselves to the adoption and ultimate success of the measure. He recommended his right hon. friend to place the power of recruiting in the hands in which it was originally lodged: to give a bounty proportionate to the service which you wished to promote: to secure to the regular army its due preference as well in this way, as by the still more important one, of providing liberally for those whom wounds and length of service compelled to retire; and generally, to put the condition of a soldier more upon a level with that of the class from which it was expected, or hoped, that he might come. Were these and other encouragements given, and all competition removed, there was nothing in the state of the country, which should forbid the hope of seeing an army raised adequate to the public service, now as in all former times. This was a course far better than the wild and visionary expedients which it had so long been the practice to have recourse to; which had rarely been pushed to a greater extent than in the present bill; and which as they were sanctioned by no experience nor founded on any rational theory, would lead to nothing but consequences the most injurious to the very objects which they professed to have in view.

Mr. *Fuller* rose to explain. He said, by the common law of this country, persons called night-walkers (not of the female kind) who had not done a day's work in a given time, and could not give a good account of themselves, might be committed, and such were vagrants; this he mentioned in consequence of what the right hon. gent. who spoke last had said on the probable abuse of the power of parish officers on this bill.

General *Norton* in a few words expressed his approbation of the bill.

Mr. *R. Ward* said, he was surprised to hear the present bill stigmatized as an unconstitutional measure. It perfectly accorded with the habits of our ancestors at a very ancient period of our history, so far back, indeed, as the Saxon Heptarchy. It was the mode of raising men which Alfred the Great had recourse to. That great monarch committed the care of providing a supply for his army to persons, who, at that time, held situations in the country exactly similar to those of the overseers and churchwardens of parishes at present. It could not be conceived as at all likely to injure the military character to have the army recruited through the agency of such persons—certainly not so much so as by the employment of ordinary recruiting serjeants. For the justification of this remark, he would only refer to the well known story of Serjeant Kite in the drama, and from that it would appear that soldiers raised by the ordinary mode of recruiting were not so very likely to be so respectable as some gentlemen seemed to think. As to the necessity, which called for the utmost exertion to provide for the defence of the country, he thought it could scarcely be doubted by any man who considered the character of the enemy with whom we had to contend, and the scale of his preparations. Since Napoleon had assumed the title of Emperor, the dangers from the hostility of France had been augmented.—The hon. member concluded with declaring the pleasure he felt to find, that the right hon. gent. who had just spoken at length upon the subject had founded his opposition, not upon the argument that it was unconstitutional, but upon the grounds of its propriety and policy.—The question was then loudly called for, and the gallery was about to be cleared, when,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose. He began by stating, that his wish was to postpone the delivery of his sentiments upon the bill he had the honour to submit to the house, until he should have an opportunity of hearing all the objections that might be urged against it by all those gentlemen who were usually in the habit of speaking upon such topics, but yet he could not persuade himself to suffer some of the observations which had been made in the course of the debate to go unanswered; and, first, as to those remarks which were applied personally to himself. From those it seemed as if it was understood that he had forfeited some pledge that he had made before he had the honour to arrive at the situation which he now held; and that he had neglected to bring forward such measures as that house and the country had reason to expect. To this he should only say, that the very measure then before the house was that which, when out of office, he pressed on the consideration of the house; and he was much surprised to find that many gentlemen, who upon that occasion professed to think it a matter of such importance, that they supported a motion to postpone the deliberation on that bill for which this was introduced as a substitute, seemed now disposed to refuse it a full discussion. This disappointment he confessed he felt the more, because, since this apparent acquiescence in the policy and necessity of this plan, that part had been omitted upon which any material difference of opinion seemed to prevail, particularly in the mind of the hon. gent. on the opposite bench (Mr. Fox). That alteration was as to the ballot, which it was deemed advisable to leave out altogether. He did not, however, from this mean to say, that any imputation of inconsistency could attach to that hon. gent., even though he should refuse his concurrence upon this question, as the expression of his approbation in a former instance was much qualified, and as many parts still remained in the bill of which that hon. gent. had disapproved; but, as those two evils, of which his right hon. friend on the lower bench (Mr. Windham) so often complained; namely, the ballot and high bounties, were to be removed by this bill, he could not help saying, that his unqualified opposition not a little astonished him. His reason for getting rid of the ballot, the right hon. gent. stated to be this, that, since he first mentioned this plan to the house, he had an opportunity of seeing the papers, which enabled him to ascertain the number of men whose personal service was obtained by ballot under the army of reserve bill, and this he found to be only 2,000 out of about 40,000 men. It, therefore, struck him as extremely desirable, to abolish that which produced so much individual pressure and such loud complaints, and to distribute the necessity of providing men in such a way that the burthen should fall upon those people in the parishes and the country at large, who were likely to be the most competent to bear it. For this purpose, and in order to make the evil of high bounties impossible, this bill provided, while it would serve to secure all the advantages of local exertion in aid of our regular recruiting. This was an alteration in the system pursued by the late govt., and one of the principal alterations which he had recommended. If, however, he should be told, that this plan was not adequate to the purpose in view, he would call upon the gentlemen who made the objection to propose something of their own, or to suggest what they would deem necessary to alter, amend or accomplish the object of this plan. To the complaint of its inefficiency he would say, that it was that which the house and those hon. gentlemen themselves, on a former occasion, considered preferable to the army of reserve act; and as to the other measures which he had promised to bring forward, with respect to the propriety of enlisting men for a limited period in the regular army, he had to state, that this subject was under the consideration of those persons who were most capable, from their professional knowledge, to form a correct opinion upon it. That opinion, as soon as he should collect it, he would take occasion to submit to the house.—As to other points connected with the force for our national defence, he begged it to be recollected, that he never said that the quantum of that force was not quite sufficient. He only expressed doubts as to the mode of its distribution, which was so erroneous that it had not yet been found possible to correct it. This formed the improvement which he before stated to be necessary in our military system, together with the amendments which he suggested in the volunteer bill, relative to the pay, cloathing, &c. many of which were adopted, and one of which, that of inviting the volunteers to go on permanent duty, was acted upon by those gallant corps themselves to such an extent, before the bill was adopted, that they were now in a state of discipline much different from that in which they were some time ago described by some hon. gentlemen.—There were other points to which he had felt it his duty to call the attention of the house, namely, a farther provision for our naval defence; and also an arrangement for the construction of fortifications in particular places. Those points, he had no doubt, that the present executive govt., under whose department they were, were actively engaged in providing for. He alluded to them, though he felt them to be extraneous from the present discussion, and trusted the house would excuse him when they recollected the frequent appeals made to him and his conduct upon the important subject of our national defence, in the course of the debate.—In coming to the bill before the house, he could not help observing, that, from the nature of the arguments used, and from the particular tenor of the language of his right hon. friend, he could find only a verbal adherence to opinions formerly delivered, but not followed by any practical consequences. He had heard of the necessity of vigorous measures to meet a great and impending danger; of the propriety of making the utmost efforts to recruit our regular army; a proposition that no one ever disputed. He had heard it strongly inculcated that every means should be used to keep alive the spirit of the country; that the people should be taught to feel that the amount of the sacrifices they must submit to, and of the exertions they would be called upon to make, were not to be calculated from any thing they had heard of in former periods, much less from any thing they had witnessed in times of peace; that their minds must be raised to a level with the new order of things in which the world was placed. All those animating exhortations he had often heard; and what was the object of them if they were not intended to lead to some practical effect? But, if he were to hear of a refined argument as to probable litigation in the parishes, in opposition to a measure called for by the most pressing emergency, he could not hesitate to pronounce it a most extraordinary proceeding. He confessed, that he never expected to hear the tone of his right hon. friend sunk so low, as to introduce petty parochial considerations into the discussions of a subject involving the fundamental interests of this country, and the best hopes of Europe. He hoped, however, that the sentiments of the right hon. gent. would not make an impression upon the house or the country hostile to that measure, as that hon. gent., it must be obvious, now pressed the objection where he before pressed the motive. The bill should have been argued by the right hon. gent. and others upon its own merits, and not be resisted by the use of captivating topics or bye words, not fairly applicable to it—such as, that it would go to convert the parish overseers into recruiting officers: but suppose it did, and that served to furnish an additional force for our national defence, the country would feel itself amply repaid for any inconveniencies which this regulation might create, in the public prosperity and individual comfort which that force would contribute to secure. When it was said, that this plan was novel and extraordinary, he would beg gentlemen to recollect that it was founded on that system which had stood the test of experience, which had existed 50 years in this country, and the principle of which had been recently extended, with the unanimous concurrence of the house, to a *levy en masse.* This, then, was the nature of the wild, fanciful notion, which he was charged with having originated in this instance. Really, those were imputations which he could not understand. With respect to the grounds upon which the bill was discussed, it seemed to him, that the simple question for the consideration of the house was this—whether the mode proposed for raising men for the army was preferable to the ordinary mode of recruiting? In order to judge of this question, there were three points to be enquired into: 1st. whether local exertion, aided by ordinary recruiting, was not more likely to furnish recruits than the latter mode alone? 2d whether men so raised for limited service were not more likely to enter into the regular army than those persons engaged in the several occupations of civil life? and, 3d. whether such men were likely to be worse soldiers than those taken immediately from the loom, &c.? Upon the first point, he felt it quite unnecessary to argue with his right hon. friend: to his ingenious speculations he had only to oppose experience—he had only to state, that, within little more than 12 months, no less than 100,000 men had been raised in this country, through the medium of local exertion; and where, he would ask, could a precedent be found for any thing like an equal number raised within an equal length of time by the ordinary recruiting? It was impossible. The success of this plan was naturally to be expected. That men should prefer, in the first instance, a service that was limited, with respect to time and place, to that which was unlimited in both, was what was to be looked for from human nature. The desire men had to defend their native soil, and to fight upon that soil for their own safety, rather than go to another country, probably to combat the climate as well as the enemy, combined with a reasonable deference for the wishes of relations, must contribute to determine their preference for a limited service. Upon the 2d point also, he had only to resort to experience. He was not under the necessity of opposing a theory against the theory of the right hon. gent., for he had only to call to the recollection of the house, that, previous to the close of the last war, above 30,000 militia volunteered for general service, and within the last year, out of between 30 and 40,000 men, raised for the army of reserve, above 14,000 had enlisted into the regular army. What, then, had not the country to hope, if, pursuant to the operation of this bill, it should have a force of 70,000 men ready at an emergency, from which a reinforcement of 12,000 men annually towards the regular army was naturally to be looked for? What would be our prospect under such a circumstance, at the commencement of any future war, or in case of the long continuance of the present? Why, that we should have ready at hand a perpetual, never-failing resource for the supply of our regular army, to an amount, which, from the experience he had alluded to, he thought he should not be too sanguine in calculating upon.—After having explained, as he conceived satisfactorily, these two points, he did not think it requisite to do more than to state the third, to ensure the assent of the house.—That soldiers thus obtained from limited to unlimited service, were as likely to be not only not worse, but much more effective men than others recruited from among the people without any previous knowledge of military affairs. From this view of the subject, he was at a loss to know upon what ground a measure could be resisted, that had at once in view our present defence and our future strength. His right hon. friend would not, surely, propose in his situation, for the regular army entirely to overlook a defensive force. How far, he would be glad to know, did he mean to carry his principle? The object of this bill was to provide for both an offensive and defensive force, and by the most expeditious and effectual means. It proposed to give the assistance of the parish officers, and the interest which the parishes must feel, to promote the views of the ordinary recruiting officers, and to give to all men the King's bounty. The bounty would be the same to all; and money, therefore, was to form no motive in the choice of service which the recruit was to make. But gentlemen said, that many abuses would arise out of the execution of this bill, that the parish officers would act unjustly, and that the poor would be oppressed; but those gentlemen seemed to forget, that there were any magistrates in the country to prevent such oppression, and to punish any petty tyrants that might attempt to practice it. The fines to be inflicted for the deficiency of contribution in parishes, could not, he maintained, have a tendency to urge to such injustice as appeared to be apprehended, for that fine was not to be so considerable, certainly nothing equal, to that to which individuals were liable every quarter sessions under the army of reserve act. The allusions made to poachers and vagrants were not at all justified by any clause in the bill. Neither were they made subject to any compulsion by this measure, nor was it intended that they should. The insinuations thrown out, that persons applying for relief to the parish officers would probably be rejected if they should refuse to enlist under this bill, might be classed among the chimerical apprehensions expressed upon this subject; for nothing could be so absurd as to suppose that the infirm and the fathers of families, who were those who generally applied for parish relief, were such as the parish officers would send to form their quota of military contribution; for the one would not be received, and the other must leave his family as a burthen to the parish. His right hon. friend had said, that the existence of a secondary force tended to injure the military character; but whether the different descriptions of military force, militia, army of reserve, volunteers, sea fencibles, &c. now to be formed throughout the nation, had contributed to the effect mentioned, or whether the military character was ever held in higher or more general estimation, he would leave it to any man who had the least opportunity of observation to answer. It was rather singular, that the same right hon. gent. who had talked so gloomingly and almost despondingly of our danger at one time, but who now professed to feel that danger not so menacing, should yet state that the very force to which we owe our security from that danger, are composed of men, as the right hon. gent. termed it, dissevered from danger, and not only as unfit to be soldiers, but that their even wearing the military dress, was a disgrace to the soldier's character. To whom then was the empire to trust for its safety? Discipline, the right hon. gent. observed, was the soul of an army, and the officers of the new battalions were to be of such a character, and to hold such a rotation with the officers of the regular battalions attached to each of them, that there was every probability of speedy communication of effective discipline to the new levies; and the right hon. gent. was sufficiently conversant with military subjects, to know of what description the men might be, provided the officers were of the character he had referred to. If the right hon. gent. did not wish the whole of our defence to rest upon the regular army, he would ask him, whether he would not deem an army for limited service, to the amount of 14,000 in the united kingdom, an important auxiliary to a regular army to the same amount? The former always furnishing the means of keeping up the latter to its full complement, and, combined with our volunteers, enabling govt. to apply the disposable force to any purpose abroad, that might appear to be expedient. This quantum of force, he thought the circumstances of the times rendered necessary, and not more than the scale of the enemy's preparations demanded for our safety.—The right hon. gent. controverted the idea that there was any scarcity of population in the country to supply the army. In proof of the contrary he mentioned, among other circumstances, that there were not less than 4 or 5,000 men obtained for the army of reserve since Feb. last, just during the time that so much assertion had been heard in that house as to the scarcity of men. He believed, also, that much of the apparent difficulty of procuring men proceeded from the high bounties, many persons disposed to enlist holding back, in the hope that in this recruiting auction a higher sum might be had. Another cause was the distribution of the quotas under the army of reserve act, without any reference to the number of volunteers in each parish, which was an error that, upon his suggestion, was but very lately corrected. The right hon. gent. concluded by stating, that he hoped he had said enough to shew the house, that this was a measure which deserved their further serious and attentive consideration; and he therefore trusted that the house would send it to the committee, where it would be liable to receive such further improvements as the wisdom of parliament might suggest; and where he trusted it would not be the view of members to hamper or impede the progress of the bill, but to view it as a measure contributing to an extensive plan for the completion of our national defence, and the increase of our means of disposable force, by a permanent, solid, and effectual augmentation of the regular army of the country.

Mr. *Fox*.—I have frequently, Sir, been under the necessity of apologizing for troubling the house with my sentiments at considerable length, on various occasions; but at present, I find myself called upon by the rt. hon. gent. to apologise, because I have not delivered my opinion in detail upon the measure before us. I have but one reason, and that appears to me, at least perfectly satisfactory, and it is this, that even before the speech of my right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), I thought it unnecessary to add any thing to the arguments against the bill, and that on a fair balance, pro and con, there could be no doubt of the vast superiority of the objections, and then followed the speech of my rt. hon. friend, which seemed to me to leave no doubt whatever on the case. Before I answer the call of the rt. hon. gent. it may be proper to make a few preliminary observations upon those with which he prefaced his speech. He complained, that it was hard that those who formerly voted for his proposal, when made from a different place, and in a mode to us even more objectionable, should refuse to entertain it for discussion now. But, if any authority were wanting to justify those, who on due examination, disapprove the principle of a bill in stopping it before it reaches a committee, it would be that of a rt. hon. gent. on a late occasion, who said that he who thinks the title of a bill explains its principles, must be little acquainted with the proceedings of the house; and the arguments of the hon. baronet who votes for the measure, that it may be discussed in the committee, pays an indiscriminate compliment to every measure that may be brought forward. But the rt. hon. gent. says he did not flatter himself with the entire concurrence of myself, and some of those with whom I act, in all the provisions of the bill. Why, then, did we vote for it,-

but for two reasons, first, that a proposition of a nature so important, and from a person of such reputation, was at least fit to be discussed; and, secondly, because we disapproved that measure which it was proposed to suspend, namely, the army of reserve bill, and indeed wished that act to be repealed altogether. But after having supported his proposal on that occasion, I should have thought that the rt. hon. gent. was the last person who ought to catechise us for our motives. He accuses us likewise of never proposing any thing of our own for the defence of the country, while we object to his.—And here, Sir, let me correct the rt. hon. gent. I beg his pardon, but I think, if I do not dream, that, but a few weeks ago, I made a motion for going into a committee to consider of the defence of the country; a motion on which I had the happiness of his distinguished support, precisely on the grounds on which I brought it forward, though the leading members of administration, indeed, contended, that we ought to suggest specific plans. I thought that the best mode then, and so did the rt. hon. gent. and if he still remains of that opinion, I am ready to make the motion over again to-morrow, if he will honour it with his support. So much in justification of ourselves for having supported the rt. hon. gent. formerly—a support which I by no means regret. I confess, however, that we receive more harsh treatment than the rt. hon. gent. deals to others. Some of the hon. and rt. hon. gentlemen who now sit near him, then reproached us pretty severely for having voted for giving a hearing to his plan. Then his present noble and rt. hon. friends, who having heard must approve his proposals, would not so much as entertain it for discussion; and to us it is every thing that they are now in a situation to support what they formerly rejected. All I beg of them for their attacks upon me then, is that they would make a sort of *amende honorable* for their conduct; and, making me a bow, thank us for the opportunity we give them of again defending their original favourite plan, by throwing out this measure.—Here let me just take notice, too, of an argument of the hon. bart. (Sir L. Parsons), who avows, that though he approved much more of the bill brought forward, by the late secretary of state, he must vote for the present. Suffer me, however, to comfort the hon. baronet on this occasion, by informing him that he is under no necessity of contenting himself with this worse bill, because the other, instead of being lost, now stands for a second reading on Monday next; when, if he pleases, he may have an opportunity of following up his approbation. He has nothing to do, therefore, but to try the fate of the bill he patronised so much, and, if he fails, still he has a good thing left to console him. And here, Sir, permit me to say that there is something not remarkably creditable to the modesty of the two rt hon. gentlemen, on the opposite side, in talking, the one of them of the late administration, and the other of the present one, as if they were two distinct administrations. Now really, when it is considered that six ministers of the last cabinet, being a majority, retain their situations in the present one, it does not seem that the hon. gentlemen are quite so complimentary to their colleagues unless they think themselves the only efficient cabinet ministers. I therefore wish to ask, a little consideration for those six ministers. It is very hard upon them to be so treated as if they form no part of either, when, in fact, they constitute the majority of both, and are likely, I believe, to belong to every administration that might be formed—so far are they from being in that forlorn state that some people might suppose!—The rt. hon. gent. complains, that more should have been expected from him than the present measure promises to effect. I do not join in that censure of him. It cannot be forgotten, however, that the rt. hon. gent. on many occasions, expressed himself strongly respecting the imminence of the danger with which the country was threatened. It is true there were other measures besides the present, there was the navy, the ordnance, &c. in which much was to be done; and no doubt the advice of the rt. hon. gent. may be of infinite benefit, though the ordnance at least remains precisely in the same hands as when the rt. hon. gent. thought that there was room for much greater exertion than had been displayed.—As to the measure itself, the rt. hon. gent. says, that a general military recruiting would be more slow in its operation. But if an immediate effect be that chiefly aimed at, is there any thing to be done towards a more general arming of the maritime counties? For so far, at least, he agreed that the general arming we recommended specifically should be adopted. I hope, however, that both with respect to that and the improvement of the volunteers, the right hon. gent. still adheres to his former opinions. If he does, he must see that for any thing immediate these are more urgent than the present bill. Indeed it seems rather preposterous to proceed to the adoption of a permanent system of recruiting, while such important parts of our defence still remains unfinished; and I agree, that if there ever was any danger of invasion, nothing has yet occurred that can lead us to believe that it is now over.—The present measure, however, giving up the ballot, is said to be less objectionable to us. True, but if the circumstances of the country were so urgent, it is possible that strong measures may have been necessary, and even severity, for immediate result may have been preferable to a slow and inefficient lenity. But the rt. hon. gent. says he has lately found that a very small proportion indeed of the militia and army of reserve served in person. And did the rt. hon. gent. find it necessary to have the information and researches of office to discover what was notorious to every man in England? or, if he made the inquiry, to gratify his curiosity in going into office, it was a curiosity which no man in England had but himself. Strange, indeed, must have been the construction of a measure that was formed on principles that were deranged by the discovery of so notorious a fact. Then, what does the bill profess to do as to immediate effect? It is to fill up the militia, the deficiency of the army of reserve, and the 12,000 of them that have enlisted for general service. Then how is this to be done? The right hon. gent. complains that the parish officers who are to execute the act are nick-named recruiting officers. But with all his felicity and choice of language, can the right hon. gent. find a better phrase? It has justly been contended by my right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), that the parish officers either will succeed in their exertions to raise men, or they will resort to threats and to oppression. It is, undoubtedly, true, that the magistrates of this country deserve every praise for their pure administration of the laws, but still it is not good to give them an interest in stretching the law. It is said, that much advantage will be derived from local exertions and influence. But may not such influence be abused? If to save the parish money, or for the vanity of raising the quota, it is quite credible that the influence over the lower orders may be abused. The parish officers will not send the halt and the blind, as the right hon. gent. asks, but they may send unfit persons, or they may influence a poor man with a large family to send his son; and by some such screw or other must the effect be produced. It is true, also, that there is no claim as to vagrants and poachers, but it is easy to conceive that persons under the suspicion of such charges may be influenced to volunteer in such a way as to talk of free will is a downright mockery. In short, the local influence which is to work such wonders, may be translated into pounds, shillings, and pence, if not into tyranny and oppression. Bounties will be resorted to if the men are to be found. To save the parish the fine in case of default, persons may be induced to contribute a guinea or two in addition to the govt. bounty, and thus, though this does not appear in the parish books, the bounty is in fact increased, and thus the competition of the regular recruiting is overpowered, notwithstanding any regulation to the contrary. And what is the character of the parish officers? We have seen the latter displayed upon the stage, perhaps a little in caricature, but still we know that they will cajole the recruits; they will not be harsh in taxing recruits for peccadilloes, for getting drunk, or perhaps other vices. But is the parish officer, turned recruiting officer, to encourage their proceedings, which, as a parish officer, he is bound to correct; and how may he not employ the influence of such authority to procure men? Besides, is it not absurd, that govt. should first say to the parish, find you the man—we find the money; but next, if you don't find the man, find us the money. Can any thing be worse contrived, or more incongruous than such a system? In fact, one of two things will happen. Either the parish officers will employ an undue influence and authority, or they will make local subscriptions to increase the bounty, and apply to a crimp, as they do now, raise the men, cost what it will, and thus, once more, by high bounties utterly destroy the recruiting for the army. I am almost ashamed of dwelling so much upon this point; but it is in fact the whole of the bill. The measure likewise attempts to blend two things utterly irreconcilable—an extraordinary provision for a sudden emergency, and a permanent military system. There are two things to be aimed at, a sufficient force for home defence and a general disposable force, and much depends on the order of the two. It seems to be admitted by all, that if there be a sufficient force for home defence, the general army is not so strong as is desirable. With respect to the plans of making the home army the nursery for the foreign army, I would ask, is it just to do so? The right hon. gent at least says, that he takes the men into the home service, first, because they would not with their eyes open enter for general service. Then it is a fraud upon them. He says, too, that in the one case their parents would forbid, and in the other encourage them to enter. But what a fraud is this, too, on the parents! Might not the parents justly say, "you inveigled our son from us, on pretence that he engaged for home service only. You even induced us to employ our influence to send him into the home service. Yet in a few months you remove him from our sight, and by new artifices you prevail upon him to do that which, in the first instance, he would have shrunk from, and from which we would have used all our paternal authority to prevent." Surely, this is not a fair and honourable way of dealing with the country. But it is said, that the mode proposed will be more expeditious, and the recruit be sooner had. But no sooner than if he had at first gone into the regulars, which in many cases, if he had not been intercepted, he might have done. But in truth, remove the competition which has existed, and which you are again about to revive, and the general recruiting will go on well. At least give it a chance. If it does not, then a certain degree of force, if circumstances require it, must be employed. As the first object now is to have men for foreign service, take all you can for that, and afterwards you may drag the pond again for those of an inferior kind, which may be good enough, perhaps, for other service.—The plan, too, of making one battalion the nursery for another, seems liable to the strongest objections. It is one of the great excellencies of a free govt. like this, that by means of elections, and other popular parts of the constitution, the rich are obliged to pay a certain court to the poor, which, on the one hand, increases the independence of the poor, while it mitigates and corrects the arrogance and pride which wealth and superiority might tend to engender. But this, which is excellent in the civil, would be most pernicious in the military state. There the officers should have no favours to ask of the soldiers; they should be in the situation of conferring favours; but, to gain the good will of the men, and carry them to another corps with them, must totally change the relative character of officers and soldiers, and operate to the destruction of discipline. It is said, however, that under regular officers the home army would be kept in a state of perfect discipline. No doubt under such officers they might be made excellent troops. But where are such officers now to be had?—In the next place, can we totally overlook the constitutional objections to such a system? Can we forget that such a home force, as a permanent system, is inconsistent with all those guards which were thought necessary in the militia; and such a force, officered like regular troops, the officers might in the end have no other connexion with the country but their holding commissions from the crown? Such are the objections if the system is to be permanent. If it were to be temporary only, all the fine spun theory of first and second battalions would be blown to pieces in a moment. What, then, after so much expectations, after the removal of an administration, in a great degree on the charge of want of vigour and efficiency in preparing for the public defence, will the country be satisfied with such a measure as this? The right hon. gent. taunts my right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) with saying, what, would you do nothing? But what my right hon. friend proposes would do a great deal, indeed; for he would take away all the impediments to the general recruiting of the army, and give the army a fair chance. As to immediate effect, and for home defence, the best expedient, in my opinion, is to trust to the zeal and spirit of the country. So far, at least, the right hon. gent. agrees with me in thinking a general recruiting adviseable, at least in the maritime counties, and, whenever he brings such a measure forward, he may depend upon my support. To me, the principal classes of our means of defence, consist in the regular army, then the militia, and the volunteers and general arming; but each of them in its place and order, so as not to interfere with that which is different and more important. As to the offers of the militia last war, it must be remembered that it was not till they had been in Holland, in Ireland, and in Minorca, particularly when they were under an officer (Gen. Fox), of whom it would not become me to speak too praisingly, but who is allowed to excel in the forming of troops. Then, indeed, the drafts from the militia became most excellent as well as brave soldiers, and performed exploits which redounded to their own immortal honour and that of the country.—To conclude, Sir, I cannot but deprecate the adoption of a measure so little calculated to promote its ends, and to which there are so many powerful constitutional objections. I have omitted many which might have been urged, but the measure is of such a nature, and so palpably defective in every way, that I should not have taken up so much of your time in commenting upon it, had it not come from a person of the right hon. gent.'s consideration, and if, by some unaccountable fatality, it had not appeared to have occupied a degree of attention which in itself it so little deserves.

The house then divided, when there appeared,

For the second reading of the bill	221
Against it - - - - - - - -	181
Majority - - - - - - -	40

The bill was accordingly read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday.—Adjourned at 3 o'clock on Saturday morning.

List of the Minority.

Adair, Robert
Adams, C.
Adams, H.
Addington, Henry
Addington, Hiley
Althorpe, Lord
Andover, Lord
Anson, Thomas
Antonie, L. W.
Astley, Sir J.
Aubrey, Sir J.
Bagenel, W.
Baker, J.
Bampfylde, Sir C.
Barclay, G.
Barclay, Sir Robert
Barham, J. F.
Baring, Sir F.
Barlow, F. W.
Benyon, R.
Berkeley, G.
Bouverie, Edw.
Brogden, Js.
Brooke, C.
Burdett, Sir F.
Bastard, J.
Best, W. D.
Bond, N.
Bragge, C.
Baillie, E.
Browne, H.
Byng, G.
Calcraft, John
Cavendish, Lord G.
Cavendish, W.
Calvert, N.
Cumming, G.
Cornwall, Sir G.
Cockerill, W.
Caulfield, H.
Chapman, Charles
Coke, Thomas
Cooke, Bryan
Combe, Harvey
Courtenay, John
Craufurd, Robt.
Creevey, Thomas
Dolben, Sir W.
Dallas, Robt.
Deverell, Robt.
Douglas, Marquis
Dundas, Lawrence
Dundas, George
Dundas, Charles
Dundas, C.
Elliot, W.
Erskine, Thomas
Eyre, A. H. Chas.
Ellison, Richard
Fellowes, N.
Fellowes, Robt.
Foljambe, F. F.
Fitzgerald, James
Fitzpatrick, Richard
Fonblanque, John
Foley, A.
Fox, Charles James
Francis, Philip
Giddy, D.
Graham, Sir J.
Geary, Sir W.
Golding, J.
Grenfell, P.
Grey, Charles
Hamilton, Ld. Arch.
Hawkins, Sir C.
Hawthorn, C. T.
Hobhouse, B.
Heathcote, J.
Holland, Sir N.
Heathcote, Sir G.
Hippisley, Sir John
Holland, Henry
Howard, Henry
Hulkes, James
Hurst, Robt.
Hutchinson, C.
Jekyll, Joseph
Jervoise, C. J.
Johnstone, George
Kensington, Lord
Ker, R. G.
Knox, Hon. G.
Kinnaird, Charles
Leslie, C. W.
Ladbroke, Robt.
Lambton, Ralph
Latouche, J.
Latouche, R.
Lawley, Sir R.
Laurence, Dr.
Lemon, Sir W.
Lemon, J.
Loveden, E. L.
Lloyd, James Martin
Langton, W. G.
Lefevre, C. S.
Langham, James
Metcalfe, Sir T.
Markham, J.
Middleton, W.
Manners, J.
Madocks, Wm. A.
M'Mahon, John
Milbanke, Sir R.
Milner, Sir W.
Moore, Peter
Moore, G. Peter
Morpeth, Lord
Morris, Edward
Mostyn, Sir Thomas
Mills, W. G.
Mills, C.
Mellish, W.
Newport, Sir John
North, Dudley
O'Brien, Sir Ed.
Orde, William
Osborne, Lord Francis
Ossulstone, Lord
Orchard, W.
Peirse, Henry
Pelham, C. A.
Petty, Lord H.
Ponsonby, W. B.
Porchester, Lord
Poyntz, W. S.
Peirrepoint, C. H.
Patteson, John
Paxton, Sir W.
Pole, Sir C.
Pulteney, Sir W.
Raine, J.
Russell, Lord William
Robarts, A.
Sanderson, F.
Shaftoe, R. E. D.
Shakespeare, Arthur
Sheridan, R. B.
Shum, George
Smith, William
Somerville, Sir Mar.
Spencer, Lord Robt.
Stewart, James
St. John, Hon. St. A.
Symondes, Thos. P.
Sibthorpe, Col.
Shelly, H.
Stuart, Sir J.
Sargent, J.
Sullivan, J.
Sullivan, R. J.
Temple, Lord
Townshend, Lord John
Tyrwhitt, Thomas
Talbot, Sir C.
Tierney, G.
Walpole, George
Western, Charles
Wharton, John
Whitbread, Sam.
Winnington, Sir Ed.
Windham, William
Wynne, Sir W.
Wynne, C. W.
Vansittart, N.
Vansittart, G.
Walsh, J. B.
Walpole, H.
Watson, G.
Wright, J. A.
Young, Sir William
Yorke, C.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, June 11, 1804.

[Minutes.]—Counsel was heard in continuation, relative to the writ of error, Lucena v. Crawford and others, viz. Mr. Giles at considerable length, as second counsel for the appellant. After which their lordships deferred the farther hearing of the case till Friday.—Several bills, the greater part of which were private, were brought up from the commons, and severally read a first time.—The Caledonian canal bill was presented by Mr. Hawkins Browne, read a first time, and ordered to be printed.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their several stages.

[Aylesbury Election Bill.]—The order of the day respecting this measure being read, counsel, &c. were called to the bar. Previous to the examination of evidence, John Toms, with whom the deputy serjeant at arms was dispatched to Aylesbury, to ascertain the alledged fact of a certain memorandum being deposited by him in a certain part of his house, was put to the bar. He stated that he could not find the memorandum in question, nor could he tell what had become of it.—Mr. deputy serjeant was then sworn. He stated, that he accompanied the last witness, pursuant to their lordships' order, to Aylesbury, and proceeded to search the drawers which the witness pointed out to him. It contained no paper, document, or memorandum, but a few hen eggs. He had no possible means of communicating with his wife previous to the search. The woman appeared considerably agitated.—John Toms was then farther examined; and the lord chancellor adverted to some inconsistencies between his then, and former examinations.—One or two other witnesses were examined. After which counsel were heard. When counsel had withdrawn, a short explanatory conversation took place between Lords Auckland, Grenville, and the lord chancellor; after which

Lord *Grenville*, in order to gain every practicable information on the subject, and to afford full time for its consideration, moved, that the debate arising on the question for the second reading of the bill, be farther adjourned till Friday next. Which was ordered accordingly.—Some private business was then disposed of, and the house adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 11, 1804.

[Minutes.]—On the motion of Mr. Hawkins Browne, the Scotch inland navigation bill was read a third time and passed.—The right honourable George Canning, Mr. William Dundas, and Lord Dunlo took the oaths and their seats, on their re-election.—Petitions from the debtors confined in the gaols of Hertford and Coventry, praying for relief, were presented and ordered to lie on the table.—Sir T. Metcalfe stated, that in the absence of his right hon. friend (Mr. H. Addington) he was authorised to postpone the second reading of the cotton manufacturers bill. The order of the day for this purpose being read, was accordingly discharged, and on the motion of Colonel Stanley, the bill was ordered to be read a second time on Thursday next.—Mr. Foster brought up the Irish-linen bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—Sir W. Young moved, that the Speaker do not issue his warrant to the clerk of the crown for a new writ for the borough of Aylesbury before this day three weeks, which was ordered accordingly.—On the motion of Mr. James Graham, the second reading of the Solway Frith fishery bill was postponed till Wednesday se'nnight.—The house went into a committee on the motion of Mr. C. Dundas, on the misdemeanour prosecution bill. The report was received, and ordered to be taken into consideration on Wednesday.—On the motion of the Solicitor General, the house went into a committee on the attornies indemnity bill. The report was brought up by Sir R. Buxton, and ordered to be received to-morrow.—Mr. James Fitzgerald, pursuant to notice, moved, that there be laid before the house, "A return of the names of the commissioners appointed under an act of the Irish parliament, for granting allowances to cities, towns, and boroughs, which sustained any injury by not returning members to parliament, under the act of union, and for granting compensation to certain officers, together with the amount of the salaries of said commissioners, and of other officers appointed for carrying said acts into execution;" also, "An account of the particulars of said compensations, distinguishing the dates of the patents, the names of those to whom granted, and the amount of the grants;" also, "a return of the proceedings of said commissioners, of the claims preferred, and of the times of preferring them;" also, "a return of the offices and employments granted by patent, or by warrant of the lord lieut. from the 1st of Jan. 1800, to the 1st of June 1804, specifying the salaries and funds on which charged;" also, "an account of the charges upon the consolidated fund in Ireland, exclusive of charges for the national debt, from the 1st of Jan. 1789, to the 1st of Jan. 1804, specifying the date of the charges, the persons for whom, by name, and by what authority;" also, "an account of the salaries and compensations to the officers of the late ordnance department in Ireland, from the 1st of Jan. 1789, to the 1st of June 1804;" also, "An account of the salaries granted to the officers for managing the inland navigation in Ireland, specifying the salaries and expenses; and also setting forth the warrant and authority by which they were granted." The accounts were severally ordered.—Sir W. Pulteney moved, that there be laid before the house, an account of the expenses incurred in maintaining the Cape of Good Hope, from the time it was taken by his Majesty's troops to the surrender of that settlement at the peace. Ordered.—Mr. Rose submitted to the house a question, whether a member (the Hon. C. Villiers) ought to vacate his seat in parliament, in consequence of having received the office of chief prothonotary of the court of common pleas of the county palatine of Lancaster? Mr. Wynne wished to know, if it would not be more regular to move, in the first instance, for a copy of the grant under which Mr. Villiers is now in possession of the said office? A copy of the said appointment was accordingly ordered.

[LISKEARD ELECTION.]—Mr. *Rose* moved the order of the day for reading the charge against John Dayman, under sheriff of Cornwall, and for calling him to the bar of the house; and this being done accordingly; John Dayman, standing at the bar, was asked by the speaker what he had to say to the charge he had heard read against him? He assured the house, that he had not acted from any corrupt motives, and that it was the farthest from his intention, to do an act to violate the privileges of parliament; that he could not have acted from partiality, because he was not personally known to either of the candidates at the late election for Liskeard. He begged the indulgence of the house, and assured them, that if he had acted wrong, he had done so unintentionally. He then withdrew from the bar.

Mr. *Rose* said, it was not his wish to say any thing in aggravation of the charge against Mr. Dayman, but he conceived it to be his duty to bring before the house the opinion of the committee that had tried the merits of the Liskeard election, so far as it related to the conduct of that person. He must acknowledge, that no evidence had come before the committee, of any direct corruption; but it had appeared, he had received some money from each of the candidates; he acknowledged himself, that he had been handsomely paid for his trouble. It was, however, contrary to law, for an under-sheriff to accept of any reward whatsoever, for his trouble at an election; and so far Mr. Dayman acted improperly. It was necessary that some punishment should be inflicted on him for what he had done: otherwise the same conduct might be practised by others. This was not an uninformed man; he had been bred to the law, he could not have acted from ignorance; and it was incumbent on him to do the office he filled, in a fair and proper manner. He then moved, that the house should adopt the resolution agreed to by the committee; "that Mr. John Dayman, the under sheriff of the county of Cornwall, in annexing to the writ the indenture complained of in the petition of W. Huskisson, Esq. respecting the last return of a member to serve in parliament for the borough of Liskeard, acted contrary to his duty, and in violation of the privileges of the house." The right hon. gent. said, he should afterwards move, "that he be taken into custody by the serjeant at arms."

Sir *William Lemon* hoped the house would consider the great expense this young man had already been put to, and not inflict a heavy punishment on him. He said, he had a letter from the high sheriff of Cornwall, giving a very good character of Mr. Dayman, who would not, on any account, act from improper motives, and, if he had been guilty of any misconduct, it must certainly have been unintentional on his part. Besides, the house should bear in mind, that he had no knowledge of, or connexion with any of the parties at the election.

Mr. *Gregor* said, that the under sheriff having received a small sum of money, by way of fee for his trouble at the election, was not a proof that he had acted from corrupt motives. From the enquiries he had himself made into this gent.'s character, and the information he had received, he believed he acted solely from error. He begged the house to consider the injury he must suffer even in his profession, if it inflicted a heavy punishment on him.

Mr. *Holland*, being a member of the committee appointed to examine into this subject, hoped he should be indulged if he differed in opinion from the right hon gent. (Mr Rose.) It did not appear on evidence that the under sheriff had acted from partiality, or from any motive of corruption. It must be attributed to negligence rather than any other cause. He was of opinion, that the house would do enough to shew that they would not allow their privileges to be trifled with, by reprimanding the gent. at the bar.

Mr. *Rose* again contended, that as this man could not have acted from ignorance (although even that would be inexcusable), he must have had some motive in his mind for what he did.

Mr. *Sheridan* denied that the under sheriff had the plain line of his duty laid down before him; he was not bound, as a matter of course, to receive any return which the returning officer might make. It was a part of his duty to see that the return was not an improper one. In fact, it had been stated to Mr. Dayman, that the mayor of Liskeard had made a false return; and that was the reason he sent up the two returns to the clerk of the crown. And the committee, which afterwards tried the election, decided differently from the mayor; they having given it as their opinion, that the right of election resided with the mayor and burgesses generally; and the mayor having declared the right of election to be in the mayor, and the capital and free burgesses. It was therefore a case, in which a man might be misled, and must certainly have been an error in judgment. He was sure the censure of the house was as heavy a punishment as ought to be inflicted on this young man.

The *Secretary at War* thought it a mere joke to say that this man's understanding could be misled.

Mr. *Banks* said, it appeared that Mr. Dayman had received a fee from both parties; and that would not have happened, if he had not made a double return.—The first motion was then put and agreed to; and on its being moved, "that Mr. Dayman be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms," Sir W. Lemon moved, as an amendment, "that he be reprimanded and discharged." This amendment was supported by Mr. Sheridan.—Mr. Pitt, and the Secretary at War contended, that after the resolution the house had just agreed to, and which was to remain on their journals, they could not, consistently with their duty, adopt any proceeding less severe than that of ordering this person into custody. If the house acted otherwise, it would be a surrender of their dignity.—The motion for taking him into custody was then agreed to, Sir W. Lemon having previously withdrawn his amendment.

[SLAVE TRADE.]—Mr. *Deverell* said, he rose to move for certain papers relating to slaves imported into the West-Indies. For these there was a duty paid of 4½ per cent. His motion would be for the production of this duty; and the object of it certainly was, to postpone until next session of parliament, a bill then before the house, for the abolition of the African slave trade. He should make it appear from those papers, that his Majesty had a personal duty on all negroes imported into the West-Indies; and, if so, these duties ought not to be infringed upon. Before any other proceeding could be adopted in the bill before the house, it was necessary that his Majesty's consent should be first obtained; and when its object was to destroy a great portion of our commerce, it ought to have been introduced in a different shape from what it had. He did not think the house justified in introducing the measure without its having been first recommended in a speech from the throne.—Here the hon. member was called to order by

Mr. *Wilberforce,* who observed, that the motion with which the hon. gent. meant to conclude with, was simply for the production of certain papers: he could not, consistent with order, preface it by a long speech on the merits of a bill, which he would have another opportunity of discussing. He did not see why the time of the house should be taken up with such observations, particularly if no opposition was intended to be made to his motion. For his own part, he did not mean to oppose the motion.

Earl *Temple* begged the hon. gent. to consider, that he was not yet supposed to be aware of the nature of the motion, and could not know what alterations the hon. gent. may have found necessary, or how far it might be connected with the general question of the slave trade.

The *Speaker* begged leave to remind the hon. member how far he was in order, and how far not. Any reasons shewing the propriety of his motion were certainly in order; but to comment upon or discuss the question was out of order, and a transgression of the rules of the house. He requested, therefore, the hon. gent. to state the words of his motion.

Mr. *Deverell* moved, "that there be laid before the house an account of the duties paid on negroes imported into the West-India islands, from the coast of Africa, for three years preceding the 1st of Jan. last, together with an account of the appropriation of the said duties." The motion was agreed to.

[VOLUNTEERS.]—Mr. *Eyre* called the attention of the house to the inconveniencies that had taken place, in many instances, from calling out the volunteers on actual service, to the prejudice of their families. The right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might have it in his power to apply some remedy. If he did not, however, he would take an early day for submitting to the house, a motion on the subject.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* expressed a wish that the hon. gent. would have the goodness to communicate to him what he might think proper to be done, as he would co-operate in any measure to remedy the inconvenience alluded to.

[ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.]—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the order of the day for the house to go into a committee on the Additional Force Bill. On the question that the Speaker do leave the chair,

Mr. *Jekyll* rose and said, that he felt himself bound, in the discharge of an imperious and solemn duty, to oppose the motion of the right hon. gent. After what had passed in a late discussion on the subject of the bill now before the house, he should deem himself as failing in his duty, if he did not press shortly on the house, the opinions he entertained respecting it. This duty, as a member of parliament, he was called on to perform; and he could not but look upon it as actually the duty of every gent. who thought as he did of the measure under discussion, to oppose the motion for the Speaker's leaving the chair. Plans of various natures had been offered to the house for placing the country in a respectable state of defence. Those plans had been discussed and rejected, when a right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), not then a member of his Majesty's govt., proposed a plan which appeared a fit object of discussion. He confessed, that he had voted for the consideration of that plan in common with those who concurred with him on the occasion, from a natural confidence in the great talents of the right hon. gent. He had, therefore, expected, now that he was minister, that the right hon. gent. would have brought forward some measure calculated to give satisfaction to all sides of the house, but he was much surprised to find his actual plan different from that which he had given reason to expect, and possessing no novelty but that which was universally reprobated, the introduction of a mode of attempting to recruit the army by parish officers. Whatever other features the measure might have, he called on the gentlemen on the opposite side, or on any side of the house, to say, whether there was any other character of novelty in it? He appealed to gentlemen conversant with the manner in which country business was managed, acquainted with the administration of justice in the country, whether, considering the many duties with which parish officers were already burthened, they could be competent to this duty in addition, and whether the measure in that respect did not appear to them impracticable. He was satisfied, that any gent. acquainted with the nature of the duties of parish officers, must see that it would be impossible for them to accomplish this in addition. But he did not consider the measure as merely impracticable; he looked upon it as oppressive. In case the numbers should not be provided, certain penalties attached, first on the parishes, and ultimately on the counties, which penalties were to be levied by rates on the individuals; and he looked upon it as an injustice to the individual to be so taxed without any possibility of evading the penalty. A paper had been put into his hands on coming into the house, which stated a grievance that appeared to him severe. The paper was anonymous, but gentlemen might judge of the case, when they should hear it read, which he should do as part of his speech. The paper stated, "that the individual had been drawn for the supplementary militia about 12 months since, at which time he had paid 30 guineas for a substitute, which he had been given to understand would exempt him from the militia and army of reserve for 5 years, clear of all expense. But he saw that the bill now before parliament would, nevertheless, subject him to the supply of the supplementary militia, and of the army of reserve, which would be an act of injustice to him, as well as to many thousands besides; that such persons also as had entered into volunteer corps to avoid the ballot, would now withdraw from them, and that the honourable and patriotic volunteers who had determined to sacrifice their lives and properties in the cause of their country, would be by this law subjected to the rates in common with those who should quit their corps." The hon. member did not feel it necessary to detain the house longer, to urge the impolicy, impracticability, and injustice of the measure more strongly than it had been stated in the paper which he had just read.

Mr. *Peter Moore* said, that when he looked at the principles of the bill, he considered it as one of the most alarming that had ever been introduced to the house since the detestable time of James the Second. He had little more to do than to call upon the house, if it regarded its liberties, and the constitution of the country, as founded by their ancestors, to go with him in acting upon the same principles as their ancestors did, on a similar occasion. Immediately after the suppression of the rebellion in 1685, his Majesty, King James, opened the parliament, and stated to them, in his speech from the throne, a plan nearly allied in point of principle to that in the present bill, viz. that, although the militia of the country and the standing army had performed their duty, although they had suppressed the rebellion from one end of the country to the other, the militia was not sufficient, and that nothing but a large body of troops kept in constant pay could defend him and the country from the attacks of their enemies, both at home and abroad. His Majesty then proceeded to desire the house to double the amount of the regular standing army, in lieu of the ancient and constitutional force of the militia, and begged the house would not make any objection on account of a deficiency of officers, because he had already provided them. Such were the words of King James's speech. It would be proper for the house to look at this time to the conduct pursued by their forefathers on that memorable occasion. They granted a supply proportioned only to the existing force of the country, avowedly disclaiming the justice of his Majesty's proposition. They addressed him to discontinue the services of those officers who were disqualified by the test act, and then they advised a committee, to disband the forces, and bring in a bill to render the militia more complete for the purposes expected from it. They farther shewed their constitutional jealousy, by directing the proper officers of govt. to bring in that bill. He saw no alteration in the present times that could possibly warrant a permanent additional force like the one now called for. It was totally inapplicable to the present moment, and at all times, it would prove subversive of the constitution itself. If we had a due sense of our free constitution, which had been thus transmitted to us, we ought to repudiate, in a like manner, the measures now suggested. If the militia was not competent for its duty, in the name of God, bring in a bill in order to make it so. He knew that it had done its duty, according to the expectations of the state. If one bill would not do, let ten bills be brought in for that commendable purpose. It was the militia that precluded the necessity for such an immense standing force. The bill under discussion did not even qualify the matter so far as to say that such a force was intended for foreign service, but expressly mentions that it was for the defence of the realm. Had it been of a temporary nature, and destined for foreign service alone, he had little doubt but the house might with propriety agree to it, but as it stood, there was no security that the force would be discontinued when the service was at an end. On these principles, therefore, he should object to the Speaker's leaving the chair. If any credit were to be given to the statements of ministers, made perhaps for their defence as well as for the satisfaction of the house, the situation of the country was not such as to call for such an augmentation; 822,000 men, including the seamen and marines, had already been provided for the defence of the country, and, with such a force, there could be no call for any additional ballot, nor for a great permanent force. All that was wanted was to organise the force already provided for service. There was an army in the North doing nothing, but ready, and he was sure competent to its duty; there was another army in the South, equally prepared for action, but having no employment, and helping the former to do nothing; there were also armies in the East and West, in similar circumstances. He was confident they were all equally and perfectly competent to defeat any attempt of the enemy, who, if they should venture from their own shores, would never have another story to tell. The force of the country, he observed, was divided with reference to two objects; first, to the home defence, and next to continental war. The first object was completely secured by the constitutional force of the country; and when he looked to the state of the continent, he could not discover any prospect of assistance or co-operative forces in any part of it. On the ground, therefore, that we had a greater force in the country than we wanted, and that the bill under discussion would be subversive of the constitution, he should oppose the motion.

Mr. *M'Naghten* could not discover any similarity between the circumstances of the present times and the circumstances of the year 1685. The hon. gent. who had just sat down, had talked much of that unconstitutional reign and those detestable times; and in jumping over a century had attacked the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by making a comparison between him and James II. However such speeches might answer party views in the house, he should be glad if any hon. member would state what effect they would be likely to produce out of doors. The hon. gent. had talked of standing armies as likely to overthrow the constitution; but whatever might have been the case in other times, a large standing army was now the only means of security for the constitution against the attempts of an upstart usurper. The hon. gent. had laid much stress on the establishment of a permanent army, but did he forget that we had the annual mutiny bill, which afforded us the means of putting a stop to such a force at once? He was sorry to take up the attention of the house, but after the discussion that had taken place on Friday, after a majority of the house had decided that the bill should be read a second time, and should go into a committee, he could not but consider any opposition to the Speaker's leaving the chair as proceeding from factious and vexatious motives, as a violent attempt on the part of the gentlemen on the other side of the house, to embarrass his Majesty's ministers. (A loud cry of order! order!)

Earl *Temple* called the hon. gent. to order. The reason on which he did so the noble lord stated to be, that no member was justified in attaching improper motives to any gent. for the sentiments which he might urge in debate.

The *Speaker* declared it to be undoubtedly out of order to impute personal motives to any gent. but at the same time he allowed it to be perfectly in order to state what effect might possibly be produced by such motives in the course of discussion.

Mr. *M'Naghten* was proceeding in the same train of observation when he was again called to order by

Sir *W. Young*, who insisted, that it was one of the wisest principles of our ancestors in regulating the proceedings of that house, that the discussion might be renewed in each of the different stages through which every legislative measure was necessarily to pass before it could be enacted into a law, when

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose to order, and contended, that the observations of the hon. bart. did not apply to the point of order.

Sir *W. Young* insisted, that he had been perfectly in order; that it was the right of every member of that house to express his sentiments on any legislative measure in every stage of its progress; and that to impute to him factious or vexatious motives, was not only to throw impediments in the way of freedom of debate, but to take away the deliberative privileges of the house.

The *Speaker* then observed, that the hon. member (Mr. M'Naghten) must have perceived what was to be considered the strict line of order, and would regulate his conduct accordingly.

Mr. *M'Naghten* then confined himself merely to giving his support to the motion.

Colonel *Craufurd* then rose, and said, that the reluctance which he always felt at obtruding himself upon the house was greater than usual upon the present occasion, because, having failed in his endeavours to catch the Speaker's eye at an early period of the debate which took place on the second reading, he now felt that he must either omit a great part of what he had intended to urge in opposition to the measure, or tire the house with a repetition of what had already been much more forcibly stated by other members. But notwithstanding this disadvantage he felt that, considering the part which he had taken upon former occasions and the opinions he had so frequently expressed upon this subject, he owed it to himself to request that the house would indulge him with this opportunity of shortly explaining the principal reasons which induced him, who had so repeatedly urged the necessity of increasing our regular army, to oppose a measure, the professed aim and design of which was to effect that which he so anxiously desired. He said that, whether he considered our present situation with a view to the defence of the empire against what he must still persist in describing as the most formidable attack that ever was prepared against this or any other country, —or, extending his views beyond the limited horizon of security at home, he endeavoured to discern some prospect of bringing the war to a glorious and successful conclusion, by reducing the power of France and thereby obtaining the *only* chance of a safe, solid, and permanent peace,—in whichever light he considered the subject, he was equally convinced that, whether for present defence or future offensive purposes, it was incumbent upon us to use our utmost endeavours to augment our regular army. But although no man could be more desirous of promoting the accomplishment of this important object, yet he felt that to oppose the present bill was perfectly consistent with that desire; because he was convinced that, whilst it would be productive of much mischief, much vexation and injustice to the country, it would be found to be perfectly inadequate to the purposes for which it was intended; and that it would not add one man to the army, who might not be obtained without having recourse to this vexatious mode of proceeding; or if it did raise any men *that would not otherwise be procured,* they would be either of so vile a description, or procured by means so detestable, that being as he was a warm advocate both for increasing the strength and also for maintaining the credit and reputation of the army, he should wish to spare it the disgrace of being so recruited.—It was not his intention, he said, to comment at any length upon the circumstances which had preceded the introduction of the present bill. He was far from feeling any surprise when he lately found that the right hon. gent. who is the author of it, had abandoned his intention of rendering ballots permanent. What surprised him was, not that he should have given up this design, but that he should ever have entertained it. From what he recollected the right hon. gent. to have said in the course of a debate which took place some months ago on the subject of the volunteers' exemptions, it did appear that he was even then aware that scarcely any of the balloted men served in person; and he therefore had been considerably surprized when he afterwards heard him propose to render permanent that very system of balloting, the inefficacy of which he had thus acknowledged. He thought, however, that the right hon. gent. deserved great credit for the readiness with which he had allowed himself to be induced, by the further information that he had obtained since he came into office, to abandon the principal feature of a plan, which only two or three weeks before he had actually communicated in detail to this house as the result of long and mature reflexion upon the subject. But in giving him due credit for this change, justice required that he should remind him of the obligations he was under to his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) for having been the means of sparing him the mortification that he would have experienced if he had persisted in his original plan of permanent ballots; a plan, which, even if brought forward by the right hon. gent. as minister, would, he doubted not, have been reprobated and rejected by all sides of the house. It was but just, he said, that the right hon. gent. and the house should recollect, that the information which had induced him to make so complete a change in his measure, was a return, moved for by his right hon. friend, of all men raised under the reserve act, distinguishing the substitutes from the balloted men who served in person. But without further inquiring who was entitled to the praise of having been most instrumental to putting an end to the ballot, he heartily rejoiced that it had been put an end to. When he said this, he was far from meaning to blame those who had introduced it; for, whatever objections he might have entertained against the organization of the army of reserve, he certainly had thought that the late ministers were entitled to praise for having had recourse to the ballot, as a temporary experiment, under the pressure of a great emergency. Experience however had proved it to be much less efficient and more mischievous than he had foreseen that it would be, and he rejoiced that it was now abandoned.—The present plan was certainly less vexatious and less oppressive than the ballots; it was however to a great degree vexatious and oppressive, and it was not to be justified upon the plea of state necessity, because he was convinced that it would do the state no service. He really believed that if government would adopt what had been so repeatedly suggested by his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) on the subject of recruiting the army, — if they would put an end to all competition from other descriptions of force; if they would remove the strong objections that men now feel to the regular army, arising chiefly from the circumstances of their being bound for life, and liable to West-India service; if they would increase the inducements to the people to devote themselves to the military profession, by making an ample and liberal provision for every man who should have served his country faithfully for a certain number of years, so that the situation of a retired soldier might be regarded as an enviable condition;—if the government would adopt all these recommendations of his right hon. friend, he really believed that, notwithstanding the new and extraordinary situation in which we find ourselves in consequence of the events of the last ten years, we should have no occasion to have recourse to compulsory means for the recruiting of our army. But this he was sure of, that if compulsion was or ever should become necessary, it must, in order to do any good, be of a very different nature from what was now proposed. He could conceive no *effectual* compulsion short either of an absolute military conscription, such as is established in Prussia, in Austria, or in France; or a system of ballots, with a fine in default of personal service so high as to be beyond the ability of the lower orders to pay, and accompanied by the most severe and effectual laws for the prevention of all associations or subscriptions for insurance against ballot. He sincerely hoped that we should never in this country be reduced to the necessity of having recourse to either of these methods; but he was sure that any system of compulsion short of these, must be wholly ineffectual. With respect to the present plan, it was neither one thing nor the other; it greatly increased, instead of abolishing, the competition; it held out no additional inducement, and as to compulsion, there was just enough of it to be vexatious and unjust towards the parishes, but not enough to procure men. When he said, that even under the present circumstances of Europe, he did not believe it was necessary for us to have recourse to compulsion for keeping up our regular and embodied force, he did not, however, mean to say, that it was safe for us to trust entirely for the defence of the country either to an army recruited by the means which he proposed, or to the mere voluntary exertions and zeal of the people to co-operate with. The immense increase of the power of France; the military conscription established in that country, by which its government is enabled to augment its army to any possible extent; and the dispirited and disjointed state of the continent, which does at present, and may continue hereafter to leave them at liberty to employ the greater part of their force against us, had certainly rendered it necessary that we should adopt some more sure, permanent, and effectual means of providing for our defence than any that have hitherto been resorted to. Under these circumstances he was convinced that it had become expedient to vest in the crown, the power of compelling all men of a certain age to learn the use of arms, and of arraying and calling out this great national force, in case of actual invasion, in any way that might be most efficient for the purpose of repelling it. He was certainly an advocate for vesting this power in the crown, provided it be so regulated and defined by parliament as to prevent its abuse; to prevent, for instance, the training being enforced beyond what is absolutely necessary, to prevent its interfering with the ordinary occupations of the people, to prevent any men being called above four or five miles at most from their home, except in case of actual invasion, and, finally, to prevent the gradations of society being confounded, or any person being placed in a situation inconsistent with the rank which he holds in civil life, by an arbitrary or capricious exercise of the power of calling upon him to act in defence of the country. To such a power, so defined and regulated by parliament, he not only had no objection, but on the contrary, he believed it to be absolutely necessary to placing us in a state of permanent security. With respect, therefore, to the training and arraying that species of force, which is to be called out only in case of actual invasion, he was in favour of a system of *absolute* compulsion; but for supplying the permanently embodied army, he would attempt no species of compulsion whatever, until we had tried the system of increasing the encouragement and of removing the objections to the service, and of destroying all competition against it, by making it impossible for men to enjoy any of the honours, distinctions, advantages, or gratifications of a soldier's life, without entering into the regular army.—It might, however, be said, that the present is not a system of compulsion. Why certainly, if the act should invariably be carried into execution, without any of those abuses which many gentlemen so justly apprehend, it was true, that no individual would be compelled to enter the service against his will. But it undoubtedly was a system of compulsion and of injustice, with respect to the parishes, who are to be fined, not only if they are unwilling, but also, if they are unable to find men; and, he thought it worthy of remark, that the description of parishes that will lie most exposed to the penalties of the act, are precisely those which are most deserving of praise and reward. The habits of idleness and temporary distress being amongst the most prevalent causes that induced men to enlist, it was certain, that those districts, where the great landed proprietors, and other opulent persons, displayed the greatest share of active benevolence, in promoting the industry, increasing the comforts, and relieving the wants of the inhabitants, would, in general, be the districts where it would be most difficult to procure the quota; and the very gentlemen to whom the country owes these blessings would therefore be fined for the effects of their own munificence and charity. And what were we to gain by all this vexatious and disgusting system? After paying the greatest attention to every thing that had been said in favour of this measure, it appeared to him that the expectation of its efficacy in raising the men in the first instance, rested entirely upon two grounds, 1st, that by means of this bill, you would obtain the assistance and influence of the people of landed property in each parish, and 2dly, that you would increase the number of active recruiters beyond what you could possibly have in any other way. With respect to the influence of the landed proprietors, upon whom, in default of raising the men, the fines will fall, he must remark in the first place, that excepting in the Highlands of Scotland, and perhaps in some parts of Ireland, there were very few, if any, families in the kingdom, whose influence over the lower orders, if fairly and honourably exerted, was such as to enable them to send many men to the army. And did his Majesty's ministers expect, that the threat of a paltry fine was the way to call forth the exertions of men of the description that possess this influence? If government wished to obtain their assistance in recruiting, they must be appealed to in a different manner. But it was said, that you would, at least, obtain one active recruiter in every parish; and it was, he believed, an old maxim with persons experienced in that business, that the more recruiters the more recruits. This might, to a great degree, be the case; he really believed that the army could not supply as large a number of recruiting parties as were necessary; and he therefore agreed with the author of the bill in thinking, that it might be very desirable to have other persons employed in this service, exclusive of the regular regimental parties: but it appeared to him, that the having recourse to churchwardens and overseers of the poor, was, in every respect, the very worst mode that could be devised, and that an equal number of persons far less objectionable and more efficient for the purpose, might be obtained by the very same means on which the right hon. gent. chiefly relied for calling forth the active exertions of the parish officers. For when, in the former debates, it was objected that in cases where they were active in endeavouring to raise their quota, it was to be feared that they might be guilty of much oppression; and that in other cases, where they did not choose to have recourse to such means, they would probably make no exertion at all; the rt. hon. gent. in reply to the last objection had said, that he should find means of quickening their activity, by giving them a reward of so much per man; and it was upon this appeal to their interest, that he seemed chiefly to rely. But by this very same means, you might get as many men as you pleased, who would be far better recruiters than the parish officers, and would not be liable to the same objections. There was a great deal of popular outcry against crimps, and certainly he was as desirous as any man could be, that the abuses and mal practices which these people were accused of being guilty of should be prevented; but, if instead of using the appellation of crimp, connected as it is with the idea of all these abuses, he was called upon to give his opinion, with respect to the policy of employing persons who made recruiting their trade, he should certainly say that he was very far indeed from wishing to abolish that desription of men. He should, on the contrary, wish their number to be much increased; but at the same time, put under such regulations as should give govt. the power of effectually preventing these abuses that are now complained of. What these regulations might be, he was not prepared exactly to point out; nor was it necessary that he should; but amongst others, he thought it would be very desirable that no person should be allowed to enlist men for the army without a licence, which would not be granted to men of profligate characters, and which would be immediately taken away upon any proof of malpractices. Supposing no undue means to be used on either side, it was natural that persons of the description that he alluded to should in general be more successful than parish officers, both because recruiting requires a certain talent which the latter in general will not possess in the same degree as men who make it their profession; and also, because it undoubtedly is necessary that those who are employed in it should associate with the lower orders in a way that would be disgraceful in a parish officer. For both these reasons, therefore, these recruiters would get many men whom the parish officers would not get; whereas if the latter got men that the former could not, it must be by the exercise of that species of tyranny, which many gentlemen who had spoken against the bill were so justly apprehensive of. Parish officers and magistrates, if not employed in the way that was intended by this bill, would have a watchful and jealous eye over the conduct of the recruiters, and would remain in every respect in their natural situation of guardians and protectors of the poor; whereas by the present bill it becomes the interest of the magistrates to connive at these abuses, and the more direct and immediate interest of the parish officers, either to encourage crimping in others, or to practise it themselves. Upon the whole, therefore, he decidedly objected to the proposed plan of raising the men, as holding out no prospect whatever of any one advantage which might not be as effectually obtained without any of the mischief, the oppression and injustice, with which this bill was pregnant.—Having thus stated his disapprobation of this mode of attempting to raise the men in the first instance, he should now proceed to make a few observations on the use that was intended to be made of them when raised; and, in the first place, he must object to enlisting men for a service limited both as to time and place, with the design of afterwards putting them into a situation where they would be constantly urged by their own officers to extend their engagements to a service in every respect unlimited. This was a mode of recruiting the regular army which nothing but absolute necessity would induce him to consent to; for he could consider it as no other than a premeditated system of inveigling men into the service. But it might be said, that this objection did not come very well from him, who had frequently expressed himself favourable to recruiting out of the militia. He certainly did think that when that measure had been adopted last war as a temporary expedient, it was perfectly justifiable. He also thought that it ought again to be resorted to on the present occasion, instead of the *gradual* reduction proposed by the right hon gent., of which he would say a word or two by and by. If, as appeared to be the case, parliament was of opinion, that the regular army had not yet attained its proper strength and ought to be immediately augmented, that on the other hand the militia had been increased beyond its proper limits, and ought to be brought back to its original establishment, he certainly thought it highly desirable that the reduction of the one should be made instrumental to the augmentation of the other. But he did not see that his approbation of what had been done in this respect last war, or his recommendation of having recourse to volunteers from the militia on the present occasion, were at all inconsistent with his objections to the principles of this bill. In the first place, what had been done then, or was now proposed by him, were temporary measures, both adopted under the pressure of sudden emergencies, and the latter arising out of circumstances that could not again occur; whilst the plan proposed by the present bill was of a permanent nature. The situation of the men who were thus called upon to volunteer from the militia to the army, was also wholly different from that of the men of these second battalions. What he should propose, for instance, with respect to the militia, would be simply to write a circular letter from the war office to the colonels of each regiment, stating that parliament having come to a resolution, that the militia ought to be reduced to its old establishment, it had been resolved, that a number equal to the excess above that establishment should be allowed a bounty for entering into any regiment of the army; which letter should be read by the commanding officer at the head of his regiment. The house might feel assured that in such a case the militia officers would not use any undue means to prevail on their men to leave them; and that those who refused to go would not be reproached by their comrades who remained; so that the enlistment into the army would really be the effect of their own pure unbiassed inclination; whereas in these second battalions the men would be constantly living under the command of officers who would feel it their interest to induce them to extend their services beyond the term of their original compact or intention. It would be the interest of the officers to do so, both because it would probably be a means of recommending themselves to the favour of govt., and also because they would feel more anxious about the first battalion than the second, considering their situation in the one as only a passage to the other. A lieutenant colonel, for instance, commanding the second battalion, and knowing that, excepting only in case of invasion (which would not always be considered as probable as at present), he could never have an opportunity of leading it against the enemy, would be looking forward with impatience to the time of his being promoted to the command of the first battalion, and would use all his influence with the men under his command to prevail on them to enlist into it first, with a view to his finding it complete and efficient when he came to the command; and under such circumstances it can hardly be said that the men would be fairly left to a free option.—But still stronger than his objection to the nature of this force, was his objection to its amount. If this bill was adopted, we should, including militia, have a permanent body of 140,000 men engaged in a service limited both as to time and place, creating an enormous and fatal competition against the regular army. Some gentlemen, indeed, contended that the men who composed the home army were of a description that would not have entered the military profession at all if they had not had an opportunity of doing so without being exposed to foreign service. But if they would take the trouble of considering the causes which induced men to become soldiers, they would have reason to conclude that a very great, and perhaps by far the greatest number of the men who now enter for home service by preference, would have gone into the regular army if the former had not existed. The motives which induced men to become soldiers were either idleness and vanity, or temporary distress, or a pure ardent military spirit; the latter being indeed the most honourable, and that which produced the best soldiers, but the two former being the most prevalent and fertile sources of recruiting. By far the greater number of men would, on inquiry, be found to have enlisted either because they liked the idle life and the splendid dress of a soldier better than the drudgery and obscurity of following the plough or any other laborious profession, or because by the temporary decline or suspension of some manufactory they had been thrown out of bread, and obliged to have recourse to the army for immediate subsistence. But although the greatest part of both these descriptions of men, if they had not the option of home service, would be willing to enlist into the regular army for a limited time (particularly if they could do so without the risk of being sent to the West Indies), yet they will naturally prefer the former if open to them, because in it, without leaving their native country, they will find their idle propensities as fully gratified, or their temporary distress as amply relieved, as if they had engaged in a service of a more extensive nature: and thus, by the establishment of a large home army, you cut off from the regular, many of the most productive sources of recruiting.—But in answer to all the reasoning that had been urged in opposition to this measure, its advocates appealed to the test of experience; contending that the success of the army of reserve act (of which they considered this as a great improvement) had sufficiently exemplified the advantageous effects of such a system of recruiting: and they alledged that by that act we had raised 35,000 men, whom we could not have raised by any other means, 13,000 of whom had already been induced to enter into regiments of the line. For his own part, he doubted very much whether the army of reserve act had procured us a single man (either for home or general service), who would not otherwise have been willing to enlist into the regular army for a limited term of years, with the exception only of the very small number who had been forced into it by the direct operation of the ballots, which are now abolished, and of those who had been tempted by the enormous high bounties, which the authors of the present bill very properly proposed to put a stop to. With respect to those men who, after having entered the reserve, have refused to go any further, it was said by gentlemen on the other side, that these were men who could not by any means have been prevailed upon to have engaged for service out of the kingdom. How they were to prove this assertion he was at a loss to know; for in his opinion their remaining in the reserve did not by any means shew that they had an unconquerable aversion to foreign service, but merely that their desire of going abroad was not so eager as to induce them to exchange a service in which they would become their own masters again in four or five years, for one to which they must bind themselves for life. This consideration would prevent many, even of those who wished to extend the sphere of their action, from entering into the regulars: and even if the term of the engagement in the line was not for a greater number of years than in the reserve, yet he should not at all agree that a man's refusing to go from the one to the other did by any means amount to a proof that he had so *unconquerable* an *aversion* to foreign service, as would have prevented him becoming a soldier at all if he had not had an opportunity of doing so without exposing himself to be sent abroad; it would only shew that, having the choice of the two, he *rather* preferred staying at home, and that all his ends being answered in the home service he did not consider the additional bounty as a sufficient inducement to go further. But the advocates of the present measure not only maintained that the men who remain in the reserve are men whose services could not have been obtained at all in any other way, but also that the 13,000, who have gone from thence into the regular army, could not have been brought into it except through the medium of this weaning system. In attempting, however, to illustrate the admirable effects of it, they had proved too much; for the extreme quickness with which, as they say, these 13,000 men had been thus induced to enter the regular army, plainly shewed that their doing so was not owing to this sort of weaning, which it was impossible to suppose should have been effected in so short a time. The fact was that, having been originally determined to go into the regulars, they passed through the reserve merely in order to receive the additional bounty. A man, for instance, who wished to go into the 20th, or any other regiment, would not be such a fool as to enter it directly for a bounty of 10 guineas, when, by first going into the reserve, he could arrive at the very same regiment with a bounty of from 30 to 50 guineas. It therefore appeared to him to be quite clear that the whole 13,000 would have gone to the regular army at any rate, and in the highest degree probable that the greater part of the remaining 20,000 would have done the same, at least for a limited term of years, if the option of home service had not been held out to them But even if it was true that there were a certain number of men in the country who have an insuperable objection to foreign but none to home service, still he contended that a militia establishment of 40,000 would, in his opinion, be a fully sufficient receptacle for men of that description.—He next adverted to that part of the plan by which each of the battalions of this home army was to be attached to, and form one regiment with a battalion of the line. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) seemed to think that the intimate connexion, the sort of brotherly affection existing between two battalions, the one in the East or West Indies, and the other in England, would be such as to create a much greater disposition in the men of the second to enlist into the first battalion than had been manifested by the men of the army of reserve. He would not repeat what on a former day had been so well stated by his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) upon this part of the subject; but to whatever degree future experience might realize the idea of this intimate connexion, and the increased disposition to entering the line which the right hon. gent. expected to result from it, yet it was quite clear to him, that the inclination to a change of situation would be much less frequent when restricted to another battalion of the same regiment, than it would be if the men had the choice of the whole army left open to them; and therefore the right hon. gent., instead of taking credit as he had done, without any drawback for the full amount of the increase that might result from the connexion between the battalions, ought to set off against it the considerable diminution that would be the consequence of the restriction. But exclusively of the various objections which had been already urged against this plan, there was one which occurred to him and appeared to be of so much weight, that he really believed that the connexion of the second battalion with the first, and of both with some particular county (from which the right hon. gent. expected nothing but advantages) would, in many cases, operate more powerfully than any other cause to impede the recruiting of the line, unless a very important change was previously made in the nature of its service. For the natural consequence of this connexion would be, that the soldiers of the second battalion, and also the inhabitants of the district to which it belonged, would be constantly informed, by letters from their friends and acquaintances in the first, of all the circumstances of its situation, which would frequently be described to them, and truly described, in such a manner as to take away all inclination to join it. He did not mean to allude to the complaints of the severity of the commanding officer, if he happened to enforce a more severe discipline than they had been subjected to in the home battalion, or to any comparatively trifling grievances of that nature, but to the melancholy, though not exaggerated picture, which those letters would frequently contain of the deplorable condition of the regiment, sinking under the baneful influence of a West India climate. Nor would the check that would thus be given to the recruiting of the army be confined to the effect produced upon the second battalion; for the object and natural operation of this plan, if it succeeded according to the projector's wish, would be, that each regiment of the line would by degrees become chiefly composed of men taken from one particular part of the kingdom, the second battalions being to be recruited each in its own county and to serve as a principal nursery for the first. This seemed to be a favourite part of the plan with the right hon. gent., and he confessed that he also was, and always had been, a friend to the idea of recruiting regiments as much as possible from particular districts, though he should have proposed a different method of carrying it into execution. But before he could consider it desirable to have county regiments at all, he thought it was absolutely necessary to make such arrangements as should prevent their being exposed to be sent to the West Indies. It would at any rate, and under any circumstances, well become the wisdom and the humanity of the government or legislature, to separate the general service of the army from the duty of these unhealthy islands: but that which would be desirable at any rate, was a *sine quâ non* with respect to local regiments. It was well known that in every war a great proportion of our best infantry had been sacrificed to that fatal climate; which at one period of the late war in particular had gone near to effect its total destruction. Regiments that went out complete returned after twelve or fifteen months in such a state, that they were commonly and expressively called skeletons. If this should happen to a battalion of men taken indiscriminately all over the kingdom, the loss, however much to be lamented, would not come home with peculiar force to any one county, nor produce so powerful an effect on the minds of the people:—but if a regiment, entirely or chiefly composed of men from one particular district, should be sent on such a service and perish in this miserable manner, without having had an opportunity of signalizing themselves by any act of valour or leaving behind them any reputation to console their friends for the loss, was it not natural to suppose that the inhabitants of that district would be disgusted with the service of the army to such a degree as to put almost a total stop to the recruiting from it for a great length of time?—He next adverted to that part of the bill which relates to the gradual reduction of the militia, to the proposed slow and tardy method of effecting which he strongly objected. The annual supply of men stated by the right hon. gent. as having by experience been found necessary for keeping up the militia to its present establishment, was from two to three thousand; and, therefore, at that rate it would take about seven years to accomplish, in the mode now proposed, the conversion of 20,000 militia into 20,000 men of that description of force which the right hon. gent. thought so very superior to the militia even for the purposes of home defence. He was at a loss to conceive upon what principle it was that the right hon. gent. proposed so slow and tedious a process for the attainment of what he considered as so important an improvement in our military system; or why he did not rather propose to declare at once that parliament, being of opinion that it was expedient to reduce, and in future to limit the militia to its original standard, had decreed that a number of men from each regiment, equal to the excess of its present effective strength over that original establishment, should be allowed to volunteer into the regiments of the line. By this means you would obtain an immediate supply of upwards of 20,000 disciplined men to fill up the ranks of the regular army, which every body agreed in thinking ought to be augmented; and even the militia colonels themselves, many of whom he had heard to declare that it had exceeded its proper bounds, could have no reason to complain of its being at once brought back to that number, beyond which it had been found impossible to preserve the purity of its first constitutional principle, namely, the qualification of the officers. Neither could they, as he apprehended, have any just cause of complaint against this *mode* of effecting the proposed reduction: for the principle on which this measure would be adopted, namely, that of reducing it to its original establishment, would effectually prevent its being considered as a precedent for introducing the system of recruiting from it after it had been so reduced. Nor could this one draft from the militia, if it was done in the way he had stated in the former part of his speech, be considered either as a putting the men into an unfair situation, or as likely to throw the regiment into disorder even for a time; for he had already said that he would not send recruiting serjeants to drink with and debauch the men, but would simply and fairly give them the choice, by publishing the act of parliament, and offering them the bounty in such a manner, and through the medium of such persons as should effectually prevent the exercise of any undue means to induce them to avail themselves of it. To reduce the militia in the way he had proposed might be objected to by those who thought it as efficient for the defence of the country as troops commanded by regular officers; but he could not conceive upon what principle it was rejected by the right hon. gent., who avowed that the militia ought to be reduced and the army to be augmented; who, so lately before he came into office, had described the enemy's preparations for invading us as being of the most formidable nature; who had expressed himself so dissatisfied with the measures adopted by his predecessors for the defence of the country; and who, in his commendations of the sort of force proposed to be created by this bill, had told us that although not a single soldier in this home army should ever have seen an enemy, yet, from its being commanded by experienced officers, it would be equal to a much larger number (if he was not much mistaken, the right hon. gent. had said, to almost double the number) of militia, even for purposes only of home defence. He could not, he said, conceive how the right hon. gent., who, according to his own declarations, must necessarily consider the transfer of 20,000 men from the militia to the army as equivalent to a very considerable positive increase of the military strength of the country, could possibly, under the present circumstances, prefer a mode of effecting it, which would require seven years in its execution, to one which might easily be accomplished in half that number of weeks.—Having thus stated his objections to different parts of this bill, he must take occasion to notice the answer that it was the fashion to make to his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) when he objected to all these systems, namely, that he was very fond of criticising the plans of ministers but proposed none in lieu of them. Now, in his opinion, every really useful and excellent suggestion for the purpose of recruiting and supporting the army, was to be found in the speeches of his right hon. friend. The difference between his plan and those which he objected to was this, that the one was short and simple, but efficacious,—the others were operose, complicated and ineffectual. But it seemed as if ministers were all very desirous of the reputation of being the inventors of some great and ingenious plan, and they seemed to think that a few sensible maxims written upon a couple of pages of paper, would not appear sufficiently important. Why, in God's name, then, let them make out a plan as bulky and as complex as this is, provided only that they would just consent to annex to it a single sheet containing his right hon. friend's suggestions, and that they would so contrive the rest as not to thwart or impede their operation. The two, being thus combined, would remind him of an automaton figure that he had once seen in Germany, which, upon being exhibited, presented to the spectotor the appearance of the application of a most complicated machinery, in which all the mechanical powers were combined in so wonderful a manner as to enable this automaton to play a game at chess; whilst the contrivance, by which the game was really played, and which was kept out of sight, was in fact of a simple nature: the complicated and useless machinery would be represented by the minister's plan, and the simple, but effectual contrivance, by that of his right hon. friend. Let military rank, military titles, and military honours, be confined to the regular army; let no other species of service enjoy any of its distinctions, not even its dress; let the condition of the officers, particularly in the lower ranks, be improved and made more suitable to the place they hold in society; let the regiments of the line be exempted from West India duty, the engagement for a term of years be substituted in lieu of that for life, and the condition of the retired soldier who has served for a certain number of years be rendered such as to become an enviable one in the eyes of the people; and, finally, let all competition arising from services of a limited nature be wholly abolished or at least confined to a small militia. If all these suggestions were adopted, he was convinced they would prove the most effectual plan, and the only effectual one that could be devised, for keeping up our regular army; or if they did not, then indeed he should be convinced that measures of absolute compulsion must be reverted to.—There were some other topics, he said, not indeed forming any part of this bill, but the consideration of which was so intimately connected with that of the subject now before the house, that he hoped they would excuse his shortly repeating some things, which he had frequently, upon former occasions, recommended in vain. One of these proposals was, that, besides completing the regular embodied army to whatever amount it might be practicable or advisable to carry it, a large reserve should be prepared and kept in a state of readiness to join it in case of actual invasion. It was not possible, nor if possible perhaps would it be expedient, even in time of war, to keep up, in an embodied state, an army as numerous as might in that event be found necessary: and even if it was sufficiently numerous at the commencement of the operations, it would be highly important that we should have some prompt and certain means of supplying its losses. For, if the enemy should succeed in landing a very large force, we must expect that he would maintain himself for a considerable length of time, and that every effort would be made to support this first attack by fresh disembarkations. For both these purposes, therefore, that is to say, both for the augmentation of the army in the first moment of invasion, and likewise for the purpose of constantly preserving its strength unimpared during the course of the operations which would follow, he had before proposed, and must again recommend, that a very numerous reserve should be enrolled, trained in their respective parishes, and kept in readiness to be incorporated into the regular regiments, but not liable to be called out until the enemy's fleets actually approached the coast.—Another means of adding to the strength and security of the country, upon which he had laid very great stress on former occasions, and relative to which subsequent experience had fully confirmed him in every opinion he had then expressed, was that which might be derived from a judicious system of fortification. From what had lately passed, it appeared that a right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) would approve of adopting this means of defence only upon a very limited and economical scale; whereas he, on the contrary, had in view the execution of a system, which would certainly be attended with considerable expense. But as the objects which he aimed at, if they could be accomplished, would add most essentially to our security, he thought that parliament would ill discharge its duty to its constituents by refusing what might be necessary for that purpose, whilst such large sums were constantly expended upon objects far less essential to the prosperity and welfare of the state. In speaking upon this subject he had formerly recommended—1st, to render really inattackable those parts of the coast of the narrow seas that are within reach of that species of force with which the enemy is now preparing to attack us (and that this was practicable, he would willingly undertake to prove, and pledge his professional character upon the issue): 2dly, so to prepare and strengthen the country between the coast and the capital, as would ensure our retarding the enemy's progress towards London, for a sufficient length of time, to enable us to call forth the whole strength of the country: 3dly, to put our great magazines and arsenals in such a state that they could not be taken or destroyed without the forms of a regular siege; and, 4thly, to fortify the environs of the capital itself in such a manner as should enable its inhabitants, with the assistance of a small number of regular troops, to prevent the enemy's becoming master of it even in case of the main body of our army having been obliged to withdraw for a time.—There was another measure which he and others had frequently recommended, namely, the more general arming and training of the people. To the adoption of this measure, to a certain extent, he thought the right hon. gent. was pledged by the opinion he had expressed in a debate which took place very shortly before his coming into office. He therefore expected that he would bring forward some proposal for this purpose; and he pledged himself to give it his support, as heartily as if it came from an administration with which he was more satisfied than he or the country had reason to be with that which had lately been formed.—He had thought it his duty to take this opportunity of expressing his opinions upon these topics, though not immediately connected with the present bill. To the bill itself he should, in every stage of it, give his most decided opposition; because it was injudicious in its details, vexatious and unjust in its principle, and he was convinced would be found to be totally insufficient for the attainment of its object; and because, by establishing a home army of 140,000 men, enjoying the honours, distinctions, and gratifications of a soldier's life, it would raise a fatal competition against the regular army.

Mr. *Burland* spoke also against the bill. He admitted that it might, in many instances, be expedient during a period of war, but he could not approve it as a permanent system. But, even in the former case, he was convinced that without the utmost vigilance and exertion to render it efficient, it would, like the army of reserve act, prove ineffectual.

Mr. *Langham* said, that the bill could not possibly receive any alteration in the committee that could reconcile him to its principle. He wished, however, that all opposition to it might be with-held until after it had passed through that stage.

Mr. *Robert Ward* replied to the arguments that had been urged against the bill. He did not understand what the hon. gent. who opened the debate meant by saying, that in this bill there was no novelty. It had become the fashion to talk in this manner; but was not the destruction of the ballot a novelty? The gent. who followed (Mr. P. Moore) had harangued upon the measures pursued by James II. but where the resemblance between his measures and the present one existed, he was really at a loss to conceive. A right. hon. gent. however (Mr. Yorke), though not friendly to the bill, had discovered in it a very novel principle, namely, that of doing away ballots, a principle which he conceived to constitute a material difference between this and all preceding measures on the subject, and which would go to obviate the oppressive principle so generally the subject of complaint. Some gentlemen argued against the bill, as going to constitute in the country a great standing army; while others again opposed it principally because it did not go to create a standing army; between such contrariety of opinions upon the tendency of the same measure, it was indeed difficult to draw a line of reconciliation. The hon. officer (Col. Craufurd) who spoke last,—and for contesting with whom upon military subjects, he perhaps ought to apologize—seemed to think the mode of raising men through the interference of parish officers utterly objectionable, and likely to be productive of no good effect. He did not pretend to question the skill of experienced officers, whose professional business it was to manage troops after they were raised; but he must claim the privilege of exercising his judgment as a private member of parliament, upon the most likely mode of raising those men in the parochial districts. The hon. colonel seemed to think crimps a very useful body of men, who ought not to be abolished. He, however, thought them, as many other members uniformly did, disgraceful to the service; and he was sorry to understand, that many gentlemen who had occasion to raise men, were obliged sometimes to resort to their aid; but he thought the mode of raising men by the interference of parish officers infinitely more eligible, as exempt from the fraudulent artifices so usual with crimps. He contended that the mere unaided system of recruiting held out no prospect of success, and that the bill contained provisions for the augmentation of the regular army, which at least ought fairly to be put to the trial.

Mr. *Jekyll* in explanation said, that there was nothing novel in the bill that could be obtained through the medium of the parish officers.

Colonel *Craufurd* rose also to explain. He maintained that the bill would procure no men for the regular army who would not have entered independent of it, and that any men which it did procure would be obtained by means the most detestable. He denied that he had supported crimping generally, but asserted that the practice might, under proper regulations, be tolerated.

Sir *Wiliam Young* objected to the measure upon constitutional grounds; because, in as much as it enabled the Crown to issue its orders to draw from the collectors of land tax throughout the realm the money for raising those recruits, without any resort to parliament, or any appeal to a committee of supply or ways and means, it thereby enabled the Crown to levy an army of 68,000 men, independently of parliament. He would not presume to say our present gracious Sovereign would abuse such a power, but it might be transferred to the hands of other princes, when it would be liable to abuse; and parliament, without abandoning the most valuable of its own privileges, the privilege of control, could not rest such a power in any monarch. The bill, besides, would impose upon the parish-officer new and obnoxious duties. It would render him officially a spy of the govt. on the people; it would convert him into a crimp serjeant; it would oblige him to abandon his duties over the morals, the good order, and the sobriety of his parish; and it would oblige him to decoy his poor parishioners to the ale-house, and make them drunk, as the crimps do, in order to inveigle them to enlist; or, what was to the full as bad, they would be obliged to resort to the aid of crimps; besides, it would enhance the parochial taxes heavily on those who are already highly taxed for poor's rates.

Mr. *Shaw Lefevre* said, the hon. bart. who spoke last, had stated so forcibly many of the objections which he himself entertained against the bill, that he felt it unnecessary to repeat them. But there was another point not yet suggested against the bill, which amounted, in his mind, to an insuperable objection, namely, that it would go to impose a direct and permanent tax upon the landed property of the country, and he thought it the duty of that house to guard against such a measure; nor should he feel that he discharged his duty to his country, if he had not given it his decided opposition. One principle he always thought it necessary to maintain with the utmost care, namely, that parochial taxes and public revenue should be always kept totally distinct in their collection and application; and he thought it highly objectionable that parochial taxes should be levied for raising a public force, which should be defrayed, more properly, by the revenues of the state. Another objection to the present bill was, that it would go to impose upon overseers, and other parish-officers, new duties infinitely too arduous for them to undertake, in addition to the duties already imposed upon them, and which the house would see, from the voluminous returns on the table, respecting the poor of the country, were sufficiently arduous. It would be impracticable in most, if not in all parishes, to levy the number of men within the time prescribed. Parish officers would be obliged to travel out of their districts to a considerable distance in trying to raise those men, and travelling expenses would occur and be charged on the parish, in spite of the provisions of an act of parliament; and, after all, the fine would be incurred on the failure of raising the quantum of men, which must necessarily fall on the landed property in the end. For what, he would ask, were the poor's rates in every parish, but deductions from the rents, that would otherwise be payable to the landlord? Another ill effect from the bill, would be, to excite considerable jealousies in parishes which had already stood ballots for the militia and army of reserve, and paid large sums in fines, or for substitutes; which parishes, as well as individuals therein, who had already paid fines, or found substitutes, would again be liable to a levy of a new tax, for the objects of the present bill.

Mr. *Richard Ryder* said, that for the last six months nothing had been heard on either side of the house but the necessity of increasing our regular army. He agreed that the ground of constitutional zeal, was a fair ground of jealousy against a standing army, but after the opinion he had alluded to on this subject, it could not be asserted, that our regular army had reached a degree of magnitude, such as to give room for a jealousy of this kind. As to the permanency of this measure, the best rule for proportioning its duration was the continuance of the existing danger; and he would ask, who was there that could ascertain the limits of a danger which, it has been said, may last the life of the youngest member of that house? As to the danger to be apprehended from a standing army, he would ask, whether this bill put it out of the power of parliament to suppress and destroy the force that it was now about to organise, if at any time it should apprehend such danger from it. He would ask the hon. gent. below (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), whether he had not known and acted upon a measure more severe than this, he meant the army of reserve act, of which this was an improvement and a mitigation. With respect to parish-officers they were the persons who, from local knowledge, would be most beneficially, and at the same time most safely intrusted with the execution of the measure. That hon. gent. had, of course, frequently acted as deputy lieutenant, and in that situation, he, the constables, and other inferior officers, had alone the same duties which he now thought it too much to impose on the parish officers. In times like the present, when the dearest interests of all were equally at stake, it would not be fair or just to plead one duty as an excuse for the non performance of another. The house was placed in a singular situation, there was no one point in which gentlemen more disagreed. Some thought crimps detestable, others thought they were necessary; some thought the militia should be reduced, others thought that it should be kept up; some thought the ballot useful, others thought that it should be destroyed. He asked whether, from what had been experienced, there was any rational ground to hope for any plan that would give general satisfaction? He asked whether it was not playing a game in which our dearest interests were involved, to throw difficulties in the way of every measure proposed with a view to the first object of the country? If even the measure militated against what he thought it would promote, he thought the house ought to go into a committee upon it, if it afforded a chance of the advantages which its proposers expected from it. In dangerous times it would be a great reproach to oppose any thing that afforded such a prospect. For himself, he thought most highly of a measure which did not interfere with any force that we possessed, while it afforded a strong and fair expectation of an improvement of which every one acknowledged the importance.

Sir *John Newport* could not consent to such an expedient, except in case of an emergency, which did not exist. The parochial officers had no means of recruiting, except by oppressing those who were within their power. It was true they could not send the lame, the halt, and the blind into the ranks, but they would force such decrepid persons to send their young and able relations, who would prefer going, to having the unhappy sufferers deprived of parochial support. The fines were unjust and impolitic, as they would bear most heavily on the parishes which were most industrious, and had least of idle loose fellows.—It had been urged as an objection to the opposition to this bill, that its opponents were not agreed as to its faults; that one party condemned this provision, while another condemned that, and a third opposed it on a ground different to both those. In his opinion, the multiplicity of the grounds of opposition was the strongest argument against the bill; for if there were only one fault, however great it might be, it was possible it could be overbalanced by the other provisions; but when every one of the provisions was objected to in one quarter or another, it was impossible the measure could be good. He thought it highly unjust that the bill went equally to burthen those who had provided substitutes, and who therefore had a right to consider themselves exempted from every burthen, and those who had not contributed in any such way, for the bill went to burthen the parishes in toto. — The question being loudly called for, the house divided on the motion that the Speaker do leave the chair, when there appeared, ayes 219, noes 169—Majority 50. The house accordingly resolved itself into a committee.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that he meant to propose his amendments, and that any gent. besides, who had come prepared with any, might also propose them; and that he meant to move that the report be brought up on Thursday, when it might be taken into consideration.—On this exposition the committee had proceeded to the 8th page of the bill, where

Mr. *Johnstone* adverted to a clause in the page at which the committee then was, but said he would not detain the house by going into particular observations at present, as he understood the bill was to be recommitted on Thursday.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* left it to the judgment of the house whether a recommitment was necessary. In his opinion the amendments were such as would not require it, but if it should be the sense of any number of gentlemen that they did, he should not object to that proceeding. The right hon. gent. then stated, that he proposed to fill up the blank relating to the number which should be allowed annually to volunteer into the line, with the words "twelve thousand," and therefore this would be the number to be annually raised. In answer to a question from Mr. Johnstone, he stated that he meant to fill another blank preceding with the words the "1st day of Oct. 1804."

Mr. *Johnstone* said, he looked upon it as an inconsistency with the opening speech of the right hon. gent. that 12,000 men should be allowed to enter into the line annually. On the occasion to which he had adverted, the right hon. gent. had said, that only one-sixth was to be permitted to enter into the line annually. As he understood the bill to relate at present to England exclusively, he conceived this proposition to be entirely lost sight of. As this was a matter of extreme importance he thought it essential that the blanks should only be filled up *pro formâ* at present, in order that all points may be better reconsidered on Thursday.

Mr. *Peter Moore* stated, that it must be in the recollection of the house that in the former measure of the army of reserve bill, the house proceeded clause by clause. It was impossible that the present bill could be sufficiently considered in this cursory way; a recommitment was absolutely necessary.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he would only ask, whether the bill was of any importance? He understood it was of great importance. He was brought to look upon it as the means of contrasting the powers of the right hon. gent. to provide a better defence for the country with those of the late govt. He had always been averse to the practice of running through any stage of proceeding; but he never conceived that such a practice could be countenanced, except with an understanding that the measure should be afterwards recommitted. The right hon. gent. said, he had no amendment of any importance to propose. He would ask the right hon. gent., whether it could be supposed that no other gentlemen had amendments to propose but himself, and whether he could answer for the importance of such amendments? He asked, whether, in the temper in which the house was, and at this late hour, it would be right to go through this stage at this hour? He hoped the right hon. gent.'s candour would not permit him to oppose the reprinting and recommitment of the bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that before he had set out he had called the attention of the house to such amendments as he proposed to make, and invited them at the same time to suggest theirs. He conceived it would be for the convenience of the house to proceed this way; but if any person wished to have the bill read clause by clause, he had no objection to begin it again, and go on as far as the strength of gentlemen would permit, and to resume the proceedings on the next opportunity, going on with good humour, and reserving all warmth for the other stages.

Mr. *Sheridan* had no objection to go on with good humour, and to defer that warmth of which the right hon. gent. was himself so capable. It was the regular form of a committee that the bill should be read paragraph by paragraph; without that, a committee was of no use, and if ever that was omitted, it was on the understanding that it should be done at another opportunity. If the house was tricked out of it at present, it must be in the confidence that it would be done on another day. As to beginning now, if there was no other objection to it, it would be a very strong one, that they had gone to the 7th or 8th page of the bill without doing any such thing. It would be more respectful to the house to have the bill recommitted.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* was not captious with respect to words; but he thought it rather an odd time to apply to him "tricking," when he agreed to have the bill read paragraph by paragraph. In answer to those who supposed that the operation of the bill would not commence till Oct. he stated that idea was taken from the filling up one blank with that month. The filling up of the quotas was to commence in 14 days after the passing of the bill. He had no objection to have the bill now read paragraph by paragraph.

Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, asked, whether there had not been a certain degree of tumult since the last division. He saw no signs of the usual attention bestowed on bills of this kind in a committee. He saw very few gentlemen with pencils in their hands to mark them (a laugh). Gentlemen might laugh, but he was impelled by a sense of duty to his country and his constituents, which would not allow him to suffer himself to be laughed down. The present bill had been made the scene of much party animosity; he meant by this a fair warmth with respect to the govt. which it was best for the country to have. Gentlemen had come down prepared to discuss the point in that view, and were unprepared to go into the details of it. For himself, he had no objection to the right hon. gent. (the Chancellor of the Exch.); but he considered this as a time when every hand and every voice should be united in defence of the country; and, therefore, he disapproved of an administration which was formed on exclusive principles. Every person who heard him knew he had none but honest motives; he opposed this bill on the broad grounds of its being the first act of an administration whose principles were not fair, nor such as he could approve of. He said it loudly, for he wished it to be known from one end of the country to the other. The hon. baronet continued to comment on the appointment of the present ministers, till he was called to order by Sir Robert Buxton. The hon. baronet then reverted to the question, and suggested, that the chairman should report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Mr. *Fox* said, that it was clear that all this confusion had arisen from the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer not having at once given into the proposition of his hon. friend (Mr. Johnstone.) There were but two modes of proceeding decently, the first and best was, reading the bill, in the first instance, paragraph by paragraph; the other which had prevailed much of late years, which was to have the blanks filled up *pro formâ*, and the bill read paragraph by paragraph on the re-commitment. Surely it could not be intended to pass a bill of this importance without reading it paragraph by paragraph in some stage. It was true, the right hon. gent. said he was ready now to allow it to be read paragraph by paragraph; but though he wished very much for this course at some future opportunity, if it was offered only for this night he would oppose the further progress, and support the motion for the chairman leaving the chair.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* had no objection to have the bill read paragraph by paragraph, and saw no reason why it should not be done now. He put it to the house to begin to read the bill in this manner now. (A loud cry of no! no!) If any gent. was of a different opinion, let him move that the chairman do report progress, and let the sense of the house be taken upon it.

Mr. *Fox* accordingly moved that the chairman do now leave the chair.

Mr. *Johnstone* stated as his grounds for postponing the consideration of the clauses, the importance of the measure which was to raise 74,000 men. He also asked, whether it was possible that this inefficient plan should raise before the 1st of Oct. 9,000 men due to the militia, and 7000 to the army of reserve?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, to order, said that it was not allowable to enter into these particulars on a question of filling up a blank.

Mr. *Fox* said this was the most extraordinary doctrine he had ever heard. His hon. friend wished to state, that it was important to put off the filling up of a blank, and was proceeding to state his grounds for holding that opinion——

Mr. *William Dundas* said, it was not right to go into the principle on such a question.

Mr. *Johnstone* resumed, and stated, as an additional ground for putting off the consideration of the clauses, that one of them went to authorise a correspondence between the commanding officers of regiments, and the constables and parish officers. He did not like to use harsh words, but he thought it absolutely indecent to hurry through measures of such importance.

Mr. *William Smith* maintained, that it was the regular course to recommit the bill when it was not read paragraph by paragraph. The committee could not now begin to read it paragraph by paragraph, because that would be to contradict what was always assumed in these cases, that the bill had actually been read in the regular way. The house would not have suffered the bill to have proceeded so far, except on a belief that the bill was to be re-committed.

Mr. *Addington* said, the house had proceeded thus far in the committee on an understanding, which, when it was directly put to the right hon. gent., he said he had been misunderstood. He never knew an instance where a re-commitment did not take place under such circumstances. The house could not now go back to read the bill paragraph by paragraph, from the beginning, for the reason that had been stated. Neither would the proposition of the hon. baronet afford any relief, as if the chairman was to report progress, the committee should resume the consideration of the bill exactly at the same point. The only proper proceeding, therefore, was that suggested by the hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Johnstone), to have the bill recommitted on a future day.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* conceived it to be perfectly usual and regular to go back, when a committee had by inadvertency gone beyond any thing that required amendment. He therefore still proposed to begin to read the bill anew. If it was designed that the bill should make no further progress this night, he feared that could be easily accomplished, but he would try how far it was possible to go. When any thing arose that was likely to create discussion, he would move to adjourn the debate.

Mr. *Fox* could see nothing improper or unusual in his motion. Menace he had held out none: all he wished was, to have the house placed in that situation in which it had stood before it had allowed itself to misunderstand the meaning of the right hon. gent. The bill was unquestionably of importance, and it was somewhat extraordinary if the house was to be deprived of its usual privilege of going through it paragraph by paragraph, under the idea that they were entitled to go back; and if the preamble had been already postponed, he should move immediately afterward that the chairman do now leave the chair.

Mr. *Windham* said, he had always understood it to be a privilege of a committee of that house to go through every bill paragraph by paragraph, nor could he conceive that any person could hint at a departure from that rule, but with the understanding that another opportunity of doing so would afterwards be afforded. The present hour of eleven o'clock, on a night when it could not have been in the contemplation of any gent. that such a measure would be pushed on, did not seem a proper season for entering on such a business. If the contrary was maintained, let the history of the proceedings of the last hour be the answer.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that the discussion had now assumed a different complexion. The amendments which he had to propose in the bill were of so simple a nature, that he conceived no gent. could have any reasonable objection to them; but, however, perceiving the opinion of the committee to be, that the bill should be recommitted, he should, in order to give gentlemen who may have amendments to offer an opportunity to bring them forward, not oppose the motion for the chairman's leaving the chair.——The chairman accordingly then left the chair, and the Speaker having resumed his seat, the report was brought up, and ordered for consideration on Thursday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 12, 1804.

[Minutes]—Their lordships resolved into a committee of privileges, and Lord Walsingham having taken the chair, counsel and evidence were farther heard in support of the claim of Lady H. Fitzgerald to the Barony of Roos. The greater part of the time was occupied by the speech of Mr. Erskine, in illustration of the validity, as evidence, of a certain book containing registries of funerals, &c. compiled under the authority of a former Earl Marshal. The Lord Chancellor, after a few observations upon what had fallen from the hon. counsel, adverted to the propriety of their lordships' meeting at an earlier hour, in order to give fuller attention to the subject before them, as well as in reference to a saving of expense to the parties, which he knew was always their lordships' inclination. Under this view, the hour being rather advanced, he would propose that the farther consideration of the case be adjourned till Tuesday next, at two o'clock, and that the counsel be called in at that hour. This arrangement meeting the sense of the committee, was ordered accordingly.——Three private bills were brought up from the Commons, and were severally read a first time.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 13, 1804.

[Minutes]—Colonel Vereker brought up a petition from certain merchants and others of the city of Limerick, against the report of the committee on the Corn Laws so far as relates to Ireland. Ordered to lie on the table.——The Irish Linen Manufacture Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.—Mr. Foster rose to give notice that he should to-morrow move for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the Irish Linen manufacture, and to prevent frauds in bleaching linen, &c.—He also begged leave to mention another object he meant to bring forward. A bill had passed the house two years ago, relative to the corn laws, which will expire on the first of July. Now, though there was a committee sitting at present on that very subject, he should be sorry the bill he alluded to should be suffered to drop. He therefore gave notice, that he would, to-morrow, move for leave to bring in a bill, to continue, for a time to be limited, the aforesaid acts.—Mr. Manning moved, that there be laid before the house an account of all imports from the W. Indies into G. Britain for the last 3 years ending in 1803. Ordered.—The report of the attorneys' indemnity bill was brought up and agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.

[Insolvent Debtors' Bill.]—Mr. *Shaw* said, that when he reflected upon the number of unfortunate beings whose restoration to freedom, and the opportunity of procuring subsistence for themselves and their families, depended on the fate of the bill he had the honour of bringing forward, he could not doubt of the assent of the house, and the approbation of every liberal man, particularly when it was understood, as it must appear from the bill itself, that nothing was farther from the intention of the framers of this measure, than to throw any difficulties in the way of the creditor's recovery of his demand, where such demand was recoverable, or to give even the least protection to the fraudulent debtor. The object of the bill was to release only those who were suffering from misfortune, and who were the victims of casualties not to be foreseen or guarded against. To those alone was it his wish to extend the consideration of the bill, and many such did he happen to know, who must have inevitably perished in prison, from want of common food, were they not kept alive by occasional contribution. The hon. gent. after some forcible remarks upon the impolicy and severity of the law with respect to the imprisonment of debtors, proceeded to describe the motives which had generally heretofore induced the relaxation of that law, and contended that those motives were never in any instance so strong as on the present occasion. This, he conceived must appear to every man's mind, when the peculiar state of the country was considered, and when the fact was known that there are in the different prisons a considerable number of naval and military officers, several of whom have fought and bled in the cause of their country, and are now ready again to come forward to risk their lives in its defence. The hon. member concluded with moving the second reading of the insolvent debtors' bill.

Mr. Alderman *Combe* said, he now felt himself as happy in rising to second the motion for the second reading, as he had done in moving that the bill might be extended to England as well as Ireland.

Mr. *John Latouche* warmly supported the motion, conceiving that there never was a moment which so powerfully called as the present for a measure of this nature. In favour of the debtors confined in the Marshalsea of the city of Dublin, the hon. gent. stated, that previous to the insurrection in July last, a proposal was made to them of their release, provided they would join the rebels; but this they declined, preferring rather to remain in prison and preserve their loyalty. This he considered sufficient, if any thing additional were necessary, to interest the house in favour of this bill.

Mr. *Ker* professed himself an enemy to the principle of insolvent bills, but still, from the reasons stated, he would not oppose the second reading of the bill before the house. He hoped, however, that in the committee special care would be taken to introduce such clauses as would serve to prevent the fraudulent debtor from availing himself of its provisions; and also that no injustice should be done to any fair creditors, particularly the landlords, with respect to their tenants, as the former were not considered of the ordinary class of creditors.

Mr. *Shaw* repeated, that his only wish upon the subject was to give liberty to the unfortunate but fair honest debtor.—The motion was agreed to, and the bill was ordered to be committed on Thursday se'nnight.

[SLAVE TRADE.]—On the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, that the house should resolve into a committee upon the bill for the abolition of the slave trade,

Mr. *Manning* rose, and argued upon the justice of granting an indemnity to any persons who might suffer any loss by the operation of this bill, and of the propriety of engrafting a clause upon the bill itself to provide to this effect. Understanding, however, that such clause could not be introduced but by the vote of a previous committee, by whom an instruction must be directed to the committee on the bill, he should move that the latter should be given for the former.—After some conversation between the Speaker, Mr. Manning, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Wilberforce, it appeared that the object of the required compensation might be proposed after a previous committee, &c, in the report of the bill, or by way of rider in a future stage.

Mr. *Fuller* spoke against the principle of the bill, and asserted, that if we should surrender this valuable branch of trade it would be immediately taken up by other nations. In proof of this, he mentioned the known disposition of the Americans to rival us in this traffic, and also the negotiation which was understood to have lately taken place between General Dessalines and the agent for Jamaica, in which the former is stated to have offered to sell slaves to our colonies. With respect to the charge of injustice upon the African merchants, he contended that no such charge could apply, for they only bought those slaves whom the African states thought proper to dispose of. Those slaves were guilty, not of what the hon. mover of the bill called "foolish witchcraft," but of administering slow poison; and with subjects guilty of any such capital offence, the state had a right to do what it pleased. The African states were as competent to transport such offenders, as we were those whom we sent to America or Botany Bay, and of those transported to the former he was well founded in saying, that many were sold by the captains to slavery for 7 and 14 years. This he stated merely to shew that the right of the African princes was recognized by the practice of our own country. After condemning the practice of kidnapping upon the African coast, which the hon. mover had stated to exist, the hon. gent. proceeded to quote some passages from the travels of Mungo Parke, in which that author mentions that the state of the slaves in Africa is truly deplorable, and that, therefore, taking them away, particularly to the English colonies, was a relief to them. He also added, that slavery was not established in Africa by the persons who dealt in the slave trade, but had prevailed there for ages, and throughout the country, many of the slaves being brought to the coast for sale from above 1300 miles in the interior. From those considerations the hon. gent. would feel no kind of uneasiness to purchase a slave, to give him a participation of his estate, and to allow him not only subsistence but something to spare. That slaves could save from their earnings, was notorious; one of his slaves, who had been twenty years in his service, had lately given him £200 for his freedom, which money was a part of his savings. The hon. gent. took notice of the observations that were made upon the capital employed in this branch of trade. An hon. gent. had, indeed, said that he was sorry to see so much capital employed. Here was the subject of regret; but it was not unnatural that men who repined at our wealth and consequence, who disliked the system of our govt., should hate that capital which was the source and support of our rank in the world, and furnished a great means of our security. But some gentlemen had expressed a wish that this capital should be engaged in promoting the cultivation of our common lands. What! to transfer capital from the cultivation of land in our colonies, which is capable of such valuable produce, to improve the commons in this country, which, after the utmost expense, can scarcely be made worth 5 shillings an acre. Those who were most violent in their outcries against the slave trade were the haters of the West India colonies. They hated them because they were the means of bringing such a mass of opulence into the mother country. They hated that opulence, because it tended to promote the dignity of the monarchy, and to uphold the constitution, the strength, and the glory of the country. The riches we derived from these invaluable possessions, assisted us in spreading the navy of England triumphant over the main, and, therefore, it excited the envy of the ill affected. The hon. gent. recapitulated his arguments, and expressed his conviction that many wise and worthy men were upon this subject speaking and acting from an erroneous conception.

Mr. *Francis* replied to the arguments of the last speaker, and maintained that although the inclination of Mungo Parke's object, in the book alluded to, was adverse to the abolition of the slave trade, yet that author had made a statement which pleaded strongly in favour of the measure, for in a particular passage he mentions that nothing could be more abhorrent to the feelings of the poor innocent, and civilized inhabitants of the interior of Africa, than to be torn from their home and families to be sent to a foreign country. The principle laid down by the hon. gent., that a state had a right to do as it pleased with felons, he strongly resisted, as that would go to recognize the right of this or any govt. to introduce the system of torture, or racking on the wheel. The statement of the hon. gent., with regard to the sum advanced by his slave to purchase his freedom, furnished a strong argument against the assertion, that the slaves were contented. Indeed, it was impossible that they should, and nothing could be more absurd and unjust than to make the communication of happiness to those poor men a pretence for forcing them from their native home. To the generosity of his countrymen he particularly appealed for support upon this question; as they loved liberty themselves, he trusted, they would never give their consent to have other men enslaved.

Mr. *C. Brooke* read the decree of the French govt. after the peace of Amiens, re-enacting all the laws respecting the slave trade. As to the statement that we had nine-tenths of the slave trade, he believed it; but he would not agree that, if we abolished the trade, so much of it would be so done away, particularly when he reflected upon the readiness of the Americans, the French, and the Spaniards to engage in a traffic that was so productive, and which none of those powers shewed the least disposition to abandon.

Mr. *Charles Ellis* opposed the principle of the bill; a principle which was grounded upon a proposition similar to that maintained by the national convention of France, when it asserted the universal and immutable rights of man. Unless that proposition were contended for, and he fancied there were few who would now attempt to plead for it, he conceived that the idea could not be sustained that no men ought to be slaves. With regard, however, to the West India islands, he claimed a toleration for slavery upon the ground of the strong necessity that existed for them to render those islands productive. The slave trade, he felt, ought to be restricted to the old colonies, and not at all to extend to Trinidad; because in the former our merchants had embarked their property before any idea of the abolition of this trade was thrown out, which was not the case with the latter. It was said, that if the trade were abolished the planters would feel it their interest to promote the natural increase of the negroes; but who that was at all acquainted with the conduct of those planters, could entertain a doubt that they had always felt this to be their interest, and that they had endeavoured to forward that object by every means in their power? Nothing could be more mistaken than a contrary opinion; for it was well known that the failure of the negro population, in the way alluded to, was not attributable to excess of labour, to harsh treatment, or any cause which could criminate the planters. The hon. member exhorted the house not to entertain a proposition, the tendency of which was to deprive men of property which they had long since vested in our colonies, by obliging them to give up that property from want of the means of cultivating it. He begged the house to bear in mind, that whatever criminality might attach to the origin of this trade, the present planters had no share in it, and that of course nothing could be more iniquitous than to make their property an expiatory offer for that criminality.—Understanding that some intercourse was at present allowed between the subjects of Dessalines and our islands, he hoped that the regulations, said to be ordered, would be regularly enforced, in order to guard our colonies against the consequences very naturally to be apprehended from the connexion—a connexion which, should this bill pass, would render it impossible to prevent a contraband trade for slaves between St. Domingo and Jamaica, &c. This contraband trade was likely to threaten such effects as no man who recollected the late atrocities in St. Domingo could think of without horror.—The hon. gent. conceived it very difficult to separate the two questions of abolition and emancipation. The one naturally led to the other. They were generally confounded in that house; and it was no wonder, therefore, that the negroes themselves should confound them; that when they found parliament had been of opinion that it was unjust to purchase them, they should question their masters' titles to hold them. To what a train of mischiefs might this lead!—The hon. member, in conclusion, stated, that if the planters had been more liberally dealt by in the course of this business, the benevolent object of the bill might have been attained through judicious regulation; but no attempt had been made by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) to conciliate the co-operation of that respectable body; on the contrary, while he was endeavouring in that house to promote the abolition of the slave trade, he was raising black regiments in the colonies, a measure which of course rendered necessary an additional importation of negroes for the purposes of cultivation. Unless the co-operation of the planters was obtained by the executive govt. to the objects of this measure, he was of opinion it never could be effective.

Mr. *Deverell* argued strongly against the bill, as inconsistent with the rights and privileges of the colonial assemblies. He quoted on this point the great authority of Blackstone, in a part of his Commentaries, which explains the nature and extent of the powers which colonial regulations were to possess. He contended also, that before the bill could be entertained, the question of prudence and policy should be impartially and fairly reviewed. A good deal had been adduced in favour of the abolition, from the present situation of the island of St. Domingo, and the dangers which would, necessarily, result from fresh importations of negroes. The colonial legislatures must, however, in his opinion, be the best judges of the consequences of abolition, and they, it was not unknown to the house, had already declared themselves adverse to the measure. In the island of Jamaica in particular, the house had heard from the hon. gent. who was the agent for that island, that the colonial legislature there were decidedly adverse to the measure of abolition, as in their opinion calculated to promote no beneficial consequences; while, on the contrary, it might, in the present situation of the West India islands, be productive of effects highly disastrous and deplorable. It was to be kept in view too, at this moment, that there actually prevailed a difference of a very serious nature betwixt the governor and the house of assembly in Jamaica. So far, indeed, was this carried, that he had reason to believe that the governor could not again meet the assembly without a considerable modification of demands, formerly enforced. He asked, then, whether, after this declaration on the part of the colonies, and with the knowledge that such disagreements as he had allued to, did exist, it would be either wise or prudent to agitate a question which might be pregnant with mischief?

Mr. *Somers Cocks*, set out with stating, that for 16 years he had attended with the utmost care to all the proceedings on the abolition of the slave trade, though he had never openly delivered his opinions publicly on the subject. He rose for the purpose of expressing his approbation of the principle and object of the bill. On every general principle of humanity he had always been of opinion, that the slave trade was one which ought not to receive the smallest countenance from the legislature of an enlightened empire. On this ground he had, whenever he voted on the question, always voted for the abolition. He was always, however, ready to allow that, in giving this vote he laboured under a certain degree of difficulty. He was not indifferent to the loss which those connected with this trade might be exposed to, and this consideration had always left a certain degree of weight on his mind which he did not find it easy to remove. He never pretended to be able to ascertain what was likely to be the probable amount of this loss, because he was not in possession of facts on which to found an opinion. He had, however, removed this difficulty, which on the present occasion did exist; it was, in a considerable degree, to be attributed to the conduct of the planters themselves. If inconveniencies resulted from the abolition, they arose, in his opinion, principally from the want of due exertion on the part of the planters, after they must have been sensible, from a variety of warnings, that the abolition of the slave trade must take place at no very remote period. Instead of employing the interval thus afforded them of making proper provision for the event, the certainty of which they had then every reason to anticipate, they, on the contrary, employed every means of evading the proposed resolution of the legislature; they used every effort to delay the abolition by every pretext, however unsatisfactory; and, instead of preparing for the abolition, they only thought of new stratagems to defeat the views of those by whom this great object was patronized. With the conviction that this was the fair impartial statement of the conduct of the planters, he did not think that they had now any strong ground of complaint against the abolition. If they were sufferers by it to a large amount, the fault was to a great degree attributable to themselves. In conclusion, he alluded to the conduct which a right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Pitt) had pursued on this question. It might, perhaps, be owing to his want of knowledge of the world, or to a sufficient acquaintance with the mode in which the business of the house was conducted, but it had frequently occurred to him, that if the right hon. gent. had employed the fair, honourable influence of office, the great object which he professed to have had so cordially in view, would long ere this time, have been obtained. He conjured the right hon. gent., now that he had returned to power, to employ all that influence on the present occasion; and, he trusted that, from the spirit which had displayed itself in the house, an end would at length be put to a traffic which had been so long the disgrace of this country and of human nature.

Mr. *Barham* spoke shortly in explanation of the grounds which induced him to support the bill. It seemed now to be pretty generally admitted that the question was one of justice, and in this point of view it could not admit of any length of deliberation; the chief question before the house now was, that it appearing to a great majority of members that the slave trade should be abolished, the next consideration was, in what manner this object could most speedily and most effectually be obtained? In attempting to ascertain this, the proportion of compensation which ought to be afforded to those whose property would be affected by the bill was an important object of consideration. In his own opinion the amount of these compensations would not be at all considerable, but to deny that any compensation was to be given at all, would be notoriously unjust. But one hon. member (Mr. Cocks) appeared to notice slightingly the claims of the planters to compensation, because they had sufficient intimation of the measure of abolition, and had not taken sufficient means to provide against its consequences. This argument would in a variety of cases be found, if reduced to practice, highly oppressive. He might call the attention of the house to the case of a minor having an estate in the West Indies 16 or 17 years ago, the value of which would now be comparatively destroyed by the measure of abolition at present under consideration. Surely this would be a case equally unjust and severe; but if no compensation was to be afforded, numerous cases of equal severity and injustice would take place. He trusted that before the bill passed, these circumstances would be fully attended to.

Sir *Robert Buxton* defended the Chancellor of the Exchequer against any charge of insincerity in his support of the abolition of the slave trade. He had made it his business narrowly to watch the whole of his conduct in this business, and he had never witnessed greater evidence of the cordiality and zeal of any individual in a public cause. Because his colleagues did not support the same side of the question, that was no proof of his want of zeal. The house would recollect that formerly this was more a question of opinion than national policy, and such disagreement was easily accounted for. Now it had assumed an important national interest, and he trusted no time would be lost in carrying through a measure which even now he thought, or was at least afraid, might come too late for the preservation of our West India colonies.

Mr. *Dent* opposed the bill, chiefly on the ground of the impracticability of the abolition. A trial had been made for several years to civilize the negroes in the settlement of Sierra Leone, which had totally failed.

He was convinced that with experience before their eyes the hon. gent. who proposed the bill, and those who supported him in it, would, if they could bring themselves to reason with impartiality on the subject, see the expediency of giving up the measure. There was one consideration which, at the present moment, ought to press on the consideration of ministers. If the trade was to be abolished, and if new lands in the West-India islands could not be cultivated for the want of negroes, he could not see that there was either any policy or expediency in wasting the troops, or the resources of the country, reconquering islands, the possession of which must be altogether nugatory. The hon. member denied that the abolition of the slave trade could be supported on the ground of humanity, and contended that the treatment of slaves in the West-Indies was not characterized by any instances of cruelty. He affirmed that the feelings of the house had, more than once, been carried away by representations of atrocities, which afterwards turned out to be totally groundless. He referred on this part of the subject to the case of Captain Kimber, who in consequence of a representation by the hon. mover of the bill, was in 1792 tried at the Old Bailey, for the charge of murder committed under the most atrocious circumstances. This person was then acquitted of the charge, it having been discovered that the surgeon of Kimber's ship had been guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury. But, though acquitted, this person had been in a great measure ruined by the large expense which the conduct of his trial had imposed on him. Many other cases of a similar nature were on record, and, therefore, he warned the house against being carried away by exaggerated statements, applied for the purpose of interesting their humanity. The hon. member, after a few remarks as to the number of seamen employed in this trade, and the revenue arising from the importation of fresh negroes, called on the house to look at the situation of St. Domingo, and to pause before they abolished a trade in which very considerable interests were involved. He hoped that the hon. mover would at length be induced not to press the ultimate progress of the bill this session.

Mr. *Wilberforce* rose to reply to the principal objections urged against his measure. He denied that any of his statements rested, as had been insinuated, on light grounds, or had been at all produced with a view of deceiving the house. He referred to the first statement respecting the case of Captain Kimber, though he could not but express his surprise that this subject had again been introduced to the notice of the house. The case having, however, been alluded to, it was necessary for him to state a few plain observations to the house. The fact was, that he had, on hearing of the particulars of the case, gone with the witnesses before a justice of peace, to have the matter cleared up. The witnesses were examined, and the justice thought that the person accused ought to enter on his trial. When the matter came before the grand jury on oath, they were of a similar opinion, and though this person was afterwards acquitted, he did not at all feel that he himself had any reason to regret the share he had in the business. So much as to the first statement of his which had been alluded to.—The hon. member next proceeded to reinforce all his original arguments in favour of the abolition of the trade. He quoted from Mr. Parke's travels into the interior of Africa, several passages which fully shew that the arguments of the abolitionists are founded in the justest views of policy, as well as the most enlarged ideas of introducing knowledge, humanity, and religion into that vast continent. The hon. member quoted authors, particularly the French writer, Le Brune, who wrote long before the question of abolition was started, to confirm his positions. He argued at some length on the practicability of keeping up the stock of negroes, independent of importation. He shewed, that for a long series of years, particularly for the last 12, that the proportion of the deaths and births of the negroes was gradually become more favourable, and quoted several authorities, particularly that of a Doctor Anderson, who had the care of 4,000 negroes, to shew that by good management the number of negroes might be kept up in all our islands. In illustration of this idea, he stated that he was enabled, on the authority of Mr. King, the late American minister, one of the most respectable men alive, that in the 10 years, from 1791 to 1801, the American negroes had increased in such a proportion as to hold out a fair prospect of doubling their number in twenty-five years. The negroes, too, rapidly increased in Bencoolen, in St. Helena, in St. Kitt's, and in other settlements. It being ascertained that such a rapid increase was obtained in America, he saw no reason to think why our West-India negroes might not only keep up their numbers, but might positively increase to a great degree. The climate of America was so far from being more favourable, that the dews and exhalations with which it abounded were particularly unfavourable to the health of the negroes, accustomed to a dry and hot climate.—The honourable member, after illustrating this point, laid before the house, on the positive information of the American minister, the very satisfactory prospect of the probable abolition of the slave trade in the United States at no remote period. At present, in all the states, with the exception of South Carolina, the importation of negroes was prohibited; and in 1808, when the powers on this point now vested in the particular states, would cease, there was every reason to believe that Congress would take up the business and abolish the slave trade for ever. The hon. member read a paragraph from the minister's letter precisely to the foregoing effect. He congratulated the house on this prospect, and urged it as an additional argument for taking the lead in the great work of humanity, policy, and justice.

Sir *William Young* rose, not, he said, for the purpose of going at large into a discussion on the principle of the bill, as on that he should reserve himself for the third reading, but to refute some assertions which had fallen in the course of this night's debate from the friends of this bill, and particularly from the hon. member who had introduced it, that were, he would assert, utterly unfounded. That hon. member had said, that the usual allowance to the working slaves in the West-Indies, was from four to seven pints of grain in a week, and that in some of the British islands, not more than one-half the portion was allowed that was given in others; and that not more than half the allowance was given by the planters on their estates to their working negroes, than was usually allowed to those in prisons and hospitals; and that though this allowance was alleged to be given to the negro in proportion to the quantum of land allowed him for cultivation by his own labour, which in a great number of estates was little or none, no man, he said, could make such an assertion, who was not utterly ignorant of the interior management of the West-India islands. It was a gross and unfounded imputation upon his brother colonists, whom he felt it his duty to defend. He was himself proprietor of a considerable estate in the West-India islands; and after he had formerly opposed the bill of the hon. member, he had visited the West-India islands, and made the tour of eight of them, to be convinced from his own observations what was the real fact; and every where he found his attention challenged by the comfortable situation of these negroes, plentifully maintained, whom the honourable member, and his supporters, had represented as in a starving situation. He declared there was not a single instance throughout the whole, where the negro was not allowed a spot of ground for his own cultivation, and so extensive and productive was this spot, in a great many instances, that no allowance was made to the negro at all. For, except merely the sheep and cows fed on the pasture lands, which belonged to the planters, every other article of consumption on the islands was furnished by the negroes to the planters, and paid for by them, such as the hogs, poultry, esculent vegetables, &c. and so prosperous were the negro plantations and negrotradesmen, in some of the islands, and particularly in Tobago, that he believed there was scarcely one of them at this moment who had not an 100l. sterling at his command. It had been said too, that the planters discouraged breeding amongst their slaves; and with this view the importation of females was greatly inferior to that of males. So far from discouraging breeding, though it was their interest, they could not effect it: for even though the females were considerably fewer than the males, yet of this few, some had four wives, and many of these too Christians; for the whole 1,300 upon his own estate were all Christians; and though very good and devout Christians in all other respects, there was an aristocracy amongst them, the head men of which could have their free-wife and their love-wife. It was an easy matter for an English country gent. sitting by his fire-side, to amuse himself with declaiming against the imaginary cruelty of the gentlemen of the West-India islands to their slaves, upon false and exaggerated accounts; but the West-India gentleman did not advert to the many severities and oppressions imposed upon the labouring poor throughout England, by the arbitrary hand of the country justices and the different parish-officers, of which so many severe cases came before the Court of King's Bench, on appeals respecting the poor-laws. With respect to the importation of African slaves into the islands, he would be glad to learn how otherwise the gap was to be filled up in the population of the country, which war or the descents of the enemy's privateers so frequently created. He himself had lost a considerable number of valuable negroes by the war; how was he to replace them but by importation? He did not hesitate to assert, that the abolition of the import trade was inseparable from emancipation, that it would change every fee-simple interest in the West-Indies into a mere life-interest; that it would destroy the whole value of estates, and of dowers and provisions for children entailed upon them; and he concluded by saying, he never should vote for it, unless landed proprietors, whose estates were depopulated by war, or other cause, were permitted in such case to send ships to Africa for the purpose of purchasing cultivators; for how was the land to be cultivated without hands?

Mr. *William Smith* deprecated the conduct of the opposers of the bill, in disputing it night after night, and taking up the time of the house in repeating arguments that had been an hundred times refuted. From the arguments of Mr. Long, the historian of Jamaica, himself an enemy to the abolition of the trade, and who had wrote upon this subject long before it was agitated in parliament, it was acknowledged that within the islands themselves there was ample means for discontinuing the importation of slaves from Africa. He was heartily sick of the term "humanity," so bandied about by those who talked of the benefits conferred upon the African by taking him from his country, his kindred, and his dearest connexions, to transplant him to a distant island, and a better situation. We had no right to do so against his will, even though it were really to transfer him to a state of liberty, comfort, and happiness. How much more impious and unjust was it then to pretend such a right, for the purpose of dooming him and his posterity to endless slavery. Upon the great and immutable principle of justice then, this bill was not to be shaken, and he trusted the house would no longer sanction the violation of that great precept, "thou shalt not do evil that good may come of it." The evil, in this case, was positive and enormous, the result as to any good utterly uncertain, but possibly even much more mischievous than the evil itself in the first instance.—The hon. gent. then alluded to a paper which he had that day found, containing notes of what had been said on the subject of the slave trade by the late Mr. Burke, taken at the debate in which that gent. took a part; he had expressed, that merchants and planters were equally made sensible of the impropriety of the trade, and he concluded by observing, that the question of the abolition of the slave trade stood on the broad basis of justice, and could not be mistaken in its object.—The question being loudly called for, the house divided, when there appeared—for the motion 79, against it 20—Majority 59.

Mr. *Wilberforce* moved to fill up the blank for the commencement of its operation, with the words "first of Jan. 1805," which was agreed to. He also moved an amendment in the words "provided always, that no ship bringing negro slaves from Africa to any part of the British West-India islands, shall be liable to seizure or forfeiture, which shall be proved not to have taken her departure from any port in G. Britain or Ireland, before the expiration of fourteen days after the passing of the bill, or from any other port in Europe or Africa, previous to the 1st of August, 1804," which was agreed to; the chairman left the chair, and the bill was ordered to be reported tomorrow, when counsel are to be heard.

Earl *Temple* wished the hon. member who introduced the bill would have the goodness to say, whether he would consent to the examination of some further witnesses on the report of the bill.

Mr. *Wilberforce* answered, certainly not; but he would beg leave to refer the noble lord, if he wanted evidence, to the volumes of evidence already before the house on this subject, in the many successive sessions it had been discussed.

Mr. *Fuller* was for adducing more evidence, and said, he understood the African merchants had a considerable mass of testimony to bring forward.

Mr. *Dickinson, jun.* said, the counsel tomorrow would urge their pleadings, and prove their case by such evidence as they thought necessary; and if they should then seem too tedious, or unnecessarily protractive, the house would use its own discretion.

[WEST-INDIA COMPENSATION.]—Mr. *Manning* moved, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the most proper mode of making compensation to those persons who should sustain injuries or losses in consequence of the bill for abolishing the slave trade.

Mr. *Pitt* said, he should certainly object to the motion in its present form, because it assumed as a principle, in the first instance, that by this act of justice, which the house had thought fit to adopt, loss and injury must necessarily and of course follow to the persons concerned in the West-India trade. The house, however, he trusted, would not be induced to concede to such an admission; and it would be time enough for the wisdom and justice of parliament to devise compensation when any special case of loss or injury sustained, should be fairly and actually made out. He did not mean to argue the point now; but at all events, the motion was informal, and he believed it would not be regular to put a question upon it, as its direct tendency was to impose a public expense upon the country, and it did not come recommended by the crown.

Mr. *Barham* said, that even in the very first instance losses and injuries would be inevitably sustained by persons who had formed contracts and vested capitals in this trade; but it was extremely desirable to know what would be the properest mode of proceeding to claim compensation; whether each individual injured was to make out a special case for parliament, or whether all collectively, for hundreds would be injured, though the general sum of compensation might not be considerable. He wished also to know whether, the house having adopted a bill for the abolition of the slave trade, it was to be understood the crown would not recommend compensation.

Mr. *Pitt* said, that whether the crown would or would not recommend compensation, he was not now prepared to say; but the motion for the present was irregular.

The *Speaker* corroborated this declaration, and declined putting the question.

[ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.] — Mr. *Grey* rose to ask the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether it was his intention to take the sense of the house upon the report of the additional force bill, after the committee on Thursday night, or on a subsequent day?

Mr. *Pitt* answered, that unless some points should arise in the committee, to protract the discussion to a late hour on Thursday, it was his intention to take the sense of the house on the report that evening, otherwise on Friday, in order to the third reading of the bill on Monday. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, June 13, 1804.

[MINUTES.]—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages. Among these, the Irish public accounts' bill passed through a committee, was reported, and ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—The commitment of the Dublin archepiscopal palace bill was postponed.—One private bill was brought up from the Commons and read a first time.—Some private business was then disposed of, and their Lordships adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, June 13, 1804.

[MINUTES.]—Lord Stopford at the bar, acquainted the house that his Majesty had been waited on with several addresses from the house, and that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to issue orders accordingly.—Mr. R. Mitford, from the commissioners of customs in Scotland, presented, pursuant to order of the house, accounts of the quantity of corn, grain, malt, flour, meal, &c. exported from and imported into Scotland, &c. Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.—Mr. Rose moved, that so much of the 43d of his Majesty as related to the sale of East-India goods, taken and condemned as prizes, should be read. He then moved that the house resolve into a committee to consider of said act.—The house having resolved into the committee, Mr. Sturges Bourne in the chair, Mr. Rose stated, that by this act, no East-India prize which might be taken into any of the outer ports could be exposed to sale, the act providing, that such goods should be brought to London for that purpose. Many privateers had taken goods of that description into Liverpool, where they had been landed and warehoused; and it was to enable the captains to dispose of them in that port, without the expense of sending them to London, that he moved, that it be the opinion of the committee, that the chairman do move the house for leave to bring in a bill for that purpose. On the house being resumed, leave was given.—On the motion of Mr. Sturges Bourne, the committees of supply and ways and means were put off till Friday.—On the motion of Mr. Foster, the house resolved itself into a committee on the linen duty exemption bill. The report to be received to-morrow.—The house, on the motion of Mr. Foster, went into the committee on the 43d of his Majesty, relative to the regulation of the corn trade between England and Ireland. The committee resolved that the act ought to be revived; and the chairman, Mr. Alexander, was directed to move for leave to bring in a bill accordingly. The house then resumed, the report was received, and leave was given to bring in the bill.

[LISKEARD ELECTION.]—Mr. *Gregor* presented a petition from John Dayman, under sheriff of Cornwall, who is now in the custody of the serjeant at arms; stating, that his having sent up a double return from Liskeard, on the 9th of March last, proceeded entirely from inexperience, and not from any intention of violating the privileges of parliament; that, for this improper conduct, he asked pardon of the house; and he humbly prayed, that the house would extend their indulgence to him in his present situation. The hon. gent. then moved, that Mr. John Dayman be brought up to-morrow, in order to be discharged.

Mr. *Rose* said, he did not mean to make the slightest opposition to the motion. He did think that the transaction in which this man had been involved was one of that nature, which, if the house passed over without some mark of censure, it would abandon its privileges. He was ready to admit that there were many circumstances of extenuation in this man's case, which might call for the indulgence of the house; and he hoped the example, which his case now afforded, would have its due effect in preventing a like offence, on the part of others. The motion was then agreed to.

[IRISH LINEN MANUFACTURE BILL.]—Mr. *Foster* moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee to consider of the linen trade. And the house being in a committee, he said, the measure which he had to submit to the consideration of the committee embraced three material objects. In the first place, he meant to propose an alteration in the mode of appointing linen inspectors in Ireland. The trustees there had now the power of appointing four inspectors; but it would be necessary to give them a further power to appoint others in their stead, if it should be necessary; in order to guard against any frauds that might be practised in the inspection of linens. The next regulation was one which concerned England; and the object of it was, to give speedy redress, when it should be required, to parties complaining of the bad quality of linen. When a complaint of this kind was made in Ireland, the trustees of the linen board had the power of summoning all the parties, and referring the matter in dispute to two or three persons, whose business it was to examine the linens, and to see if they were damaged, unsound, or bad, and were to give a decision on oath, which decision on oath was binding on the parties. This summary mode of proceeding prevented much litigation, and produced very beneficial effects. It was his intention to propose the adoption of a similar system in London, for the purpose of protecting the English purchasers of linen against any frauds whatever, as to the quality of the goods. The linen board of Dublin had an agent residing here; and whenever a complaint was made against the quality of linen, brought over here from Ireland, it would be proper to invest this agent with a power to examine persons on oath, in the same manner as was done in Dublin, as to the state of such linen. The linen must be produced before two persons who should be sworn to give a fair and impartial decision. The agent here should have in this respect the same power as possessed by the trustees in Dublin. The parties in Ireland might appeal against the decision of this tribunal, but, if they did, it must be at their own risk; and if they did not succeed in the appeal, they must pay all expenses which they had put the others to. The third point which formed a part of his plan went to ensure the quality of the linen. The bleachers of Ireland have lately made an alteration in the mode of bleaching linen; instead of potash, they employed an ingredient called muriatic acid. It was said by many persons, that this considerably injured the quality of the linen; although it had the effect of bleaching much sooner; and it was thought the use of it ought to be discouraged. On this subject, he could give no other opinion than this, that experience had not yet sufficiently ascertained whether it was injurious or not, and that therefore it would not be proper, without further information, to forbid the use of it altogether. But, in order to satisfy those who thought it injured the linen, and prevent any deception from being practised on them, it should be provided, that every licensed bleacher, when he sent his linens to market, should be obliged to put under his name the word muriatic on each piece of linen bleached by means of muriatic acid. By this means, if the thing was bad, the public and the purchasers would know at once what to do, and be protected against fraud; and if it should be found, on experience, to be good, the public would have the benefit of it in time; for it would in time find its own way. These were the principal regulations which he proposed for the benefit of the linen trade; and having thus stated them briefly, he would not take up the time of the house any longer than barely to move a resolution, that the chairman do ask for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the laws relative to the linen manufactures of Ireland.—The resolution was agreed to, and the house being resumed, leave was given to bring in the bill.

Mr. *Ker*, at the same time, observed, that the progress of bleaching by the help of muriatic acid was very prejudicial to the linen.

[Misdemeanour Prosecution Bill.]—Mr. *Charles Dundas* moved the order for receiving the report of the misdemeanour prosecution bill.

Mr. *Windham* objected to the bill, as a measure coming into the house under the authority and recommendation of the quarter sessions, which might entertain views on such a subject, very different from what the house ought to have. He was sorry to observe, that, for some years, the house had been too much in the habit of legislating in the spirit of county quarter sessions. This bill purported to be an act for the maintenance of the due authority of magistrates. All that was very proper; but what was meant in the bill by due authority? Was there any relaxation of their authority, to require a penal statute to enforce it? This was not a proper mode of proceeding; it was going into a general canvass for new penal laws. Disapproving, as he did, of the bill, unless some necessity was shewn for it, he wished it might be put off to some distant day: and, if such a measure was necessary, let it be brought forward next session.

Mr. *Charles Dundas* said, he was willing to put this bill off till Friday, and afterwards for three months, if required. He said, he had brought it forward at the request of several magistrates in the county to which he belonged, and who declared, that, without such a measure, they could not properly go on in the discharge of their duty. The law was not to be altered by it, but would be more effectually executed. Many prosecutions had failed, in consequence of magistrates not knowing who were to defray the expense. If a man should commit perjury before them, they had a right to commit for trial; but they could not determine who should defray the expense of the prosecution. This was a matter which ought to be regulated. That was the object of the bill now before the house.

Mr. *Wilberforce* declared, that the magistrates of Yorkshire had stated to him, that they felt great difficulty in discharging their duty, in consequence of the want of such an act as this.

Mr. *Fox* said, he did not rise to oppose the bill; but merely to ask, if the bill was to pass away till next session, why it might not be put off at once, instead of taking up the time of the house by bringing it forward next Friday?

Mr. *Charles Dundas* said, he had no objection to do so; and the bill was accordingly put off for three months.

[Woollen Manufacture Bill.]—Mr. *H. Lascelles* rose to move the order of the day for the second reading of the Yorkshire clothiers' regulation bill. And at the same time he thought it necessary to say a few words upon the subject of it. He had brought in that bill, pursuant to certain petitions which he had presented to the house, without giving any opinion whatever upon the subject. There were many old and obsolete statutes on the subject of the woollen manufacture, which had long been wholly inapplicable to the trade itself; and of course, were not obeyed. Several vexatious prosecutions were carried on for the non-observance of these statutes; so as to render it necessary, for the relief of cloth manufacturers, last year, to bring in a bill to suspend all the penal actions then pending. That bill would expire on the first of July, and then the actions might go on, unless a fresh bill was introduced, and the act revived. But that bill chiefly affected the clothiers in the west of England, who differed very materially from the clothiers of Yorkshire. The former acted in the double character of manufacturers and merchants. But those of Yorkshire acted as a kind of middle men, and carried on the trade on an inferior scale. When their goods were manufactured, they carried them to market, and sold them to others, who were merchants. The situation, therefore, and the interest of these parties, were different. Some of the old statutes affected the manufacturers of the west of England, but did not affect those of Yorkshire. With respect to the bill now before the house, he certainly thought it contained principles which the house ought not to entertain hastily. He did not know that the whole country was unanimous on the subject of it. There was a certain district which would certainly not agree to it; and if the bill should pass, he hoped that district would be excluded from its operation. If not, the manufacturers of that district would go into Lancashire, and carry on their trade there. He did not think it fit that a restrictive law should operate in one place, and that the people of the rest of the kingdom should be left to carry on their business as they pleased. The people who were hostile to this bill, did not petition against it; because they knew that the house of commons would never maintain such a principle of trade as it held out. He wished to take this opportunity of asking the right hon. gent. at the head of his Majesty's cabinet, whether he thought it would be right next year to revise the whole of the statutes relative to the woollen manufacturers, and bring forward, in the course of next session, some simple, comprehensive, and effectual law on this subject? He earnestly wished that the business might be taken up on a broad ground at some future period; and if so, the present bill would be unnecessary.

Admiral *Berkely* said, he was happy to hear so ample an explanation on the subject from the hon. gent. The present bill he considered unnecessary: and would therefore move to put it off for three months.

Mr. *Pitt* said, it was most evident that the bill contained provisions which ought not to be adopted without mature deliberation, and he did not think it ought to be passed in the present session. With respect to the revision of those penal statutes, on which many vexatious actions had been brought, he could not pledge himself to the hon. gent. as to his adopting any measure on the subject hereafter. It was much to be wished that the consideration of the whole of those statutes might be gone into; but, at the present advanced period of session, he was afraid that could not be done; and that no other mode for meeting the exigency of the moment could be resorted to, but that of reviving the suspending act of last session. He hoped, however, that, in another session, the business might be introduced in a manner by which it might be brought to some general conclusion.

Mr. *Brook* said, that the bill passed last session for suspending the penal actions, had cost the parties interested in bringing it forward, no less a sum than 13,000l.

Mr. *Wilberforce* wished the bill to be put off, and that some great and effectual regulation might be adopted for the whole kingdom. But he would never consent to any measure, that might alter or interrupt that general system of domestic industry and domestic happiness, which prevailed among the cloth manufacturers of the county he had the honour to represent.—The second reading of the bill was then put off for three months.

[SLAVE TRADE.]—On the report of the bill for abolishing the slave trade, and the question being put for calling in counsel;

Mr. *Wilberforce* gave notice, that he would move an amendment in the bill. The bill already stated, that all vessels coming with slaves to the West Indies, after the 1st of January, should be forfeited, except those that had cleared out from Great Britain within 14 days after the passing of the act. But as he understood many vessels had been for some time in a state of preparation, and might not be able to clear out within that period, and as they might suffer great injury, if the words stood as they now were in the bill, he should move to insert, instead of them, "the 1st of October 1804."—The counsel in attendance were then called in to argue according to the different petitions against the bill.—Mr. Pigot and Mr. Plumer appeared at the bar as counsel for the merchants, traders, and mortgagees, trading to, and possessing property in, the West India islands.—Mr. Alexander and Mr. Clarke, as counsel for the merchants and traders of Liverpool; and Mr. Scarlet, as counsel for Mr. Lyon, agent for the island of Jamaica. —The report of the committee, and the title of the different Petitions were read.—Mr. Pigot proceeded in argument as leading counsel against the bill. After he had spoken for a few minutes, Mr. Fuller moved that the house be counted. There being only thirty members present, an adjournment of course took place.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, June 14, 1804.

[MINUTES.]—The farther consideration of the claim of Sir C. Bishop, bart. to the barony of Zouche, which stood upon order in a committee of privileges this day, was adjourned till this day se'nnight.—Certain papers relative to the appeal from the Irish court of chancery, Hamilton *v.* Sibthorpe, were presented by Mr. Reynolds, and ordered to lie on the table.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages. Among these the Irish public accounts' bill was read a third time and passed, and a message sent to acquaint the commons therewith.—Some private business was then disposed of, and their lordships adjourned till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, June 14, 1804.

[MINUTES.]—Sir John Keane presented a petition from certain inhabitants of the town of Youghall, in the county of Cork, against the corn trade bill, which was ordered to lie on the table.—Lord Marsham, chairman of the Middlesex committee, stated, that William Ilett had been guilty of disobedience to the summons of the committee, and of gross misbehaviour when brought before the committee. He therefore moved, that the said William Ilett be committed to the custody of the serjeant at arms, and that the serjeant at arms shall take the said Wm. Ilett before the committee as often as may be found necessary, which was ordered accordingly.—On the motion of Mr. Manning, an humble address was ordered to be presented to his Majesty, praying, that an account be laid before the house of all the silver imported into the mint, and of all the silver that had been coined from the 18th of March 1797 to the 21st of Dec. 1803, specifying the respective dates when the bullion was received. Ordered.—Mr. Foster brought in the bill for the better regulation of the linen manufacture in Ireland, which was read a first time and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed.—A message from the lords was received, giving their concurrence to the annual Irish accounts' presentation bill, and to two other private bills.—On the motion of the solicitor general, the attorneys' indemnity bill was read a third time and passed.—Sir John Sinclair brought up the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the quantity of malt made from barley, the growth of Scotland, and that made from barley, the growth of England, which was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—On the motion of Sir Theophilus Metcalf for the second reading of the cotton manufacture bill, Colonel Stanley begged it to be understood that his silence in the present stage of this bill should not be construed into approbation, or considered as preventing his objecting to it at a future period. The bill was then read a second time, and committed for Tuesday next.—Mr. Rose brought in a bill for the sale of certain East India prize goods in the port of Liverpool, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the linen exemption duty bill, which was ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time to-morrow.—Mr. H. Lascelles moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to continue the suspension of certain acts relative to the woollen manufacture, which expire on the 1st of July, 1804, to the 1st of July, 1805.—Sir C. Bunbury brought up the report of the committee appointed to take into consideration the state of the corn laws, which was ordered for consideration on Tuesday next, and to be printed.—Mr. Whitbread stated, that the papers he had moved for concerning the lord advocate of Scotland were not yet arrived; but as they were daily expected, and would not be bulky, and might soon be printed, he would now give notice that, on to-morrow se'nnight, he would bring forward a motion on the subject.—Mr. Foster gave notice, that, on Wednesday, in the committee of ways and means, he should bring forward a motion respecting the financial situation of Ireland.

[Liskeard Election.]—The order of the day being read, that John Dayman be brought to the bar of the house, and he being brought to the bar,

The *Speaker* reprimanded him, in the name of the house, for his conduct in his office, in the late return for the borough of Liskeard: the reprimand was as follows, *viz:* "Mr. John Dayman, a select committee of this house, appointed to try and determine the merits of the last return for the borough of Liskeard, have reported, that you, being under-sheriff of the county of Cornwall, in annexing to the writ the indenture complained of by the petition of Mr. Huskisson, acted contrary to your duty, and in violation of the privileges of parliament: upon this charge you have been heard; and the house, after hearing you, has resolved, that you are guilty of the offence laid to your charge, and has ordered you into the custody where you now are.—The office of sheriff is a trust of the highest importance to the parliamentary constitution of this country; the impartial execution of its duties is indispensably necessary to the preservation of the rights and privileges of this house; and all practices employed to falsify or delay the returns of members to serve in parliament demand the severest examination.—Your professional education and general habits of life ought to have made you acquainted with the duties of the office which you undertook, or you should have abstained from it altogether; besides which, it is but too plain, from the facts in evidence, that your attention was awakened at the time to the illegality of the act which you proceeded deliberately to commit.—This house, nevertheless, in consideration of your alleged inexperience in such matters, and the contrition which you now feel for your offence; and hoping that the public notice which your case has attracted may operate as a salutary warning to others, upon whom the like duties may devolve, has ordered that you be now discharged; and you are discharged accordingly, paying your fees."—Ordered, *nem. con.*, that what has been now said by Mr. Speaker, in reprimanding the said Mr. John Dayman, be entered in the Journal of this House.

[Additional Force Bill.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day for taking this bill into further consideration, and that it be re-committed to a committee of the whole house. The house accordingly went into a committee. The clause specifying the number of men intended to be raised in each county being read,

Mr. *Johnstone* rose, and said, he objected to the clause alluded to, not from his being one of those who disapproved of the bill *in toto*, from the circumstances under which the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) had come into office, but because he thought the bill totally nugatory, inadequate to the objects in view, and unworthy of the great talents which that right hon. gent. possessed. It commanded the people to do that which it was impossible they could be able to do; it commanded them to raise a certain number of men forthwith. He wished gentlemen to advert to what had taken place in regard to the army of reserve. That body of men were nearly 9000 deficient of their number. A great part of that deficiency originated in the counties of Middlesex, Surry, Kent, and Essex; and he contended that it arose not from any want of zeal on the part of the parishes to complete their numbers, they having used every possible exertion. If parishes were not able to raise men, by granting bounties of 40l. or 50l. how was it possible that the house should flatter itself that they would be enabled to raise them by the low bounties suggested by that bill? Whatever influence the parish officers possessed, it was only to be found in the internal parts of the country. It was impossible to suppose that parish officers, or church-wardens, could be instrumental in raising men in the city of London, while in the county of Middlesex alone there was actually a deficiency of 1800 men for the army of reserve; a circumstance which, he thought, arose from so many of the inhabitants not having a fixed and permanent residence when the ballots took place. There could not be any possible remedy in that particular, while at the same time the short space of forty days, after the first meeting of the lieutenancy, was all that was allowed to raise the men; that was a circumstance which increased the hardship in an excessive degree, by exposing parishes to a fine of 20l. for each deficiency. He suggested, therefore, that some further alteration should be made as to those particulars.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he drew perfectly opposite conclusions from those of the hon. gent. with respect to the word forthwith. Although that word was used in that particular clause, yet the time and manner in which the men were to be raised, was regulated by the subsequent clauses. It ought to have been considered whether or not the chance of raising men was increased or diminished. It would somewhat surprise the house to understand, that the experience they had had of the army of reserve was exceedingly favourable towards the accomplishment of what was proposed by this bill. The total number required by the late act of parliament alluded to, was between 33,000 and 34,000 men. The number actually raised since that act passed, during last session, had been 31,758 men. There were, therefore, only about 2,000 deficient of the intended number of the army of reserve in England. Was there then any other mode which could be adopted for the purpose of raising men with greater expedition? That deficiency arose from various causes. Of that number there had only been rejected and discharged as unfit 1,752, which was a sufficient answer to those who had stigmatized that measure as calculated only to collect the dregs of the country that would be unfit for service. The right hon. gent. stated also, that of that number there had been only 530 deaths, which was rather extraordinary considering that that measure also had been calculated to raise only the diseased and profligate. By the measure he proposed, all that was advantageous in the former measure would be preserved, while it put an end to the competition produced by crimps, of whom some gentlemen who were against great bounties were very fond. That the army of reserve system had not succeeded in London fully to their expectation, could be no serious argument against it, as it had succeeded in most other places. It was rather an argument, indeed, he said, for applying a remedy to the measure, where deficient, which the present bill went to do, but not for rejecting it. In the case of London, and other such instances, it might be proper, perhaps, to adopt particular provisions calculated to meet the exigency. He could not see the force of the objection to the shortness of the time fixed, posterior to which the fines should be levied. Forty days he certainly thought sufficient. It was well known that the first exertions were generally marked with the greatest ardour. By delay, men become cool and indifferent, till their zeal totally evaporated. The penalties inflicted on individuals by the army of reserve, were of a much severer nature than any fine proposed now to be imposed. These severities the present bill went to remedy, while experience gave us the hope that men were to be had.

Mr. *Windham* said, the right hon. gent. seemed to have adopted the opinions of the ancient Britons, who believed they succeeded to all the virtues of the enemy they killed; and therefore gave the house a history of the wonderful effects of the Army of Reserve bill, passed under the administration of his defeated antagonist. As to the high bounties, he observed, that if the memory of them could be entirely done away, the present measures might have a greater influence. It was necessary, therefore, to consider what effect the remembrance of high bounties might have, and the probable time in which the men could be raised, ere fines were imposed for delinquency. It was impossible to do away that objection: the Army of Reserve bill was totally inapplicable to this one, which was new, and of which we had had no experience. The principles of the one were totally different from those of the other, and therefore it was improper to argue from what had been done, while we were considering what was to be done. In regard to the Army of Reserve, it was a fact, that the recruiting officers were often obliged to give way, because they could not get men; they were forced to take those who had been rejected by the regiments of the line. It was not therefore to be argued that the men raised were all good who were not rejected, because there had been a great number of them whom no officer would have taken, had he found means to procure better. As to the deaths which had occurred amongst them, there was no proportion which, under all the circumstances, could bear a comparison with the ordinary bills of mortality. The inference to be drawn from the statement made by the right hon. gent. would be, that men procured in such a manner as they had been, the most infamous, the most diseased, and most debauched classes of people, were completely cured; and that a bounty of 30l. or 40l. to people of that description was favourable to human life. It was one of the objections to this bill, that crimps must be had recourse to as one of the modes to form the completion of the force proposed to be raised.

Sir *W. Young* objected to the clause which empowers inspectors general to appoint persons to assist the deputy lieutenants in making their return. He said it gave an improper control over the deputy lieutenants, to whom the country had infinite obligations.

Mr. *Jekyll* objected to the interference of the inspector with that ancient office, the deputy lieutenantcy, so well known in this country in the early commissions of array. This person is introduced to control the deputy lieut. who had been a military officer. The name of a military inspector was improperly applied; he ought to be distinguished under the title of a military inquisitor.

The *Attorney General* said, that the hon. gent. was mistaken, as the inspector was assigned no judicial functions; those remained entire with the deputy lieut. The object of the inspector was not to interfere and to obstruct, but to relieve the deputy lieut. in the discharge of a difficult duty.

Sir *W. Young* observed, that this inspector was to be sent down to intrude himself at the table of business in his character as an officer of the crown, and yet he is said not to possess any control. He is erected or degraded into the character of a spy and informer, and yet, it is said, he is to have no influence on their proceedings.

Mr. *Rose* said, that he had long had the honour of acting in the capacity of deputy lieut. and instead of finding any officer of this description to interfere, he considered they ever accelerated the business of the public; and whether in the characters of adjutant-generals, or of inspectors, he had been always happy to receive their assistance.

Earl *Temple* declared, that of all the clauses of the present objectionable bill, there was none more so than that now under consideration. The deputy lieutenants were obliged to have a very important qualification from the county in which they acted; the misfortune was, that a serjeant, a corporal, or a private, in the character of inspector-gen. might be obtruded upon them, and upon the county, without any such qualification. The deputy lieut. would not be very much inclined to encourage such an intruder; and if this were the only impolitic clause, the error was so gross, and the evil so prominent, that it was sufficient to condemn the whole of the bill.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that when the noble lord declared that he had no stronger or more weighty objections to the whole of the bill, or to any clause of it, than he had to the present clause, he most sincerely gave him credit for his declaration, and he did not expect any more serious objection from him. The clause appeared to him so unobjectionable, that he was astonished when he saw that a second and a third hon. member had risen in the house to oppose it. One hon. and learned gent. (Mr. Jekyll), had divided his attack into three parts: 1st, he shewed a great display of his antiquarian knowledge in informing the house that, in the ancient history of the country the deputies of array were very like our deputy lieutenants: 2dly, he attempted, in his usual style, a sort of epigram, by putting the word inquisitor instead of inspector. This epigrammic attempt, however well in familiar intercourse, did not appear to have been very successful in that house. In the 3d place, he concluded with an invective against him for a supposed aspersion on the deputy lieutenants. The gentlemen who so vehemently opposed this clause had forgotten that it was precisely the same as in another act of parliament had been past without opposition, or even observation. He could not help also referring to what had been said by a right hon. friend of his (Mr. Windham), who, alluding to the opinions of some barbarous nations, said, that they suppose they possessed all the virtues of the enemy they had vanquished. Now, that right hon. gent. appeared to have improved on that idea, and shewn so much civilized generosity, that when he had vanquished an enemy, he saw nothing but merit in him; all that he had condemned before became virtues, and the hon. gent. appeared now partial to those things which he so warmly disapproved of a short time ago. The noble lord had made a supposition, which he thought was neither warranted in candour, or in common civility; namely, that an inspector-general might appoint his footman as a deputy to assist with the deputy lieutenants. Every body, however, knew that the choice which a man appointed by the crown to so high an office would probably make, would be of some experienced military officer, such as the proudest in the country, not even his lordship excepted, would not think himself disgraced by acting with.

Sir *R. Buxton* declared that he could not by any means see that the lord-lieutenants would be insulted by admitting such a person to be present at their meetings, as he was only a spectator. For his part, he would not be afraid to let any person be in a room with him to examine his actions; he would admit every one; he would permit the whole world to scrutinize his conduct.

Mr. *G. Vansittart*, on the reading of another clause, which states that a certain quota of men shall be raised in each parish according to its population under a certain penalty, proposed an amendment, purporting that a distinction should be made between those who have already supplied a great number towards the Army of Reserve, and those who have been considerably deficient, as he did not think that it would be fair to compel them equally, or levy a fine upon them equally alike.—He said, he was at a meeting of the justices for the county where he resided, and it was the general opinion that not a single man would be raised by the parishes, excepting in some insulated cases, where the unfortunate candidate for military life was either doomed to a jail, or a halter.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that parliament, by limiting the operation of the Army of Reserve act, had not entered into any contract, or bound themselves not to raise 9000 men in any other way, or even in that very way at any future period. That number of men was immediately wanting to supply the exigencies of the state, and was parliament to be supposed to have its hands tied so as to prevent them from raising them as equally all over the country, and as expeditiously, as the legislature could in its wisdom determine on?

Earl *Temple* objected to the returns made of men unfit for the service, and noticed an instance of one man who was considered disqualified because he was 50 instead of 48 years old, and of another, merely because he was unsightly, not that he could not see, but that he could not be seen by his officer with complacency.

Mr. *Bragge* mentioned three instances of persons admitted who had ruptures, merely because they could act in a military capacity with the assistance of trusses; and this was passed over, although the oath required them to depose that the men were not subject to that complaint.

On the clause empowering commanding officers to discharge men, who might become unserviceable, after having been accepted and enrolled, being read;

Mr. *Ellison* rose to object to it. He said, this bill was not a levy, but a tax. It had been said, on many occasions, what is the first sinew of war? The answer was money. What is the second sinew? money. What is the third sinew? money. So with respect to this bill, it seemed not to be a levy, but a tax. Men did not seem to be the object, but money. He particularly objected to the commanding officer having a power to discharge men, without having, as in the case of the Militia and Army of Reserve, the concurrence of the deputy lieutenants.

Mr. *Fox* said, the objections to the bill were so numerous, and so weighty, that it could hardly proceed. A power is given to the commanding officer to discharge the men sent by the parishes, which was equivalent to enabling that officer to impose a fine; and he inquired if it were consistent with the prudence of the house to enable a military officer, by this political expedient, to levy a tax upon the British people?

Mr. *Pitt* said, it was a mistake to suppose that the commander, in discharging a man, would act arbitrarily or rapaciously; he was bound to act in conformity to the regulations to be made by his Majesty's orders, and they would be as precise in this case as in any part of the regular service. It was the interest as well as the duty of the commander to act in uniformity to such orders. It was the interest of the executive government, to take care that the orders were right. The parishes had all possible security against any abuse of power. They were not fined in the 1st instance at all on the discharge of a man. In the 2d they were allowed to provide another, and that at the limited bounty. They had a month allowed them for that purpose. If they found a fit man in that time, no fine at all attached on them. If they did not, the commander was to recruit for a man, and then the fine of 20l. attached; but even after this, if the parish found a proper man, three-fourths of the fine would be remitted to them; so that this measure was as lenient as possible, consistently with the idea of a fine; and without a fine there was no security for enforcing the bill. He took occasion to observe, that the bounty under this bill was to be three-fourths of the bounty for the line. The war bounty for the line was not to exceed sixteen guineas, and, therefore, the bounty under this bill would be twelve guineas instead of 7l. 10s. as many gentlemen had apprehended.

Mr. *Fox* did not imagine a house of commons could be satisfied with such an answer. "You give," says the minister, "to military officers the power to impose a tax upon the people, but it is to be presumed it will not be the subject of abuse." It was not consistent with the duty of members of that house to repose this dangerous confidence.

Mr. *Sheridan* contended, it was the interest of the army to inflict the fine upon the parishes. By the parochial regulation 7l. or 10l. was to be paid by the overseers for recruits, but if the officer would not admit this candidate for the ranks, he (the officer) was to have 20l. from the parish to supply the vacancy; and to use the words of a noble lord, a much less unsightly man might be obtained for this extravagant bounty.

The *Secretary at War* combatted this opinion, and insinuated that Mr. Sheridan had read the bill by proxy, and hence accounted for his misapprehension of the clause.

Mr. *Sheridan*, in reply, assured the right hon. gent. that he was quite erroneous in his opinion. He had read the bill, not by proxy, but with the best care which he could bestow on it. He had only to express a wish that the right hon. gent. had defended the bill by proxy, in which case the arguments of his friends would have had a stronger impression upon the house.

Mr. *Grey* said that the bill was absolutely incorrigible: the parochial scheme was absurd and contradictory. To shew the probability of disputes between these inspectors and the deputy-lieutenants, he mentioned an anecdote respecting a strong young healthy recruit in the county he represented. He received under the army of reserve bill a bounty of about 50 guineas; the consequence was, that he was in a constant state of debauchery for a considerable time; one evening, dead drunk, he lay in the road exposed to a heavy rain; a violent inflammation of his eyes ensued, and he lost one of them entirely. In this situation he was rejected by the inspector, whose determination was resisted by the deputy-lieut. This might be considered one of those unsightly cases within the meaning of the noble lord. The hon. gent. concluded with observing, that the burthen thrown on the parishes under the present bill would be severe, and would ultimately fall on the landed interest of the country.—The remaining clauses of the bill were then gone through, and the Speaker having resumed the chair, the report of the committee was ordered to be brought up to-morrow. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, June 15, 1804.

[Minutes.]—Counsel were farther heard relative to the writ of error, Lucena *v.* Crawfurd, viz. Mr. Giles in continuation on the part of the appellant: after which the farther consideration of the case was adjourned till Thursday next.—Lord Viscount Duncan and Lord Rodney were sworn and took their seats.—Several bills, chiefly private or returned acts, were brought up from the Commons, and respectively read a first time.—The attorney's indemnity bill was brought up and read a first time.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—The linen manufacturer's protection bill passed through a committee, and was ordered to be reported on Monday.

[Aylesbury Election Bill.]—The order of the day for the second reading of this bill being read,

Lord *Grenville* rose and observed, that after what he had already submitted to the consideration of their lordships on the subject of this bill, he should at present take up but very little of their time. The evidence was now before their lordships, and by that, he conceived, the allegations of the bill were fully proved. It appeared that notorious bribery and corruption not only existed in the late and at former elections, but was likely to be practised in future. These considerations which were fully established, were enough to warrant that house in passing the bill.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he retained his original sentiments, which were decidedly hostile to the measure. He considered it as objectionable, not only on legal, but on constitutional grounds. And the effect of it was not only to confound the innocent with the guilty, but, in some points of view, even to reward the latter. He objected to it as being partial as well as oppressive, and it would be found, on a fair review of the cases, not to be born out by either of the precedents which were so much to be relied upon, the Shoreham, or the Crickland case. In the former, the proceeding was different, a considerable number of the electors being punished by disfranchisement. The authority of the Cricklade case was shattered in pieces by subsequent decisions of the other house of parliament. He alluded principally to the Stockbridge case, which he regarded as a complete set off against the Cricklade precedent. The right of franchise was always considered as sacred in the eye of the law, and he referred to the compensations made to the parties for the disfranchised boroughs in Ireland, on the event of the Union, as an instance of the tender regard of the law for such rights. That the bill was most reprehensibly partial the events of the present session alone would evince, for in the aggravated case of the Ilchester election, that consideration was accompanied by no bill. The principles upon which the present measure proceeded was one which he completely disapproved: he conjured the house to consider seriously ere it sanctioned such a measure; the principles held, and reforms recommended by the Corresponding Societies and others, were well known, and to a certain extent, the principle upon which this bill proceeded, tallied, in his mind, with these principles of reform to which he alluded.

Earl *Grosvenor* spoke shortly in favour of the measure.

The Earl of *Suffolk* made a few observations on the occasion. With respect to what was said by the noble and learned lord, of the principle of compensation as adopted by the legislature of Ireland, he did not conceive it strictly applicable, as the compensation was not to the voters but to the wealthy proprietors. He approved of the measure under consideration; it proceeded upon the principle of a bill which several years ago he had supported, and which was productive of beneficial effects; a consideration which, so far, in his mind operated in favour of a more extensive reform.

Lord *Grenville* took the opportunity to remark, that several of the cases to which his noble and learned friend referred, had, in his opinion, no bearing upon the question. The case of the boroughs disfranchised on account of the Union with Ireland, the whole an act of the legislature of that country, proceeded upon a principle widely different from that of the measure under consideration. With respect to what was thrown out relative to the principles and views of the Corresponding and other Societies, he was of opinion that nothing would tend more to encourage the principles of those societies than the arguments maintained by his noble and learned friend, which amounted to this, that all reform, however great the evil might be, ought to be resisted.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, his noble friend might imagine that he had been speaking for the Corresponding Society, but he should certainly consider himself as acting for that society, if he gave his consent to this bill.

Lord *Auckland* in a short speech, supported several of the leading points urged by the noble lord on the woolsack.

Lord *Hawkesbury* differed from his noble and learned friend, as to some of his propositions. The measure, in question, he conceived, should be taken on its own particular merits. He felt a strong distinction between the rights of private property, and those of the elective franchise, the latter being more in the nature of a public trust. Even the rights of their lordships' to sit as a branch of the legislature proceeded upon that principle. Peerages were so conferred, and it was a trust which its holder could not voluntarily relinquish. The question was then put, on which their lordships divided; when their appeared, For the second reading of the bill 39, Against it 7—Majority 32. Adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, June 15, 1804.

[Minutes.]—Sir John Sinclair brought up the report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the comparative qualities of Scotch and English barley for making malt. Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—An account was laid on the table of the imports and exports of West-India produce, as ordered by the house.—The woollen manufacturers' suspension bill was read a 1st time, and ordered to be read a second time on Monday.—On the motion of Mr. S. Bourne, leave was given to bring in a bill to enable Mr. M. Bolton to export a machinery from this country to make a mint in Denmark.—An account was ordered to be laid before the house of the Harbour Dues in the isle of Man. —A message from the Lords requested that the house would send to their lordships printed copies of the 3d and 4th Highland reports. Aged to. The linen export exemption bill was read a third time, and passed.—The Irish linen manufacturers' regulation bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Tuesday.—The East-India Liverpool prize goods bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday.

[Additional Force Bill.] — Mr. *Alexander* brought up the report of the committee on the bill for better providing for the national defence. The amendments were read a first time, and on the motion that they be read a second time,

Mr. *Peter Moore* said, that having already trespassed on the house, by delivering his sentiments on the general principles of the bill, for the present he should only take the liberty of going as shortly as possible into the general detail of its clauses. He considered the mode by which this bill proposed to recruit the public force to be unconstitutional, oppressive, and generally obnoxious to the people; that if it passed into a law, it would have the effect of entailing upon the country a permanent standing army, and consequently an enormous and perpetual burthen of expense which the country would be unable to bear. In the whole of the arguments which had been adduced in support of the bill, under its successive discussions, he had heard not one to shake his opinion on these points. Much was said of strong measures: he begged to call the attention of the rt. hon. chancellor of the exchequer to a strong measure proposed in the year 1784, the rejection of which proved his first introduction to office. Sure he was, that if the principle of that strong measure had been then adopted by parliament, many millions would have been saved to this country, which have since been squandered. But that question was one widely different in its importance from the present: the strong measure of 1784 affected only the privileges of eight persons: it was a question merely whether there should be 16 or 24 India directors; but the present measure went to involve and to subvert the constitution itself: it was dangerous in the extreme, and tended directly to induce all the mischief he had stated. When he recollected how, upon a former night, he had heard the rt. hon. gent. panegyrize and support the proposition for the army of reserve bill, he naturally expected he would have preferred that measure to the one which he now brought forward. But though the right hon. gent's. predecessor had candidly and manfully called upon the unanimous vigour and exertion of the country, in the hour of danger, and was promptly answered by the universal spirit of the nation, he had not proposed to burthen the country with an establishment so obnoxious to the spirit, and so dangerous to the liberties of Englishmen, as a permanent standing army. But it was not merely upon its unconstitutional tendency he objected to the bill. He farther objected to it that it would go to impose a tax upon landed property of 3 millions per annum. The chief perfection attributed to the bill, by its supporters, was merely that it would obviate the ballot; but then the alternative would be an impost upon numberless parishes which the inhabitants in general would not be able to pay, and he begged to call it to the attention of gentlemen who had been active in carrying the militia laws into effect, whether the natural consequence of this measure must not be a heavy additional tax upon landed property. Another mischief of this bill would be to do away the exclusions granted by the former bill, and of which there was no mention made in this. It was a remarkable circumstance that this was the first measure of the right hon. gent. from whom a great deal was expected. But it was necessary to tell that right hon. gent. that the house looked for something very different. They looked for the performance of that promise, which he had held out to Ireland; and the inability to perform which, at one time, was the alleged cause of his retirement from office. His first object now, therefore, ought to be to do away the necessity of keeping a large military force in Ireland; to convert to more useful purposes the 28,000 men who were now stationed as sentinels over the people of Ireland. Let him conciliate and reclaim the affections of those people, and then there would be no occasion for a great army to keep them in subjection. The affections of a people were the surest means to support and strengthen a government, and not a standing army. He thought it necessary to mention to the house, that there would be a considerable difficulty in filling up the standing army, from the limited force, by the mode in which the men belonging to that force were enlisted. He would mention one circumstance which came within his own knowledge. In the Tower Hamlets militia, there were hardly ten men who served personally. They were almost all substitutes, who had engaged to serve for 5 years, or during the war. They had already served 5 years; but as the war was not over, they could not obtain their discharge. They applied for it, and it would not be granted. They considered themselves as serving, not for his Majesty, but as substitutes for the parochial inhabitants; and they thought themselves entitled either to their discharge, or to a renewal of the bounty. Several constituents of his, who were privates in that regiment, had applied lately for their discharge, with a view of getting into a more extended service; and if that could not be obtained, they required a renewal of the bounties. The first man who made the application was taken up, tried by a court martial, and sentenced to receive 300 lashes. By his intercession, however, and that of some of his friends, the man's punishment was remitted, by taking away 295 from the 300 lashes. He mentioned this circumstance, to shew how difficult it was to get men even for the regular army. He concluded with giving his decided opposition to the bill.

Mr. *Dennis Browne* said he could not listen to an assertion made by the hon. gent. who spoke last, without rising to give it a positive denial. He denied that there were 28,000 troops in Ireland placed as sentinels over the people there: nor were the affections of the people alienated from the govt. He knew the very contrary to be the fact. He had lived in Ireland from his infancy; he was acquainted with the sentiments of the people; and, whatever disaffection might at one time have prevailed among them, he could now say that their disposition was totally changed. He thought it unnecessary at that time to trouble the house with giving his reasons for what he said; but the house might depend on it the fact was so. He would further assert, that if the French were to effect a landing in Ireland, they would find themselves in an enemy's country, whatever part of it they came to. They would not find the minds of any one of the people favourable to their views. The insurrection which took place on the 23d of July, did not put him out of conceit with this opinion. He was certain that the extreme parts of Ireland had no more to do with that rebellion than they had to do with the rebellion of Colonel Despard.—The house then proceeded to divide upon the question, when there appeared—Ayes, 63; Noes, 69; Majority against the second reading of the amendments, 6.

After the division, and during the exclusion of strangers,

Mr. *Rose* objected to the numbers declared, as the majority was composed, in his opinion, of gentlemen who had not been in the house at the time when the question was put, nor heard what little debate occurred, but rushed into the house merely to give their votes, and took their adversaries by a surprize which he deemed unfair. He appealed to Mr. Fox to say, whether he was not himself of that number?

Mr. *Fox* replied, that he was unconscious of, and far from being a party to any unfair advantage being taken; but he candidly owned that he had been some time out of the house; and, in the confusion the house was in, when the question was called for, by the number of members, who, on such occasions, usually were called away from the refreshments they might be taking, he could not take upon him to say positively whether he was or was not in the house at the moment it was put from the chair.

Mr. *Rose* declared, that he could take upon him to say there were at least six other members who entered the house after Mr. Fox, and who could not therefore have heard the question put; for which reason he submitted whether the question had been fairly decided upon. Upon this a conversation ensued, (the members sitting, and speaking, according to the custom of parliament in such cases, with their hats on) the result of which was that the Speaker admitted the right of any member to vote who came in before the division, and time enough to be counted; the consequence of which was, a majority of six against the amendments being now read a second time.

Mr. *Grey* then moved, "that the amendments be read a second time on this day three months."

Sir *John Wrottesley* rose in support of the bill. He contended, that it had in it every advantage that could be desired at this moment. Some gentlemen said, it would not recruit the regular army; in answer to them, he would refer to the time, when the English militia had volunteered their services for Ireland, and when several regiments went to Holland. These two remarkable events must convince any man, that we could always get men to enter into the regular army, from our limited force, whenever it should be necessary. A right hon. gent. had observed, that men would not enter into the regiments of the line, to which their battalions were attached, because they might dislike some of the officers. So far was he from entertaining such an opinion, that he was convinced men would enter from the very contrary motive. From the experience he had in military affairs, he knew that soldiers were in the habit rather of entertaining a partiality, than a dislike, for officers; and if they had a dislike, he knew the forgiving temper of a soldier to be such, that even a sentiment of dislike would not prevent him from entering a regiment. He wished to impress upon the house one quality which belonged to this bill; it was that of its tending to ameliorate our defensive force. Officers of experience were to command the force to be raised by this bill, and that would add considerably to the strength of our home defence, and enable govt. to employ the regular force of the country on the continent, whenever an opportunity should offer for co-operating with any of the powers of Europe against France. The plan of recruiting laid down in this bill was certainly the best mode that could be adopted for recruiting the army. All other modes appeared to him to be objectionable in time of war. It had, beside, another material advantage; and that was, the doing away the ballots; so far from being a burthen, he considered it an alleviation of burthens on the landed interest. It therefore met with his cordial approbation.—(A loud cry of "question! question!")

Mr. *Hobhouse* said, it was a very material object to increase the regular force of the country; and it appeared to be the wish of all sides to do so, to the greatest possible extent. The necessity of it was fully admitted; and the question was which was the best mode of promoting that object? If the regular army could be increased at all by this bill, it must be by a very slow progress, by that kind of double distillation which a right hon. gent. had mentioned. When it was contended that some strong measure was necessary, a measure should have been adopted adequate to the force of that necessity. If the danger was great, and the necessity strong, he thought some other measure should have been resorted to besides the present bill, which he was sure, would fail completely in accomplishing the object for which it was intended. By one clause of this bill, the parish officer was authorised to give only three-fourths of the sum allowed as the ordinary bounties for recruiting; but the commanding officer had the power of giving the whole of the sum. This regulation would at once put an end to recruiting in the manner proposed. Men would not enlist with parish officers, who could give but 15l. when they could get 20l. from the commanding officer. Then the parishes must pay this fine of 20l. if they could not get the men. They certainly would never be able to get them on such terms, for men would always consult their own interest, and wait for the largest bounty. Another objection he had to this bill, was the double bounty men would receive, if they entered into the line; no man would enter into the regular army, without first passing through this army of reserve, because of the double bounty he should receive. It was not, therefore, to be expected that men could be procured for the regular army, except by a very slow process; and the measure could produce no benefit; but it would be highly injurious to the landed interest, upon which the fines laid on parishes must ultimately fall. (A loud call for the question.)

Mr. *Pitt* said, that without precluding himself from the opportunity of delivering his sentiments at a future period upon this bill; he hoped he might now be permitted to say a few words, in order to set the hon. gent. who just sat down right upon one topic which he had advanced. He had rested one of his objections to this bill on a supposition, that if parish officers should not be able to find men for a given sum, the recruiting officers would be enabled to give a larger sum. And from this he drew a conclusion, that parochial recruiting would be rendered completely ineffectual. If the hon. gent. would take the trouble to look in page 13 of the bill, he would there find, that so far from its containing such a regulation, the recruiting officer could only give such proportion of the 20l. fine as was fixed as the stated bounty by his Majesty's regulation. This very amendment had been made in the bill on the preceding day: and the hon. gent. would, on the present day, have heard it read, were it not for the accidental vote which recently took place, and which threw a temporary interruption in the way of the progress of the bill.

Sir *R. Buxton* said, he defied any gent. to shew one tenable argument against the second reading of the amendments, or any reason why they should be put off for 3 months, the effect of which would certainly be the loss of the bill. The amendments, in fact, which were now objected to, made the bill better than it was before. It was said this bill would operate as a heavy charge on the landed interest. He would say, for himself, that his property chiefly consisted in land; that he had applied his mind to the subject of the landed interest; and he now wished to know what plan of national defence could be devised which must not impose a burden on the landed interest? The plan would be no more a burden than any other; but it would confer a great benefit on the country; it would be conferring a boon on the country by freeing it from the hardships occasioned by ballots. He wished gentlemen to see what a ballot was. It was neither more nor less than an infringement on the liberty of the subject; and he wished to ask those gentlemen, who had talked so often and so much about liberty, whether there was liberty, justice, or equality, in forcing a poor man to serve as a soldier, when the rich man, by a sum of money which he did not value, could exempt himself from service by procuring a substitute, or paying a fine? As to the objection against recruits being raised by parochial officers, he must say that no men appeared to him better calculated to perform such a duty than they; because they knew better than most people could do, the characters of the people in their parishes.—On the preceding day it had been objected to one of the clauses of the bill, that military officers were to be sent down to assist at the meeting of the deputy lieutenants. So far from this being an objectionable proceeding, he must say, that having often acted as a deputy lieutenant, he, and others who acted with him, were always happy to have along with them a military officer, from whom they could receive information. He would venture to assert, that no one plan had yet been offered that would fall so lightly, or be so little objectionable as the present.

Mr. *Burroughs* said, he was ready to admit, that this measure could not, in a short time, make any considerable addition to the regular force of the country; but it was not the object of the bill to do so immediately. Its object was to raise second battalions, which were to be attached to battalions of the line, into which the men belonging to them might be induced to enter. It could not now be the object of govt. to increase all of a sudden the regular disposable force of the country. There was no necessity to do so; for, in the present degraded state of Europe, there was no hope that any of the continental powers would co-operate with us in a continental war against France. The object was, to raise a force that might add to our standing army whenever occasion should require so to do. Now he wished to direct the attention of the house to one great benefit arising out of this bill; and that was the doing away the ballots, which exposed the poor to great hardships. It was one of the severest lots to which the poor had been subject. With regard to the objections made against standing armies, he believed a reference to the history of this country would shew that England had often been exposed to great danger from the want of standing armies. And if the constitutional jealousy of Englishmen against standing armies had not been carried too far, the country might now have had a complete regular army, fit for every purpose of offensive or defensive operations. Considering the enemy we had to contend with, it was necessary we should have a regular permanent force in the country. That enemy would watch his opportunity, and take his own time to attack us; and he would most assuredly avail himself of the first moment he found us disbanding our army, or diminishing our force.—It had also been objected, that parish officers would be converted into crimps by this bill; and it was said that they could not obtain men without the assistance of crimps. He would answer, that parish officers, who knew the habits of the people in their parishes, would stand a better chance of procuring men than even recruiting officers, against whom the people always entertained a jealousy. They were surely the most eligible persons to be resorted to, unless they abused their power, and if they did, the courts of justice were open to the injured parties. He would ask whether it was possible by simple recruiting, to get a large force in a short time? And if it was, he would ask, why was it necessary to pass the army of reserve act last year? Let the present experiment be tried as a less objectionable mode; and if it failed, the ordinary business of recruiting still continued open, as it had done before. By the present plan, great bounties were to be done away, and more men were likely to be procured. No assertion could be more unjust than that this bill would operate as a trap to get men into the line. He was confident no such attempt would be made. With respect to the hardships said to be imposed on parish officers, he had to observe, that when every thing dear and valuable in the country was to be protected, it could not be unreasonable to give to parish officers the additional duty of contributing towards the means of national defence (here there was a cry of "question," and the hon. member was interrupted by the coughing of several other members).—The hon. gent. concluded with giving it as his opinion, that the plan contained in the present bill was the best mode that could be adopted for increasing the regular force of the country hereafter.

Mr. *Cartwright* supported the bill on the principle that it repealed the ballot, and removed the necessity of those expensive subscriptions, by means of which the country people endeavoured to diminish the burthen of it last year. The bounty and the fine would produce exertion. He wished well to the bill from his respect to the mover of it, and whatever regret he might have for not seeing him supported by a more general co-operation, however desirous he might be to see party spirit for once totally sacrificed to the cause of the country, and a glorious example of unanimity given to future ages, he could not agree to the length that those went who thought that no change had taken place in his Majesty's councils. He was not one of those who could think lightly of such an acquisition. He was not one of those who could so soon forget the high encomiums so recently passed upon that right hon. gent. by many of those who were now his most inveterate opponents. He could not so soon forget the loud calls from those opponents, both in that house and in another place, for the aid of that rt. hon. gent.'s talents for the salvation of his country at so perilous a moment. He could not so soon forget the eager applause with which the right hon. gent.'s first proposition for this bill was received by those who now decried it. When he considered his great and transcendent talents, he was not without the best hopes. He believed the right hon. gent. had the best wishes of the country; he was sure he had his. (The question was again loudly called for.)

Sir *William Geary* contended that the bill was unconstitutional, in reducing the militia and augmenting the regular army, at the same time, so as to destroy their former proportion to each other. It was impossible to look at the possible consequences of this without apprehension. The house was bound to be jealous on this subject; and to prevent the approach to such a state of things as this threatened, in which the house would no longer have power to counteract the evil. This force would wholly be in the power of the executive government, being officered in an unconstitutional manner, contrary to the principle on which the militia is officered. His objection to this measure was the greater, because it was not necessary. If the danger and extremity of the times called for it, all considerations must give way to that necessity. But it was not so. He admitted the French to be powerful in an unexampled degree. But would any man now say we were not prepared for all their exertions? Have we not been called upon to make preparations proportioned to the danger, and has the nation been backward to do so? But if we were in a situation to repel every attempt of the enemy, and he believed that would not be denied, there was no excuse for the sacrifice of a great constitutional principle. This was not the time for such sacrifice. No necessity could be urged for a measure so replete with danger.

Lord *Dunlo* wished it to be remembered, that on the original disclosure of this measure the sense of the house was strongly for it. Since that time the disposition in favour of it had increased, and it had been carried with augmented appearances of approbation into a committee. No objection had been made to the provisions of the bill in the committee, but an unforeseen opposition had been made this day to the second reading of the amendments, when gentlemen had not expected it. He would not say now what was the description that should be given of that proceeding, but if he was in a place in which he was formerly conversant, he should call it sharp practice. In consequence of gaining a very small and a very accidental advantage, the hon. gent. opposite had taken advantage on the spur of the occasion, without any arguments, to propose, that the amendments may be read this day three months. He was sure he was addressing many whose feelings were adverse to the principle of the bill; but he was sure that every conscientious man must be dissatisfied with the manner in which this question was brought forward. He was sure the postponement of the second reading of the amendments would not be allowed to be a fair mode of getting rid of the bill.

Mr. *H. Lascelles* rose, when the house were again loudly calling for the question, and said, that he appealed to the house, whether or not they were acting according to the general custom. He called on older members to determine, if it was not contrary to the practice of the House of Commons to admit of such a motion, after the bill had been allowed to pass through so many of its stages.—

Mr. *Grey* said, he rose to speak to order. The question was, that the amendments on this bill be read a second time on this day 3 months. The hon. gent. could not, upon that question, give the history of a former division in the house.—

The *Speaker* said, that the hon. gent. was at liberty to advert to a former division, stating it as an argument for his present vote.

Mr. *H. Lascelles* then repeated what he had said respecting the former division, and said, he had done with that subject. As to the question before the house ——

Mr. *Jekyll* rose to order. He said, unless the house meant to say, that the speaker was unworthy of his station, unless all regard to order was laid aside, the house could not permit the hon. gent. to proceed——

Mr. *Pitt* rose to speak to order. The hon. and learned gent. had chosen his time to interrupt his hon. friend, with peculiar felicity and sagacity. He had declared he had done with the subject, before the hon. and learned gent. rose; while he was on that subject, he was allowed by the learned gent. to proceed; but when he says, "as to the question before the house," then the learned member thinks it time to get up to speak to order.

Mr. *Fuller* said, he never would be so much the tool of a party as to speak against time. Therefore, he added, let us come to the question at once. (The question was here most violently called for.)

Mr. *Ryder* said, he could never consent to go to a division, without adverting to the extraordinary manner in which the question on which the house was to divide, was introduced. He would appeal to the experience of the oldest member in the house, and call upon him to declare, whether a similar attempt was ever made? whether it was not contrary to all rule, such as is understood and practised for the convenience of the house? The house was taken by surprise——

Sir *W. Geary* said, this was unparliamentary language, and he could not permit the hon. gent. to proceed with it.

Mr. *Ryder* said, he could not consent that the question should go to a division without shewing why the bill ought not to be lost; and it was his object to prove that the sense of the house had not been against it. On all sides it was allowed that there was a necessity for increasing the regular army; and the only point was, whether this bill provided the best means. He maintained it did, by first inviting the recruits into a limited service. But it had been said, that the men thus raised would not be good and proper soldiers. He wished experience to be resorted to for the answer to that. The troops in the regular army, drawn from the army of reserve, were a sufficient proof of the fallacy of that assertion. It was said the bill would impose an additional duty on the magistrates. But it was forgotten that it would relieve them from the immense labour of the army of reserve; from all the painful duties of the ballots, where they continually beheld the distress and misery that compulsory mode brought on thousands. He had thought the ballots necessary at the time, but that necessity no longer existed, and therefore the poor, on whom they fell heavily, should be released from them. He believed the bill would be received as a boon to the country. It removed high bounties, and the miseries of the ballot. When the right hon. gent first opened his plan during the last administration, then was the time for the objections now made. Why were they not heard then? And why heard now? He must not state the motives, but he must suppose them to be extraordinary, such, indeed, as he must not allude to. He hoped the bill would pass; he was sure it would afford general satisfaction, and should therefore move as an amendment, that the words, "Monday next," be substituted for the words, "this day three months."

Sir *W. Dolben* said, he could not give his vote without assigning the reasons for what he should do. He agreed with the hon. gentlemen who opposed the bill on the nature of its principle; and though he could not vote with them, yet he reserved his right to oppose the bill on the third reading. But he could not consent to treat this question as it had been by the hon. gent. (Mr. Grey). It was not a fair, a manly proceeding. He would have the bill condemned on its own faults, and trusted that it could be so.

Mr. *R Ward* observed, that a proper example had just been given them by an hon. bart., not to be parties to so unfair a proceeding as this proposed to them to dispose of the bill. Another gent. who always acted and spoke from the fullness of his heart, had said, he would not be so much a tool as to speak against time for any party. No person doubted the hon. gent.'s integrity But how could he reconcile to himself then, a proceeding such as the hon. bart. stated this to be, and as the house felt it to be? An hon. gent. had actually argued against the clause in the bill, as it stood in one printed copy, but which was afterwards amended, and the amendment removed the very objection of the hon. gent. Was not this a sufficient ground to induce all the hon. members opposite to give gentlemen the opportunity of hearing and examining the amendments? It had been stated that this bill would bear hard upon the landed property. A number of gentlemen of great landed property were on his right hand and his left, the friends of the bill. They were capable of judging. Why do they conspire to injure themselves? He maintained, that a very little candid examination would prove all objections to the bill to be groundless.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* was of opinion that such a proceeding as the present had never taken place on any former occasion. It might perhaps be consistent with order, but he was sure it would be considered by the country as disgraceful and contemptible—(A loud and general cry of order! order! chair! chair!)

The *Speaker* decided, that in applying such epithets to any proceedings of that house, the hon. member had been highly disorderly.

Mr. *Jekyll* moved that the hon. member's words be taken down.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* declared himself, on being corrected from the chair, ready to apologise to the house for having transgressed the limits of order. The hon. member then took a view of the different plans that had been proposed for augmenting our military force, and concluded by giving his preference to the present; observing, however, that it would necessarily bear heavy on the landed interest, as every measure of the kind unavoidably would; but that it also afforded a good prospect of obtaining men, which would enable us to start fairly with our men and money. The cry for the question was here renewed from various parts of the house, and in the midst of a loud exclamation for the division,

The *Attorney Geueral* rose. He observed upon the hope that seemed to be entertained by the gentlemen on the other side, that they should on this occasion be able to obtain that object by silence which they had been unable to obtain by argument, for of the latter they had offered nothing to justify the motion which they called upon the house to adopt. This mode of proceeding, however, he considered as a stratagem belonging to the second campaign for the removal of a minister; for that was the object which those gentlemen had in view, after a momentary success in consequence of hurrying the house to a division at an unexpected hour (a general laugh on the opposition benches). Gentlemen appeared to triumph in this accident; but they would, he had no doubt, find themselves disappointed in the object of their endeavours. They used no argument, because they had none to offer; nor were they desirous to seek any. Their purpose was manifest. They determined to oppose any measure the minister might propose, because they had an anxious wish to remove him; because they wanted to produce a second change in his majesty's councils, and to suspend the executive government, perhaps for two months more. An hon. gent. (Mr. Fuller) had said, that he would never lend himself to be a tool to any party to speak for time; but he was convinced, by his conduct, that that hon. gent. seemed disposed to lend himself to promote the views of a party—

Mr. *Fuller* rose to order, disclaiming any party view in his conduct, and professing himself a friend to the chancellor of the exchequer.

The *Attorney General* complained of the honourable gent. having interrupted him, by a call to order, without having stated how, in any manner, he had violated order.

Mr. *Fuller* said, that the hon. gent. had imputed motives to him, which was an unparliamentary proceeding.

The *Speaker* stated, that it certainly was not within the strict line of order to impute motives to any gentlemen. Such deviation, however, was not uncommon, and he hoped therefore, he should stand excused in not having before interrupted the hon. gent.

The *Attorney General* said, that excepting through a consideration for the quarter from which the opinion proceeded, he should not have deemed it correct (a cry of chair! chair!) The hon. gent. resumed, that he believed, according to the practice of the house, it never was deemed disorderly to attribute to gentlemen in opposition a wish to dispossess ministers, and it did not appear that the gentlemen on the other side were disposed to feel disturbed at having it imputed to them. However, as the chair had established this rule, he hoped it would be applied equally to all sides of the house. The hon. gent. asserted, that those who supported the army of reserve bill were perfectly consistent in voting for the present measure, while the latter was peculiarly calculated to reconcile those to whom the ballot and the high bounties produced by the former were so objectionable. When two plans were under consideration, framed by different administrations, without any very important difference between them, that had the preference which was proposed by the persons actually in power, since they would be responsible for the execution of it. With respect to the plan of raising men for rank, as proposed by the late minister, the measure before the house would not preclude the present ministers from having recourse to that expedient, should it appear to be necessary.—After a loud call for the question, the house divided, when there appeared, for the amendment 214; for Mr. Grey's motion 185—Majority 29. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, June 18.

[Minutes.]—In the case of the duke of Queensberry *v.* M'Murdo, the judgment of the court below was affirmed, the parties having previously agreed thereto.—In the case of Grieve *v.* lieu col. Cunningham and others, the Lord Chancellor said he would mention the matter to their lordships tomorrow, that the case should be sent back to the court of session, for their further consideration. — His lordship postponed pronouncing judgment in the case of Hogg *v* Lashley, until Thursday next.—The several bills on the table were forwarded through their respective stages, after which the house adjourded.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 18.

[Minutes.]—Lord Marsham presented a petition from W. Iliff, who had been committed into custody for improper and contemptuous conduct towards the committee of the Middlesex election. The petitioner expressed his contrition for his conduct, and prayed to be discharged. Lord Marsham moved, that the petitioner be brought to the bar of the house, in order to his being reprimanded and discharged. W. Iliff being brought to the bar accordingly, the Speaker addressed a suitable admonition to him, after which he was ordered to be discharged, on paying his fees.—The woollen manufacturer's suspension bill was read a second time, and committed for to-morrow.—Mr. J. Fitzgerald moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Irish election bill. He then said, that on account of the lateness of the session, and the bill's requiring so much consideration, it appeared to him impossible that due attention could be paid to it during the present session of parliament. He therefore moved, that the order be discharged, and that the bill be read a second time on that day three months; which was agreed to.—Mr. S. Bourne moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to permit the exportation of machinery necessary for erecting a mint in the dominions of the King of Denmark; leave being given, the bill was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—Mr. Huskisson brought up papers ordered on the 8th of April last, relative to the additions to the annual charge of interest on sundry loans; also an account of the gross amount and charges on the 4½ per cent. duties, which were ordered to be printed.—Mr. Alderman Combe presented a petition from sundry merchants and others of the city of London, praying that the Liverpool East India prize goods bill might not pass into a law. On the question being put, it was carried that the petitioners should be heard by themselves or counsel against the bill.—Mr. S. Bourne gave notice, that he should move to morrow for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the counterfeiting of dollars lately issued by the Bank.

[Additional Force Bill.] — The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* having moved the order of the day for the second reading of the amendments made in the additional force bill, said, that it might convenience the house to be made acquainted with the amendments in the first instance, before any debate took place—The first provided, that all vacancies which may occur by desertion or deaths in the force to be raised, shall be supplied by the counties, instead of the parishes. The next material amendment related to the wives and families of the men who entered the service. The wives and families of those who entered the army of reserve were, by the act entitled to the provision which the wives of the militia received; but no provision was made for the families of those who transferred their service from the reserve to the line. It was deemed proper to do away those provisions altogether, and remove, therefore, the difficulty which might be thus raised against entering into the regular army. The third amendment provided, that this additional force should only continue for six months after the signing of a definitive treaty of peace. Thus every apprehension as to the permanence of this army must be removed, because its duration was only to be in time of war. When peace shall be made, such number will be kept up as former acts on this subject prescribed —

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The 4th, granted a power to establish rendezvous in certain places, for inspecting the men who shall be raised; and likewise to the officers appointed for that purpose, to reject such men as they should deem unfit for service.—The amendments were then brought up successively by the chancellor of the exchequer, read, and inserted in the bill. —On bringing up the third amendment,

Mr. *Grey* wished to know whether the officers of this force were to have permanent pay?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, that they would be entitled to half pay only in time of peace, excepting the month during which the men were to be out on duty every year; they would be thus on a footing with the officers of the militia, with this difference, that the former were to be in the way of promotion. The right hon. gent. then moved, "that the bill with its amendments, be engrossed."

Mr. *Harrison* objected to the motion. He confessed, that the bill was now less objectionable than when first introduced; yet it still appeared to him to retain so much of its native turpitude, that it could never obtain his assent. When the foundation was bad, no good superstucture could be raised upon it, but it must be deficient and fail, notwithstanding its professed purpose was to raise an additional force. He objected to the bill, as being, in its nature, unconstitutional, and so injurious to the liberties of the country, that he was surprized it should have been permitted to be brought in. The very principle of the bill was to raise men by means of fines and penalties; but the object in view could never be answered by such means. The bill called upon parish officers to raise a certain quota of men, and at the same time told them they must not give above 7 l. 10 s. bounty money, which was to require them to do more than they could perform, whilst, at the same time, it levied a fine upon them for the non-performance, and, even after paying that fine, they were still liable to succeeding fines. He could never see an increase to the established military force of the country, without jealousy. It appeared that this was proposed as a system for supplying the regular standing army, whether in time of war or peace. The bill went to levy a tax on the country parishes, and in an unconstitutional way. It should therefore meet with his decided opposition.

Mr. *Elliot* said, he hoped the house would permit him to avail himself of the opportunity, afforded him by this stage of the bill, of very shortly assigning the motives, which had hitherto directed, and which, he was afraid, must continue to govern his vote upon a measure, indubitably of much importance and materially affecting the future strength and power of the country; for it was always to be recollected that this bill was not proposed as a temporary expedient against a sudden and transient danger, but was specifically introduced as laying the foundation of a permanent military system. The object of the bill, as he understood it, was the supply of the deficiencies in the defensive force of the country by a mode, which might render it a fruitful source of recruits, as well as in other respects, a beneficial nursery to the regular army, and which should have the additional advantage of ensuring to this secondary force a degree of discipline so nearly approaching to that of troops of the line, as might enable us, with greater security, to liberate any portion of our disposable force, which occasion might offer, in the course of the war, for employing in aggressive operations. The principles, upon which the plan was professed to rest, were two, the extinction of the competition of bounties, and the promotion of local influence and exertion. To the first he should, for a moment, not advert. With regard to the second, he certainly appreciated local influence as a very powerful instrument of recruiting, though, perhaps, he did not universally attribute that efficacy to it, which some persons of great authority seemed to ascribe to it. In the Highlands of Scotland, and some few parts of Ireland, it indubitably was efficient beyond any other means of recruiting, but he was sure that his right hon. friend (the chancellor of the exchequer) would admit that, from such partial instances, no general inference was to be drawn. He, however, was ready to acknowledge, that, in most parts of the kingdom, it was of much advantage in procuring men, and, indeed, the sense of its utility could not be more forcibly illustrated than by the expedient, to which recourse had been so frequently made, of provincial levies, where the rules of the service, in regard to promotion, were superseded, and the command of a regiment was often conferred on a person never in the army, entirely for the purpose of obtaining the benefit of local exertion, a mode of recruiting well adapted to that object, though, in other respects, highly objectionable. But he was anxious to mark the difference between the value of the influence obtained in this way, and that of the parochial exertion expected to be gained under the operation of this bill. A gentleman of provincial connexions and property, in raising a regiment acted under the stimulus both of the reputation and emoluments resulting from the completion of his levy, whereas, upon this parochial system of recruiting no one had any incitement beyond the exemption from his proportion of the fine. In provincial levies, too, the sphere of influence was much more extended. The regulated bounty, moreover, was, in that mode of recruiting almost invariably exceeded, and the person undertaking that description of levy, employed recruiting parties in all directions, and had all the aid which the most skilful and experienced recruiting officers could supply. But churchwardens and overseers of the poor possessed no such means, and he was apprehensive that, in the execution of this measure, one of these three things must happen, either that the recruiting would be consigned to crimps, or that a most oppressive influence would be exerted by the parish officers for the purpose of instigating men to enlist, or that the whole scheme would ultimately resolve itself into a mere parochial tax. The best mode of trying the practical merits of the bill would be for every gent. to imagine himself in his own parish for a moment. Suppose the churchwarden and overseers stating to a principal proprietor in a parish the difficulty of procuring men for a bounty of 12 guineas, when it had recently been found almost impracticable to obtain them for double, treble or even the quadruple of that sum. Suppose them, too, representing their utter ignorance of the art of recruiting, and their want of leisure for it, even if they had the knowledge. What other rational counsel could such a proprietor give to the parish officers, than a recommendation to them to endeavour to supply their own want of conversance with the practice of recruiting by a recourse to the assistance of those who had experience in it? Hence, then, would originate the introduction of the contractor for recruits, who would demand more than the limited bounty, and even with an increased premium, would not undertake to procure the men within the space prescribed by the bill. No recruiter would engage to raise the quota of men for a parish within the limits of that parish, or its immediate vicinity. He would, of course, resort for them to London, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, or the towns in which he usually recruited, and then, if men were procured at all (for he did not believe many could be gained by other means), they would be obtained by a mode, which would be in direct contradiction to the provisions of the bill, and to what his right hon friend (the chancellor of the exchequer) had declared to be its principle. Admitting, however, for the sake of argument, that all the advantages, in respect to parochial exertion, would be reaped from the bill which the friends of the measure expected to derive from it, the exertion must operate to the impediment of the general recruiting service. For instance, when an officer went into a parish on the regular recruiting service, he, in general, had the influence of the parish, if not positively favourable, at least neutral towards him, in which case he had the fair benefit of the regulated bounty and his own activity, but under this bill the parish would be in a state of constant opposition to his exertions, as every man he raised would diminish the means of the parish-officers of furnishing the quota part of the parish. His success would, in truth, operate as a tax upon the parish. There would, likewise, remain a considerable pecuniary competition under the scale of bounties, which, from what fell from the chancellor of the exchequer a few nights ago, it seemed to be in contemplation to establish. His rt. hon. friend had stated, that, though the bounties were not absolutely fixed, it was at present intended that the bounty for the regular service should be 16 guineas, the bounty for the force to be provided under this bill 12 guineas, and the bounty for enlistment from that force into the line 10 guineas. This system of bounties, therefore, would obviously make it the interest of men to enlist first for home service, instead of entering at once into the line, for by going originally into the line they would be only entitled to a bounty of 16 guineas, whereas, by passing through this intermediate force into the regular army, they would obtain 22. Thus, in point of fact, instead of extinguishing competition, the bill would establish a competition both of money and of local influence, to the detriment of the general recruiting service.—It had been represented by gentlemen on the opposite side of the house as a very visionary and fanciful apprehension, but he could not help concurring in the fear that had been expressed by some of his friends upon the bench with him, that the influence exerted by parish-officers would principally consist in their attempts to render the situation of the indigent class of the community resident within their jurisdiction so painful to them, as to impel them to resort to enlistments as a refuge from persecution. A learned gent. (the attorney-general) had alledged, on a preceding night, that such a suspicion of abuse of authority on the part of parish-officers was not justified by experience. He was far from meaning to make any general imputation on the conduct of parish-officers, at the same time he had known them in some instances commit acts of great severity, and it was not in the spirit of a judicious system of legislation to set the interests of persons in power in opposition to their humane and social feelings. There were many laws, and very wise and salutary laws too, which were much relaxed in their execution, and which, if generally enforced, might be perverted into instruments of grievous oppression. The game laws had been alluded to, and, perhaps, furnished the most familiar example. He certainly was no enemy to the game laws; on the contrary, he maintained the policy of them, though he did not wish to see too severe an operation given to them. In many parts of the country they were put into very vigorous execution. In some parts, however, they were much relaxed, and this was the case in the part of the country, with which he was best acquainted, but he was afraid, if this bill should pass, they would be universally and most severely enforced. If a poor man was detected in snaring a hare, a parish-officer might say to him, "if you are convicted you will be fined £5. You cannot pay such a sum, in which case your goods will be distrained, and even the amount of them will probably not enable you to defray the penalty, and then you must be committed to prison. But if you will enlist in the army of reserve, we will not prosecute you, and you will at once avoid these calamities and obtain a bounty of 12 guineas." It had been asked in a former debate, where were to be found the provisions in the bill, which enacted this system of oppression? God forbid, that parliament should ever pass laws giving a positive sanction to the exercise of tyrannical authority; but it was also its sacred duty to take care that it did not legislate in a manner, which might invite and stimulate abuse, and he entered much into the fears of those who thought, that this bill, if it should pass into a law, would, by awakening into a pernicious activity many dormant penal statutes, sour and disgust the people, and poison the comforts and social happiness of every village and hamlet in the country. It had been imputed to his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Windham), that the tenor of his language was changed, that formerly the house had been accustomed to hear him inculcate the necessity of keeping alive the spirit of the people, and of raising their minds to a level with the unparalleled danger with which they had to contend, but that now there was a truce to these animating exhortations, that his right hon. friend had lowered his tone, that he ceased to urge the incitements and dwelt upon the difficulties, that the motives were now made subordinate to the objections. The chancellor of the exchequer, who had attributed this sudden alteration of conduct to his right hon. friend, had surely permitted it to escape his memory that his right hon. friend had denied the efficacy of the bill. If his right hon. friend had admitted that the bill was likely to be effectual for its object, there might have been some foundation for the remark that had fallen from the chancellor of the exchequer, because in that case his right hon. friend would have had to strike a balance between the inconveniencies of the measure, and the magnitude of the danger against which it was intended to provide; but his right hon. friend had expressly stated, that, in his view of it, the bill would be vexatious and not efficacious, that it would be productive of nothing but superfluous and gratuitous oppression, that, in fact, it would be oppressive, because it was not calculated to be efficient for its purpose. The house, too, could not fail to observe that the evils, which his right hon. friend had predicted as likely to result from the measure, were of a nature calculated to relax that zeal, which his right hon. friend had borne so eminent a share in exciting in the country, and, consequently, materially to diminish the strength of the empire at a period which, in the opinion of all men, demanded its collected and united faculties. —He next proceeded to the consideration of the proposed arrangement of this force. In this view of the subject he would, for the sake of argument, assume, that the men were procured, and he might then, perhaps, be asked by the friends of the measure, whether he did not admit that there was a reasonable foundation for believing that many men would enter from this intermediate force into the line. He certainly did apprehend that a considerable number might transfer themselves from one service into the other, but if he were at the same time asked, what would be the most effectual mode of checking their enlistment, he should certainly answer, the prohibition of their option with regard to the corps into which they might be disposed to enter; as he could venture to assert, from the best recruiting authorities, that the motives of men for enlisting into the army were as various as the whims and caprices of the human mind. The arrangement, however, of double battalions as the means of inducing men to enter into the regular army, was said to be justified by experience, and two examples had been cited to prove that men were likely to enlist with more facility for general service for having acquired military habits in service of a limited nature. The instances quoted were the volunteers obtained from the militia in the late war, and the army of reserve in the present. With regard to the 1st instance, he must observe, that the mode which had been adopted for obtaining men for the regular army from the militia was very different from that which could be pursued compatibly with the principle professed in the present plan. Recruiting parties had been sent down to the quarters of the different regiments, many of which were kept for a considerable interval in a state of intoxication and dissolution of discipline, and by these means the recruits were procured at large bounties for regular service limited, however, for the most part, both in respect to time and space, for a large proportion of the men enlisted only for the period of the war, and for European service. The other instance which had been cited, was the army of reserve, but the men who had transferred themselves from that force into the regular army, had not enlisted because they had acquired the habits of a military life, for most of them could never have been regimented or have joined their battalions of reserve. It was notorious that they had literally merely passed through the army of reserve into the line for the sake of the double bounty, and that they had enlisted so rapidly as to induce the commander in chief to issue orders at various times to suspend the recruiting, to prevent that relaxation of discipline, which it was found to produce. The only inference, therefore, which could be candidly drawn from this example, was, that many men had been tempted to enter for general service by the invitation of extravagant bounties, having at the same time their option of the regiments into which they were to enlist, and no inconsiderable proportion had entered into the guards and into the artillery. He did not, however, mean to assert, that several men might not be procured for the line by the intended arrangement, but he was convinced that as many, and he believed more, might be even *immediately* obtained by that system of recruiting which had been so frequently recommended, without any of the complicated vexation of this bill. The system, to which he alluded, consisted in the enlistment for term of years instead of for life, the declared and formal abolition of drafting, and some separate establishment for colonial service; for the dread of the noxious climate of the West Indies operated as a most powerful impediment to the recruiting of the line. These measures, together with a proper distribution of recruiting parties under experienced officers, and a judicious selection of stations for recruiting depôts, would, he was persuaded, ultimately supply the ranks of our regular army. He, nevertheless, did not expect that the country could speedily reap the *full* advantage even of the best scheme of recruiting, and in this respect he was not so sanguine as his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), for he was convinced that a long interval would elapse before the memory of large bounties would be intirely obliterated. We had taught the people to speculate so much upon extravagant premiums, that it would be found they would for a long while with-hold themselves from the service in the hope of their revival.—Before he sat down there were two or three topics on which he felt desirous of touching, and to which he should advert with more satisfaction, as he had the good fortune, in a great measure, to concur in opinion on them with his right hon. friend, the chancellor of the exchequer; one was, the derelection of ballot as applied to this measure. At the same time he begged not to be understood as being universally adverse to the principle of ballot. On the contrary, one of his motives for wishing the original establishment of the militia to be maintained was, that the principle of ballot might be preserved in the country. He thought it bad as a part of a great permanent system, but temporary and unforeseen emergencies might occur, in which it might be necessary to have recourse to compulsory service, and in exigencies of so sudden and pressing a nature, that mode of compulsion was the best which was the most efficacious.—There was another part of the bill, which, he must be at variance with all his former declarations and sentiments, if he did not approve; he meant the reduction of the supplementary militia. At the same time he did not think the mode proposed altogether unobjectionable. The arrangement of the supplementary militia varied in different counties. In some counties the supplementary levy was added to the original establishment, and the whole formed one regiment, and hence there were several regiments which were certainly too large and unwieldy. In other counties this part of the militia had been formed into several battalions or regiments, such, for instance, as the 2d Surry, 2d Wiltshire, &c. These corps consisted, he believed, in general of 5 or 600 men each, and when they should be reduced to two-thirds or half of that number, it appeared to him that it would be an useless expense to keep up corps upon such small establishments. He could not help adding, too, that though the diminution of their numbers was to be gradual, he feared the decay of their discipline would be rapid, for it was not rational to expect that the interest of the officers in their regiments would not be relaxed by this sentence of reduction, and thus he must consider the value of the supplementary militia for the remainder of its existence as likely to be materially diminished. During the discussions on the army of reserve bill, in the last session, severe animadversions had been made on the late administration for their tardiness in bringing forward that measure. They had been reminded, that his Majesty's declaration had stated that the conduct of France had been one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult from the conclusion of the treaty of peace; that the French government had been detected in the design of sending military spies into this country, under the denomination of commercial agents, which act of perfidy was described in the same declaration as a decisive indication of the dispositions and intentions of that government, and that, with all these warnings, they ought to have been prepared with their system for the defence of the country immediately on the commencement of the hostilities. They, however, defended their procrastination of the measure of the army of reserve by alleging, that, if it had been earlier introduced, it would have interfered with the ballot for the militia. To this argument, however, he recollected it was replied by himself amongst others, that, as the ballot for the supplementary militia had in many counties not been begun, and as in others very little progress had been made in it, the number of the army of reserve might have been so enlarged, as to have superseded the necessity of the levy of the supplementary militia. But the gentlemen on the bench opposite to him (the bench on which Mr. Addington and his friends were sitting) had an answer to this suggestion. They alleged that the militia, upon its augmented establishment, was the proper quantum of militia for the country. They maintained the same opinion still, and therefore, though he had the misfortune entirely to differ from them, he must acknowledge they were perfectly consistent. But those gentlemen, who formed part of the late administration, and who also composed so considerable a proportion of the present, had held precisely the same language, and he therefore felt some surprise at their change of sentiment upon this subject, and at their approbation of a scheme which was partly founded on a reduction of the number of the militia. An hon. and learned gent. on the treasury bench (the attorney-general) had asserted, "that when two plans were under the consideration of the house, framed by different administrations, without any very important difference between them, that had the best claim to preference which was proposed by the persons actually in power, since they would be responsible for the execution of it." This doctrine was certainly very palatable, and he had no doubt it would be very satisfactory to the house, as it opened a fair prospect to the public of a sort of perpetuity in the learned gent.'s official assistance, an advantage which, he believed, the country had already possessed, in different situations, for three successive administrations. But without discussing the merits of this doctrine, he begged permission to remark to the learned gent., that, by a singular felicity of circumstances, he had, upon the principle of his own argument, still his option between the two plans, for he believed that half, if not a majority of the present cabinet, consisted of persons who were also members of the late cabinet; and, therefore, if the measure proposed by the late government should be adopted, it would, nevertheless, be executed by those who had been its authors and systematical supporters. But these gentlemen, it seemed, made the present plan the object of their choice, and he now had the good fortune to find that they concurred with him in opinion that the militia establishment was too large by the whole of its augmented numbers. He really could not help expressing some curiosity to know from what period he was to date this very unexpected satisfaction; since, for an interval of two years, his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) and himself had experienced nothing but censure and reproaches from those gentlemen for their opposition to the increase of the militia of the different parts of the united kingdom. He must remind them, too, that the very last act of their late administration was the introduction of a bill for the increase of the militia of Ireland, which passed in direct defiance of the counsel of his right hon. friend, the present chancellor of the exchequer, and which was truly illustrative of the measures by which, as his right hon. friend had happily expressed it on a former occasion, the late ministers were continually marring and frustrating their own projects. He trusted, however, that his right hon. friend had come into office early enough to advise his Majesty to suspend the exercise of the power which parliament had vested in him, and that as he had been able to operate so auspicious a conversion in the opinions of his new colleagues with regard to the English militia, he hoped he would, while their minds were in this pliant and malleable state, be more successful than when he had spoken from the back benches, in his endeavours to convince them that no system could be more effectually adapted to cut up the recruiting of the regular army, than that of making new encroachments on the population of Ireland for the service of the militia.—He should trouble the house no further than to observe, that if this measure should prove in its operation to be only a means of procuring money, it would, in that point of view, be a burthen of a most grievous nature. It would, in fact, be a tax in the shape of a parochial assessment, and would fall heavily upon that description of the community, who were now scarcely able to struggle against the weight of parish rates, and whom, under a judicious and well regulated system of finance, it had always been an object, as far as was practicable, to exempt from taxes imposed for public revenue. Thinking, therefore, that the bill would be ineffectual for its purpose, and at the same time be most oppressive and unjust in its operation, he felt it his duty to give his negative to its further progress.

General *Maitland* said, he felt it his duty as a member of parliament, and as a member of the profession to which this measure particularly applied, to offer his sentiments. He was sure the bill, viewed in a military sense, would not produce any considerable portion of the men that were expected from it; that in a civil view it would be onerous and oppressive; that in a mixed view of civil and military, it would not get men but money, and that in an oppressive way. The late ministers had been charged with want of energy and vigour. He would be glad to hear from any body, in what manner this bill gave any proof of increased vigour or energy. He would say of it as a noble lord had said on a former occasion, that it was a mere milk and water measure: or if it had any vigour, it was vigorous only in oppressing the people. When the merits of this bill were talked of, comparatively with those of the measures produced by his right hon. friend (Mr. Addington) when in office, he thought that little indeed could be said for this measure. His right hon. friend had proposed to raise a number of regiments by recruiting for rank. To this it was objected, that raising men for rank was liable to great abuses: it was so; but it was the abuse, not the use that was the mischief. He would ask the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Windham), who was such an enemy to raising men for rank, whether there was greater mischief in a person every way qualified for the rank, for no other could have it, raising men for it, rather than purchasing from their brother officers. If they were qualified to have the step, there was no harm in raising the men. The principal objection in that case was the difficulty of restraining the bounty; but under the present measure that difficulty was much increased. The officer who would depart from the limits laid down would have to dread the charge of being guilty of a breach of orders and discipline; but no such apprehension could weigh upon the parish officers, and surely the former was a much more constitutional mode of recruiting than the latter, at the same time that it was far from tending so directly to the increase of the bounty.—He was never apprehensive of the danger of invasion so much as others; he agreed that it was now increased beyond what it had ever been. He agreed also in the propriety of increasing the regular force; but the charge of a want of exertion in this respect was not relieved by this bill. The measure was proposed to be permanent, but the foundation was false and rotten. The army of reserve had been efficient, and therefore he approved of it. The principle of the present system which he condemned most, was, that the regular and disposable soldiers were the worst provided for. Soldiers on general service should on every principle have larger pay. He did not mean to say they should have more than they had at present. He was, on this point, of opinion that the augmentation which took place in the last war was improvident, and that the army would have been satisfied with less. He would have the soldiers for limited service reduced to less pay, to 10d a day, for instance, but that could not be done but in time of peace. This difference would place the thing on a fair footing with respect to the grand operative principle of human nature, self interest. He wished the liberty of volunteering from the reserve battalions to be general, as at present the men were disposed to volunteer into any other battalion rather than that with which they were immediately connected.

Mr. *Osborne* rose in defence of the bill, and endeavoured to repel the objection of its being a measure to provide money and not men; for, if the stipulated number of men were raised in the parishes, not one shilling of fine would be incurred. As to the objection of its imposing a burden on the parish officers, he would ask, what measure there was of extensive operation but must occasion some inconvenience to certain individuals? It was true, the execution of the proposed measure would engross some portion of the time of those officers; but he had no doubt of their willingness so to do for the public good.

General *Gascoigne* felt himself called upon by what a right hon. colonel had stated with respect to raising men for rank. He called the right hon. gent. a "colonel," for though he had the local rank of general, his general rank was that of colonel—

General *Maitland* rose to order. He said, he was in the judgment of the house whether it was consistent with parliamentary usage, or order, for an hon. member in his speech to step directly out of the subject before the house, to make a personal attack upon another member, with a view to degrade him. It was wholly irrelevant to the question, whether he was a brigadier-general or a plain colonel, except for the direct purposes of personality.

General *Gascoigne* was proceeding to explain, but in a way that induced the chair to call him to order. He then proceeded to say, that the mode of recruiting for rank, with the recommendation of which the hon. general sat out, had already been practised under General Conway, under Lord Amherst, and lastly, under our present illustrious commander in chief, and had been productive of very bad consequences, such as forbad its continuance; and, in fact, all endeavours had been tried to bring back the business of recruiting for the army to its pristine state before Lord Amherst's day, without effect. He therefore must presume the hon. general had some new and secret mode to propose for rendering effectual the project he had so warmly panegyrised. It had been said the present bill was ineffectual, because it was but one step towards the great end desired; but would those who thus argued take two steps at once, instead of letting one be succeeded by the other? If this did not promise all they looked for, another might follow to answer their expectation. With respect to the measure of raising men for rank, under limited bounties, he conceived it wholly impracticable; for though the person recruiting on that principle did not, by his own act, exceed the limit of bounty prescribed for him, yet what was to hinder his serjeant or his friends from advancing ten guineas a man to expedite his quota? It would be no more possible to prevent such things in this case, than bribery at an election; but he was convinced the measure now before the house could have no such effect. The parishes could have but one object, namely, to raise the men as cheap as possible. With respect to the boasted operation of the former army of reserve bill in recruiting the line, he was convinced that the latter service had received no greater addition through that means, than it would have obtained in the ordinary course, if no army of reserve had existed. The present bill he warmly approved in all its principles, and was fully convinced it was calculated to effect all those desirable purposes in which the preceding measures had failed.

Mr. *Ellison* strongly objected to the bill, as being in its nature unjust, unconstitutional, and oppressive. He had formerly supported the bill of his right hon. friend (Mr. Yorke), against which this bill was now brought in. When that right hon. gent.'s measures of national defence were objected to as being inefficient, he thought the country had a right to expect better; whereas, in comparison with that measure, the present bill he considered as weak and inefficient. It held out a promise to our ear, but broke it to our hope. It abandoned the method of ballot, on which the country had hitherto proceeded, and threw off 20,000 of the supplementary militia, who might have been laid hold of at once in aid of the national defence. He meant no reflection on the volunteers at large, when he expressed his belief that many had entered among that body for fear of being drawn by ballot. Now this being removed, he feared would greatly tend to diminish the volunteer force. The bill now under consideration professed to get men, but he was of opinion that money was the object. It called into its aid the machinery of deputy lieutenants and parish officers, who were thus put into situations to render them unpopular, and disliked among their neighbours. Nor would it be found possible for parishes, in agricultural parts of the country, to procure their stipulated quotas of men. Was this, then, a method to be resorted to which could be justified? The county of Lincoln, in which he resided, would, upon a calculation, have to raise 50,000l. by way of fine, which was, in fact, a direct double land-tax on the landed property of the country; and he believed he was right in calculating that it would raise the sum of 1,500,000l. on the landed interest of the several counties of England. This plan was no other than a round about way of increasing the land-tax. These were facts which, he trusted, would have more weight with the house than flourishes of rhetoric. The bill went to impose a heavy duty upon the deputy lieutenants and parish officers. It would harass them, and put them to the greatest inconvenience, whilst it would, at the same time, put the whole country out of humour, and go to raise a standing army, and convert civil officers into recruiting officers. Its effect would be that of levying heavy fines on the several country parishes, and the landed interest of the country. In every view he was led to take of this measure, he was determined to give it his decided opposition.

Colonel *Mitford* objected also to the bill, on account of the task which it imposed upon the deputy lieutenants and parish officers. He could not help entertaining apprehensions that it might be found absolutely necessary for govt. to send officers, paid on purpose, into every subdivision of England, to do the business which is now required of the parish officers; who are to receive no salary for their extraordinary services, and who cannot be expected to devote any considerable portion of their time in addition to their private and parochial concerns to such a business. Viewing the measure in this point of view, it became with him a serious consideration, as he wished the house to consider whether its tendency might not be to produce some alarming alteration in the constitution.—He concluded with declaring his opposition to the bill, as a measure that went to establish a permanent force, with all the danger to the constitution of a standing army, without the protection which a standing army would afford; and he particularly objected to it as doing away the militia of the country.

Mr. *Somers Cocks* observed, that upon a review of the conduct of the last administration, he could not help pronouncing upon them, that they had not that energy which was requisite in the present state of the country. Upon that ground he wished for the secession of those who composed it: and there was no man to whom he looked forward with greater confidence than to the right hon. gent. who was now at the head of public affairs. Though he was disappointed with regard to the administration that right hon. gent. had formed, yet his inclination, from old habits, and the opinion he entertained of his zeal, ability, and wisdom, induced him to approve any measure that came recommended by him. Upon this ground he had voted for the present bill in its two first stages. He had, however, hesitated upon the subject of the plan it contained; and now, upon a thorough consideration of the bill, he declared it did not appear to his mind efficient. It was fraught with difficulties, and fell so short of that energy and vigour which he had expected from it in the first instance, that he could no longer give it his support. He doubted very much whether the bill would succeed in raising the large number of men it professed to raise; and with respect to its preventing competition, he was convinced it would not have that effect, but a contrary. True it was, it went to abolish the ballot. He had certainly seen the hardships of that system, and had pitied them; but if the state of the country was such, that, with a view to its existence, we must have recourse to compulsion, he thought these hardships ought not to have any weight. Compulsion by ballot he considered preferable to the plan of this bill. By ballot there was an equal chance whether the lot fell on A. or B. but there was no possibility of the whole of a parish feeling the inconvenience of the present measure. The right hon. gent. must excuse him for saying, that, with all his experience and wisdom, if there was one point on which he was less informed than another, it was with reference to the internal interests of the country. If the bill would not raise the men but the money merely, it would be nothing more or less than a heavy tax. It was not a direct land-tax, but, pretending to be one thing, it was another. He did not think the landed interest had been supported as it ought to have been. He argued that this bill would be productive of considerable injury to the volunteer system, by destroying those exemptions, which he entertained no doubt had influenced a considerable number of persons who formed part of the immense force to which the country was so much indebted.

Mr. Serjeant *Best* observed, that the measure was, in his opinion, inefficient to its professed object, and so pregnant with mischief, that it was impossible to support it. An hon. general (Gascoigne) had stated, that the opposition to the measure had arisen not from objections to it, but from a desire to oppose the persons who had brought it forward. He had desired to answer that hon. gent. but what had fallen from the hon. member who had spoken last had rendered any answer then unnecessary.—It appeared to him that the measure before the house militated against a fundamental maxim of the constitution, a maxim which had been held sacred since the revolution, a maxim which had been hitherto annually sanctioned by a vote of parliament, in the passing of the mutiny bill. He confessed, when he considered the title of this bill; when he read the preamble and the first clause of this bill, he considered it impossible, until assured by the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, to suppose that the force was not to be permanently kept up in time of peace. The preamble stated, that it was essential that a considerable permanent force should be raised; and the learned member argued, that no conclusion could be drawn from that, of its being to be laid asleep during peace, as well as that the establishment of such a permanent force as 74,000 men, to be completely under the power of the crown, without the control of parliament, would be an infringement of the bill of rights, the provisions of which against a standing army were annually voted in the mutiny bill. He had heard it stated in answer to this objection, that the mutiny bill, which was passed annually, would give the parliament a control over this force; but if even that were to be the case, it would not do away his objections to the present measure. The mutiny bill only applied to the constitution of the regular force, whereas the militia was raised under laws independent of it, as this should also be raised, if ever the bill should pass into a law. This was not a nominal but an essential difference which had been noticed by the ablest writers on the subject. The parliament could put an end to any other force, but this could not be reduced but by the consent of the three branches of the legislature, and it was to be raised in a manner contradictory to all the usages and laws of our ancestors.—Another objection was, that the measure was to raise a permanent force, entirely at the disposal of the crown, and to diminish that constitutional force which was intended as a counterpoise for the standing army. It should be recollected, that two years ago the militia had been augmented by 30,000 men, for which he thought the country was indebted to the ministers of that period; and in the preamble of the bill for that purpose it had been stated, that it was essential to raise a large militia force, officered by men of property, independent of the governement. This bill had passed in 1802, and after that short period, they were called upon to undo what they had then solemnly sanctioned, and to deliver over to the government a large standing army, of which their ancestors had always shewn the most scrupulous jealousy. This measure had passed while the right hon. gent. was a member of the house, while he attended in his place and gave his sanction to it. He asked whether regular officers could be procured for the immense force now proposed to be raised? It had been found impracticable to procure them for the reserve. The only distinction between the officers of this force and of the militia appeared to him to be that they would have half pay, whilst the militia officers would not. No person could hesitate which to prefer, because there were many disadvantages attending this force, from which the militia was free, whilst the latter possessed every advantage derived from the former. There appeared to him no good ground of policy to reduce the constitutional force of the country, in order to raise a force of a very different description in its room. If the bill were even efficient to its object, it appeared to him pregnant with mischief. Its object was to raise a greater force than could be obtained by the regular recruiting; but how was that to be done? The army of reserve was intended to raise a force of 50,000 of which about 9000 were deficient, and when a mode of raising the men of more strength had failed of procuring them, what probability was there that one of less vigour would be successful? The reserve act possessed every thing the present measure did, because in case the substitute was not found, it imposed a penalty, and something more, because by the ballot it afforded the chance of obtaining personal service, so that it was absurd to expect from a measure of less power, what the reserve act, with greater strength, had failed to effect. If the fine and ballot had failed, the penalty alone could not succeed, and the same reason that had prevented the army of reserve act from being fully efficient would interfere with the present measure, he meant the intolerable fines. The learned member then adverted to the accumulation of fines that had taken place in the county of Surry to the amount of 20 000l under the army of reserve act. If the bill were to pass into a law, there would be applications from all parts of the country, before 12 months, to repeal it. He then ridiculed the idea of employing churchwardens and parish officers in recruiting. If gentlemen of rank were to be employed, their rank and character might give them influence, and men would be disposed to enlist with those who would lead them into service. No such influence could be expected in the case of the parish officers, with whom men would not be inclined to engage; because no persons would be disposed to enlist with men who would not accompany them into danger. The parish officers would be merely crimp serjeants or decoy ducks, to inveigle them into the service. They could have no influence, therefore, but from the abuse of their power, by persuading the young, in consideration of their parents being likely to become chargeable to the parish, to engage in the service. The learned member contended that it was human nature to err on the side of interest. He concluded by declaring, that there was only one clause in the bill in which he agreed, and that was the clause which allowed them to repeal it during the present session. He was confident, that if, as the hon. general had observed, the motives of objection to the measure had arisen from a desire to oppose those who had brought it forward, that could not be done more effectually than by suffering it to pass into a law, and if their continuance in office were to depend on the duration of the bill, that they could not hold their situations long.

Earl *Temple* said, that the bill in question seemed to him neither to provide for future, nor guard against present, dangers. An hon. gent. had, on a former occasion, proposed a committee of the whole house to consider of the force of the country, and he remembered well the zeal with which some gentlemen had opposed it. None of the measures now proposed contradicted the arguments that were then used, yet some gentlemen now thought proper to support plans similar to those which they had formerly opposed. There appeared to be a comfortable system of morality with some people, in supporting of schemes, from an idea that the present was always the best. He supposed the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) fancied he was, as it were, redeeming a pledge, by rescuing the country from those persons under whose hands it could not prosper, and with some of whom, however, he was now contented to act. It only remained for the house to consider what the measure was. He, for his part, could not hesitate in asserting that it was both oppressive and unconstitutional. It was in the first place founded upon the militia system, which was a much more effective and constitutional force. He remembered well the eagerness with which the right hon gent. deprecated the army of reserve act; and he also remembered, when he recalled to the recollection of the house, the period when the militia was first established; and that it was during the campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, when our continental connexions were greater than ever. The right hon. gent. formerly spoke in favour of the militia, the very system which he was intending to reduce. He (Lord T.) objected to the bill, on account of its tendency to diminish the real and constitutional force of the country, and also because it went to the complete abolition of the system of ballot. One of the great recommendations of the system of balloting was, that it produced a kind of stimulus upon the man balloted to provide a substitute, if he did not chuse to serve personally. In this bill, however, there was no stimulus afforded to the men to enter, because it was their interest to lay by and refuse all temptations as to the low bounties, in order that they may get the higher ones after the parishes have agreed to pay a fine. By those means the competition was greater than ever. It was a competition created by the bill itself, which prevented its own execution. There was no stimulus to parish officers to obtain the men, while at the same time there was a competition raised betwixt them and the regular recruiting officers. He could not conceive why it was necessary to go this round-about way to work in order to procure regular soldiers, who could be procured more easily by the ordinary modes of recruiting. It was, besides, an indirect tax upon land, which was to be levied by the same means as other taxes. It was completely nugatory, and seemed to have every disadvantage of the former laws, without any of their good qualities. The militia were officered by persons intimately connected with the country, but the case would be widely different in the present instance. He was not at all inclined to commit such a large portion of power into the hands of the crown. Some might deem it ungracious to make any allusions to abuses of power, but he would not have thought it necessary to do so, had he seen this bill intended to provide only for present difficulties, and to cease when these difficulties ended. Deviations from the constitutional forms ought to cease when the dangers were at an end.

Mr. *Canning* said, that perceiving there was a disposition in the house rather to evince their opinions by their votes than by speaking, he should have been unwilling to trouble them upon the present occasion; but as he not yet spoken respecting the present measure, he wished to deliver his sentiments upon the subject. If he had been willing to use any argument of deprecation, it would have been that this measure had never been fairly considered with respect to the objects which it had in view, but had been referred to some imaginary standard of excellence, which no gent. had described, but respecting which so many various opinions had been given, that the opponents of the bill differed more amongst themselves than with its supporters. It had been said that his right hon. friend had brought forward a measure unworthy of his great name and character, as if he could recruit at will without any impediment or obstacle whatever. Was this a fair way of arguing? ought they not rather to look whether his right hon. friend had used the best possible means to accomplish that which all agreed to be necessary? A right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) had expressed his opinion that all our present military establishments ought to be done away, with a view to have a clear stage, and to erect something upon the ruins of what they had overturned; others were of opinion that the regular force ought not to be increased. He admitted that these two classes must necessarily divide together against the bill, but he should wonder much if they did not quarrel in the lobby. His right hon. friend, when he came into office, found that the ballot had done as much as it could; he found the regular army too small, and the militia larger in extent than was fairly compatible with the means of the country; he found a force in some measure of the quality of militia, and experience had shewn that the principle of raising this force might be applied to the recruiting for the regular army; this became the object of his right hon. friend, and these his means. If his right hon. friend had only made the greater force applicable to general service, and the smaller to a limited service, and if he had done no more, he would still have done much, and would have redeemed the pledge which he had given. The next charge against his right hon. friend was, that there was nothing grand or striking about the plan. In answer to this he would only observe, that if gentlemen had conceived a great, and perhaps impracticable measure, the plan of which they did not state, they had no reason to complain if the measure proposed did not come up to their ideas. The present, contrasted with the former plan, appeared to every advantage, He admitted, at the same time, that those who voted for the former, upon first hearing it, were not bound to vote for the subsequent alteration. The ballot was done away, and now, for the first time, the poor deceased ballot had found its panegyrists. With respect to a competition against the recruiting for the regular army, what remedy was proposed on the other side? Only one, by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), who said that they did best when they did nothing; that they need only strip away the impediments from recruiting, and it would go on. To this he answered, that the plan of his right hon. friend came in the second resort to that of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham); his right hon. friend had not been prepared to say that men could be procured in the parishes, he only wished to try the experiment, and if they could not be found, then the fines would create a recruiting fund at the disposal of government, which would come exactly to the plan of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham), who wished for such a fund to be placed at the disposal of government, and for the recruiting to be carried on by officers appointed by the crown, which would then be the case, with a bounty to be given both for limited and unlimited service. The next point, relating to the parish officers, had been so much argued that he should say very little about it; he should only remark, that those who denied the eligibility of making parish officers recruiting officers extolled the exploded system of crimps, and recurred to the equally exploded idea of ballot. The objection that this measure was compulsory, had been very ill supported. It had been argued, that it would be a fraud upon the men, and their parents and relations, to inlist them first for limited service, with a view of afterwards inducing them to enter for general service. He could not, however, see any distinction in this respect between limited time and limited space. If a man was inlisted for service in Great Britain and Ireland, Guernsey and Jersey, and was afterwards induced to enter into the regular service for unlimited space, where was the distinction between him and one inlisted for a limited time, but for unlimited space; and who, perhaps, in the West-Indies, might be persuaded to extend that period of service to an unlimited extent? He did not say that both modes might not be wrong, or that both might not be right, but one could not be wrong and the other right; and if one was a fraud, the other was equally so.—The next objection he should notice, related to the burdens upon the parishes; but it would be but fair to state, as a set off, the burden from which the parishes were relieved. When he saw, in many instances, an accumulated fine of 80l. incurred to government, from some parishes, he could not conceive that to substitute 20l. for that could be considered as a burden. Added to this, those who had witnessed the distress and misery to which the ballot had, in repeated instances, given rise, could not, he conceived, be adverse to the abolition of that system. The most extraordinary argument, however, which he had heard stated against the measure was, that by relieving the parishes from the burden of the ballot, they would do a gross injustice to the volunteers, and that, by doing away the ballot they would take from the volunteers the principal motive for their patriotic services, which necessarily supposed that the principal inducement for the volunteers to continue together was, that they might witness the vexation and distress experienced by their neighbours. That such an argument was of no avail, was evident from the consideration that the exemptions were not attached to the volunteers until long after the voluntary spirit of the country had risen to its utmost height; that those exemptions were never intended to be given, nor were they ever expected, or looked for; that they were at last given by mistake, and were a complete surprize both upon the house and upon the volunteers, and it would be a most extraordinary argument to say, that the taking away of such a kind of boon would tend to lessen the number of volunteers. The next objection was, as to the burdens imposed upon the country. He should not here be told, he imagined, that there was a question between burden and no burden; but if, as he contended, we should at all events, even in case of peace, require a larger military establishment, and a greater military force under the present circumstances of Europe, the question was not whether they would bear the burden, but how to render it least onerous? He would ask his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) how he would provide for the increase of our military establishment, in conformity with that right hon. gentleman's opinions, so often declared? He would, no doubt, vote for increasing the regular standing army; if so, he would refer him to the learned serjeant (Best), who had quoted black letter authorities, and brought forward a circulating library of law to prove, that such a measure was highly unconstitutional; but perhaps they might settle the point in the lobby, and agree to-morrow. Did he mean that a large standing army should be kept up during peace? If he disbanded it there was an end of it, whilst in the former case it would be highly unconstitutional. It was evident something must be done to provide a permanent force against a period of peace, and the present measure he contended was practically the best calculated for that purpose.—He should now advert to another subject highly interesting at the present moment, but upon which he should not detain the house long. He saw no objection to a struggle in parliament to discover whether the servants of the crown were intitled to its confidence; but it was very extraordinary that a number of gentlemen should unite against a government which was scarcely yet in existence. He fairly and candidly avowed that he gave the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Addington) credit for the systematic opposition which he had commenced against his majesty's government the moment he had left his majesty's councils; he was glad to see an inefficient administration atoned for by a vigorous opposition. And here he wished to take notice of an expression made use of by a noble lord (Temple), as if his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) had been a mere accession to the former ministry, without any change having taken place. He should content himself with vindicating his own consistency: he had objected to the administration of foreign affairs, and that had been changed; he had objected to the naval administration, and that had been changed; he had objected to the military administration, and that had been changed; he had also objected to the general superintendance of the whole, and that had been changed. In objecting to the inefficiency of the late ministers, he had been joined by almost all those who were now in opposition. The noble lord had said, that the public were disappointed in the formation of the present administration; amongst that public, he candidly confessed, that no man was more disappointed than himself. He only expected equal candour on the other side; and he hoped that when they talked of exclusion and of proscription, they would object to the principle, and not to the application. He wished it had been otherwise. He had himself no object of personal ambition; but when his right hon. friend though he could gain assistance from him, he did not feel inclined to relinquish the part he was called on to act, because it was an arduous one.

Mr. *Bragge Bathurst* felt it his duty to say a few words in the absence of a right hon. friend of his (Mr. Addington) to whom the right hon. gentleman, who had last spoken, had made some very pointed allusions. He did not expect that any thing could have occurred in the course of the debate, which would have placed him under the necessity of troubling the house; but the observations of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Canning) were so decidedly directed against those honourable persons with whom it was his pride to have co-operated, that he thought it was but doing justice to them, and to himself, to assert, that neither they nor he had ever given a factious opposition to his majesty's government. Some of the respectable persons to whom he had with such peculiar delicacy alluded as being totally unqualified for the situations they occupied, would, perhaps, be unable to answer the observations of the right hon. gentleman. He could not comprehend that singularity of sentiment by which the right hon. gent. seemed to be influenced; but he could not help recollecting that the introduction of that right hon. gent. to public life, and eventually to the exalted situation to which he was lately elevated, was principally to be ascribed to the early friendship of the noble lord (Hawkesbury) who lately filled the office of secretary of state for the foreign department.—He rose with the intention of adverting to what that right hon. gentleman had thrown out respecting his right hon. friend (Mr. Addington); but when he reflected that the object of his speech was to conciliate gentlemen on the other side of the house; when he heard the mitigated and desponding tone in which he expressed himself, he felt some compassion for the right hon. gentleman's situation, and a disinclination to repel his charge in the manner it deserved. What right, he would ask, had that rt. hon. gentleman to charge the conduct of his right hon. friend as a decided system of opposition? By what title did he exclaim against all fair consideration of the measure now before them, as originating in a determination to give an unqualified opposition to the measures of his majesty's government? If the measure had come from a new and untried administration, as it was said, it would be fair to try it on its own merits; but when it is not brought forward with either the advantages or disadvantages of novelty, but as a measure which it is proposed to compare and prefer to another, surely it would not be irregular in those who supported that plan with which it was to be contrasted, to enter into a rigid examination of it, in the hope of discovering some inferiority in it to that which they had proposed. Although he was not disposed to enter captiously or contentiously into a discussion of the present bill, yet he was persuaded the house would feel that he had some title to do so, if he were so inclined. The right hon. gentleman had truly stated the question before the house to be between a measure of a former administration and the present plan. He could not view the bill before them in any better light than as a mere reduction of the militia, and by which the country surrendered an efficient force, for the probable chance of raising, at a distant period, another description of force which might possibly be applicable to less limited service. The right hon. gentleman had been pleased to expend much of his wit in endeavouring to depreciate the merit of the measure which he had formerly introduced, and which was still before the house, professing himself incapable of comprehending the principles upon which it was founded. He would neither take up the time of the house in defending that measure, nor in explaining the principles upon which he had acted, of which the right hon gentleman seemed to have a very imperfect notion. With respect to the imputations which had been thrown out against his right hon. friend, the late chancellor of the exchequer, he should only say that the integrity and manliness of his character warranted him to declare in his absence, that he never would be found to enter into any opposition that was not dictated by an imperious sense of public duty.

Lord *Henry Petty* observed, that the right hon. gent. who had spoken last but one (Mr. Canning), had complained that all those who had opposed the present plan had set up in their own minds some imaginary standard to which they wished either to raise up or to bring down all projects for providing for the national defence, and that they rejected whatever did not minutely agree with that standard. He must confess that, generally speaking, he should, in some measure, fall under that censure, for he had also his standard by which he wished to try it, and that was neither more nor less than its practicability. He much doubted whether a considerable, or, indeed, any force, could be procured within any reasonable time, by the operation of the present bill, if it should pass into a law. In a financial view, his objections were even more decided against it, for as a tax, he was persuaded it would be found both partial, oppressive, and unconstitutional. The question was not now whether we were to submit to an extended scheme of taxation, but whether we were to have equal and unequal burthens. He would contend that the operation of the bill before them would prove exceedingly unequal, and that some parishes would be nearly crushed by it, while others would scarcely feel any effect from it. In populous neighbourhoods, where wages were high, the consequence of a great demand for labour, it would be impossible to raise men, and those parishes must of necessity incur the penalty, which would be an additional burthen to those that the natural operation of the laws, from local circumstances, unavoidably subjected them to. The clause for creating second battalions had a tendency, in his view of the subject, to narrow, instead of widening the means of introduction to the army. He could compare it to no other measure but the quota act, in which, as it was said by a right hon. gent. (Mr. Addington), an assertion which he had never heard yet contradicted, the very worst description of the population of the country had been enlisted. He saw both danger and risk in the bill before them, and would consequently give it every opposition in his power.

Colonel *Craufurd* stated the objections which he had formerly urged against the bill, and maintained the superiority of his plan for recruiting the army over the one now submitted to the country.

Mr. *Lee* said it was immaterial to him by whom the plan was proposed. If the object of it was to provide for the defence of the country, it was a sufficient motive to induce him to give it his most cordial support: one great objection to the measure, as it appeared to him, when the general outline of it was first stated to the house, had been done away, namely, the principle of ballot; and, therefore, he thought it deserving of a fair trial. The hon. member defended the principles by which the late administration had been guided, and gave his concurrence to the bill, which he regarded as an improvement upon that originally proposed by them.

Mr. *Addington.*—Sir; I have hitherto abstained from troubling the house with my sentiments on the bill before you, partly from an earnest wish to hear the opinions of others, and principally to see whether it might not, in its progress through the house, have received such amendments as might have tended to improve it; although I had no expectation they would have removed the many great objections I have always entertained against it. My principal motive, Sir, for now addressing you, is to remove some misconstruction of what I said when this measure was first introduced. It has, I understand, been imputed to me, that I wished to defer to an undefined period, all measures for providing for our national defence. That no such sentiment was ever entertained by me, I require no better proof than a reference to a bill now on your table; a bill not defunct, as it has been stated, but to which it is within the competence of parliament to give vigour and operation to morrow. That bill was calculated to raise a large additional force, and by means, I flatter myself, more expeditious and less burthensome than any that the present measure can offer to the country. I trust, Sir, the house will excuse me in repelling that most unfounded charge, that I was willing to delay any measure for the defence of the country. Sir, the opinion which I then delivered did not deserve the imputation of a tendency to procrastinate all active exertion for the protection of the state. The grounds upon which I gave that opinion merited more gratitude than has been bestowed on them by those who profess to direct their political conduct by the best principles of the constitution. I never wished, Sir, to throw any delay in the way of the national defence; I only wished that a measure, which involved in itself great constitutional considerations, should stand over to another session. The grounds on which I proposed the suspension of the army of reserve act were, that it interfered with the regular recruiting service. We proposed to raise 18 battalions, of 1,000 men each; we proposed to augment the Irish militia to 10,000 men; we proposed to fill up the deficiencies in the militia of G. Britain: those were the measures which we had in contemplation, for maintaining the security of the country, and asserting our national rank in the scale of nations: and I leave it to the candour of the house, whether they deserve the imputation of a wish to delay any measure for the national defence. A right hon. gent. now at the head of his Majesty's councils, stated to the house, that it was necessary to create a great addition to our force, and he induced a great number of members to coincide with him, and to defer the suspension of that measure, from the effect of which we looked to a considerable accession to our disposable force. When he opened his plan, I understood that the practice of ballot was to have been persevered in; now I find that idea is abandoned, and I am therefore warranted in pronouncing, that the present measure has only commuted a principle of rigour for one of inefficiency. Sir, I do not mean to trespass much upon the indulgence of the house, but I owe it to those gentlemen who have honoured me with their support, to state why I prefer those measures in which they have coincided, to the present one. Notwithstanding all the mortifications that I have been subjected to, notwithstanding all the odium that some persons have endeavoured to throw on my efforts for the improvement of the national security, I have had the happiness of seeing and of hearing the house declare, that our military force was every way equal to our defence, and to meet the most desperate attempts of the enemy. That measure, so much decried, the army of reserve act, produced no less than 32,000 men; within the course of the last year we drew from our population no less than 200.000 for the supply of the army and navy, and with all this immense drain, there was, in the mean time, scarcely any deficiency in the regular recruiting. I say then, Sir, the experience of the last year has not constituted such a necessity as should induce this house to sanction a measure so unconstitutional and objectionable as that before you. The object of the present measure, as stated by the right hon. gent. embraces three points. It is proposed by it, to remove all difficulties in the way of recruiting, to provide for the deficiencies that have occurred, and to create a great disposable force. Sir, I am not one of those who, on every unimportant occasion, think it right to throw constitutional difficulties in the way of measures that may be proposed; but I must confess that the experience of the last 12 years has disposed me to look rather with a jealous eye on any measure that tends to create a great permanent force not directly under the control of parliament. I would draw as much military efficiency as I could from the country, but without creating such an alteration in our domestic habits as might by any possibility tend to endanger the constitution. We, Sir, possess a constitutional army, against any reduction of which I must express my disapprobation. I think, Sir, that army should always be commensurate with what is called the regular military force of the empire, and it was upon that principle the militia was increased to 72,000 men two years ago. This house, I think, should never forego this truly constitutional principle, which is at the same time the best safeguard of its independence, whether attacked by domestic treason or foreign hostility. I do not see any sound reason for not adhering to the principle of ballot as applicable to our militia force. By relinquishing it you give up 7,000 militia, without the certainty of raising a single man for general service. The proposal also of employing parish officers as recruiting serjeants, is in my mind not the least objectionable feature of the bill, as by it you endanger that harmony which it is to be desired may alway exist among the lower orders of the people. Nor do I think this mode of recruiting likely to be effectual, or successful among those who in the thoughtless hilarity of the moment at fairs and markets are sometimes induced to surrender themselves to a recruiting serjeant. No, Sir, they will lie by, as it is called, for the bounty; they will get as much as they can, they will first go into this probationary army, into those second battalions for the bounty of 12 guineas, and they will probably afterwards, perhaps to a considerable number, enlist into the regular battalions for the farther bounty of ten guineas. I must confess that with every disposition on my part to give effect to every measure that has for its object the national defence, I cannot consider the present plan as one likely to be very efficient in that respect. For domestic defence I should prefer our national militia, and for foreign service I think it can bear no comparison with our regular army. It in my mind is so decidedly objectionable in a constitutional view, that I think there is scarcely an objection which has been ever urged against a permanent standing army, that it is not fully liable to. The supporters of the present plan are lavish in their praises of one great advantage, the mildness of its operation, which it possesses over a former measure. But, Sir, this is a lenitive quality which it has very lately acquired, for at its first introduction, the principle of ballot was predominant in it. I do not object to it on that account, for I, and those with whom I had the honour to act, from a conviction of the inefficacy of that austere measure, wished to suspend it. I always lamented the rigour of that measure, but it was justified by the necessity of the state, and the momentous crisis in which we were placed. I think it may be fairly urged against the present plan, that it creates in effect two bodies of militia; for this heterogeneous force, it seems, is to be called out in time of peace as regularly as the constitutional militia of the country.—I understand some comments have been made on my conduct by a right hon. gent. (Mr. Canning), during my temporary absence. To these I do not think it necessary for me to make any reply. I will make no professions; I know the motives by which my conduct has been governed; they satisfy myself, and they were such as obtained the approbation of this house. By those motives I shall be influenced in whatever share I may take in the discussion of such measures as may be proposed to us, and those motives have determined me to give my most decided and conscientious opposition to the present bill.

Mr. *Sheridan.*—Sir; to the arguments which have been urged in support of the measure before the house, the rt. hon. gent. who has just sat down has given such a full and fair reply, that I do not think it necessary to enter so fully into the subject as I had otherwise intended. The objections offered to this bill have been so forcibly maintained by that rt. hon. gent. and he has put the subject upon such clear and constitutional grounds, that I should decline troubling the house upon this occasion, if it were not for the observations of my rt. hon. friend (Mr. Canning), who has not confined himself to the bill under consideration, but has thought proper to introduce matter not strictly relevant, but yet of infinitely more importance than the bill itself; I mean my rt. hon. friend's allusion to the degree of confidence to which the present administration is entitled. My rt. hon. friend stated that he was not disposed to adulation towards his rt. hon. friend who sits near him (Mr. Pitt), and for whom, no doubt, he entertains the most sincere respect and regard. I hope he will do me the justice to think, that I am equally incapable of adulation towards my rt. hon. friend on the same bench with me (Mr. Fox). I certainly am no flatterer, although, in point of attachment to my rt. hon. friend, I will not yield to that which my rt. hon. friend on the opposite side can or does profess to feel for his rt. hon friend beside him; with this difference, however, on my part, that my attachment to my hon. friend on this side of the house is of a much longer standing—that it is the first, the strongest, and the only political attachment of my life. But my rt. hon. friend disclaims adulation towards his rt. hon. friend, and, indeed, he seems to me to have had no occasion to do so, for he certainly did not at all deal in it; on the contrary, he has taken occasion to pronounce upon the conduct of his rt. hon. friend one of the bitterest satires that could well be imagined. My rt. hon. friend expresses his surprise that we who oppose this bill can contrive to co-operate, and that we can avoid quarrelling when we get together in the lobby; but is it not equally, if not more, a matter of surprise, that he can avoid quarrelling with some of his friends near him, to whom he has been so very lately in decided opposition, and particularly with the noble lord (Castlereagh) who appears now to have determined which of the two "strings he should put to his bow." (see p. 312). If my rt. hon. friend will look at those about him he will find that the compliments and the censure which he meant for the rt. hon. gent. on the lower bench (Mr. Addington) were applicable also to some of his present connexions. Whatever praise or condemnation applies to the one, applies equally to the other, with this difference, that the compliment called forth by the retirement of the one from office, when the voice of parliament and the country called for it, is not deserved by the other, who still remains in power. Some part of the administration of the rt. hon. gent. on the lower bench I most cordially approved, and his intentions in every instance I respected, because I firmly believed them to be pure and honourable. I thought I saw in many prominent features of his administration, a regard for the rights and feelings of the community, and an attachment to the constitution of the country; and it gave me great pain to find, that in my support of that rt. hon. gent. I was compelled on several occasions to differ from my dearest friends. But I now say of that rt. hon. gent's. ministerial career, that his entering into office was a sacrifice; his going out a triumph. But did my rt. hon. friend, I would ask him, mean it as a compliment to the rt. hon. gent. that immediately upon his retirement from office, he started into an open, manly, and systematic opposition, or did he mean it as an indirect sarcasm upon the conduct of his rt. hon. friend? When the rt. hon. gent. went out of office, he gave no insidious promises of support. He did not take his seat immediately behind his successor, professing and pretending to protect him, by all the aids of his talents and his influence, and deserting him when his aid was most wanted. He did not, when direct accusations, and threatened impeachments, and every other mode of determined opposition, was employed against him, he did not come down to the house, and offer him the shabby shelter of the previous question, which to have agreed to, would have conferred eternal disgrace on those who composed the leading part of the late administration. No, says my rt. hon. friend, that was not his conduct. He went at once into a fair, a manly, and an open opposition. Why then, Sir, what must we think of those who having experienced all this, have nevertheless become the supporters of the present arrangement, as it is called; who have not adopted this "fair, manly, open" system of opposition, which he affects to compliment; but have acted in a way directly contrary to what he has affected to panegyrize? Nothing, he says, in the rt. hon. gent's. ministerial capacity, was so becoming of him, as his leaving his situation. When that rt. hon. gent. found himself opposed by so formidable a minority in this house, he retired from the helm, for which he has my right hon. friend's unqualified eulogium. Why then, Sir, I am to expect, if he deserves such approbation for that conduct, in having taken the broad hint that was given him, that my rt. hon. friend will lose no time in advising the rt. hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Pitt) to pursue a similar line of conduct, and entitle himself equally to his high approbation. But what will he say of the 6 members of the last administration, who, instead of adopting the same noble plan of action, which would have given them a claim to his praise, have thought it more advisable to keep their places and stay in? If the one line of acting be so open, fair, and manly, surely the other must be, in my rt. hon. friend's opinion, equally mean, shabby, and unbecoming: but yet, without any explanation or justification of himself, he seems perfectly content to take an official situation, and act under them. But there is yet one consolation remaining. His praises are, beyond all doubt, sincere, and I hope he will, in a just regard to the consistency of his sentiments, give a similar hint to his rt. hon. friend, and shew to him also the prudence, and indeed the necessity of retiring. The last minister did retire when he found he had no greater a majority than 37; surely then, if it were necessary, or at least prudent, for him to give up in such circumstances, it must appear advisable for his rt. hon. friend to yield in his turn, when he can only count upon a majority of 28. I hope, therefore, that my rt. hon. friend will induce him to follow that noble, patriotic, and gallant example, and not dream of going on with a small, miserable, and pitiful majority, such as no minister can think an honour to him. Let him not persist in keeping his place, when he finds, and must deeply feel, that he has lost the confidence of the great interests of the country, and of the members of this house.—My rt. hon. friend has told the house that he, as much as any man in the kingdom, wished for the formation of an administration, on a broad and comprehensive scale. No man in the country, he says, was more disappointed than himself, in the failure of those hopes and wishes which he entertained upon that important subject. Sir, I believe him. I think he is sincere in that declaration, and every view I can take of public matters, tends to confirm me in that opinion; for when he considers what his rt. hon. friend once was, and what he now is, I am readily persuaded, that he must be inclined to entertain such wishes and hopes. He says, his rt. hon. friend has taken a situation in which there is much difficulty and danger. I believe that both he and his rt. hon. friend know and feel it; and I believe more, that his rt. hon. friend has no idea that this administration can, or that it ought to last; for they must be aware, that it is an arrangement which has excited discontent and complaint through every part of the country. It is, indeed, an arrangement of such a nature, that my rt. hon friend thinks it necessary to offer something in the shape of an apology for the part he has taken in it. My rt hon. friend has taken occasion in some degree to contrast his attachment to his rt. hon. friend at the head of the administration, with my attachment to my hon. friend beside me (M. Fox); but there is this difference between us, that I can never follow the same line as that which my rt. hon friend has done this night to excuse his acceptance of a high office. under the administration of his rt. hon. friend. I do not feel it necessary to enter into any justification of my attachment to my hon. friend; for although I do not find him holding one of the first offices in the govt., I see him surrounded with honour; although I do not find him leading a cabinet, I see him followed by all the rank and character, and population of the country. I see him restored to the friendship of those good and great men, from whom he ought never to have been separated. In a word, the public character of my hon. friend never stood upon a more exalted eminence than it does at present. My rt. hon friend, in the course of the justification which he has attempted for his conduct in co-operating with his rt. hon. friend, has dwelt a good deal upon the happy event of the removal of what he termed the late inefficient ministers; but my rt. hon. friend seemed to forget that that removal was far from being complete. To be sure, some of those, with whom my rt. hon. friend professed to have been dissatisfied, have been removed. He was dissatisfied with the conduct of the department for foreign affairs, and therefore out goes my Lord Hawkesbury: and here, Sir, with grief and vexation I perceive that that noble lord has put the seal to his own condemnation; that being charged with mismanagement and incapacity, he consents to be degraded in order to make room for another noble lord (Harrowby), who certainly has yet to prove his ability, and who has at least no experience to recommend him. But this alone was not enough to satisfy my rt. hon. friend and to reconcile him to the administration. He disliked the conduct of the admiralty, and therefore that silly, incapable person, Earl St. Vincent, is removed; and his place is filled by that most tried and experienced seaman, Lord Melville. The military department did not please him, and therefore that most military personage, Lord Camden, who, so far from being formerly considered a man eminently qualified for military affairs, was removed from the govt. of Ireland, in troublesome times, to make way for the Marquis Cornwallis, is now discovered to be the fittest person to preside over the war department, in the present important situation of the country. But, after all, there is another change, and that is one made in what my rt. hon. friend considers the great situation which regulates and directs all the rest; this change is made in favour of the rt. hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Pitt); and to that, as a matter of change, I have nothing to say. It must, however, be remembered by all, for it is not a very old affair, that the last administration was composed of ten members; now of these ten, six actually remain. My rt. hon. friend declares, in the warmth of his desires, for the prosperity of his friend's undertaking, that he wishes he had abler supporters. One would suppose that the discarded 4 were the unsound and rotten part of the ministry. But it happens rather oddly, that those 4 were the very portion of the last administration that were recommended to the support of this house, by the eloquent eulogiums of the rt. hon. gent. opposite; the other 6 he never mentioned. Lord Hawkesbury was "so eminently qualified for the foreign department," that he was matched with my hon. friend (Mr. Fox). The noble lord's qualifications have, however, as I suppose, yielded to the vast and superior acquirements of Lord Harrowby. Of Lord St. Vincent, "it was quite enough to *name* him; he was the glory of the British navy, and the terror of all our foes." But we have not yet heard of any praises upon any of the newly appointed successors of those noble persons. Perhaps the rt. hon. gent. has at last found out that his panegyrics are not exactly the best recommendations in the world. Considering the fate of his former recommendations, I should not be surprised to hear that a positive agreement had been entered into by the new ministers, that the rt. hon. gent. should not say a word about them. He has certainly shewn a great knowledge of human nature in his Dutch expedition; and an equal degree, perhaps, in avoiding the praises of his new colleagues. As he praised the 4 he has turned out, so ardently, he is undoubtedly entitled to some claims for modesty in saying nothing on that subject now. Those persons very probably said: "give us ribbands, give us places, give us titles; for God's sake, do any thing but give us your panegyric: if you praise us, both you and we shall be laughed at."—My rt. hon. friend has frequently said, "away with the cant of measures, give us men; as it was not the harness, but the horses which drew the carriage;" but I would ask my rt. hon. friend, what is to become of the harness and carriage with such horses as his rt. hon. friend has now engaged? There are six of them that are old, and six new. The former are part of that "slow paced, lumpish, aukward administration," upon which my rt. hon. friend so severely commented last session. They of course can be of no use, and so the 6 new nags will have to draw not only the carriage, but those 6 heavy cast-off blacks along with it. Now, if in such a situation my rt. hon. friend does not feel himself embarrassed, and anxious for the release of his rt. hon. friend and himself, he cannot have that feeling of dignity and solicitude for honourable reputation, I am willing to ascribe to him.—Among the arguments advanced by my rt. hon. friend in favour of the bill before the house, there were some which struck me to be very extraordinary indeed—[Here there was a short pause on the part of Mr. S., who had mislaid some papers, but which was relieved by his observing, that the gentlemen opposite would not be sorry that he had lost his notes.]—My rt. hon. friend says, that it is unfair to judge of this measure, merely as a measure to augment the army; but that we are to judge of it under all the circumstances that attend its introduction into this house. He says, here are all the volunteers, all the sea fencibles, all the militia, and all the other different descriptions of force which are already embodied, and there is not enough left of the population of the country, that are disposed or fitted for martial exercises, to recruit from, according to what the exigencies of the times, or the hopes of gentlemen may suggest. Now, Sir, before the rt. hon. gent. got into his present situation, he did not make any such allowances for his predecessors. He seemed to have no idea of that kind. He had agreed to all their various measures of public defence, and then he comes down to the house, and peremptorily demands new measures of vigour and efficacy, without the slightest possible allowance for any consideration of circumstances of any kind whatever. But now, says the rt. hon. gent., objections are raised, which spring only from warm imaginations respecting some prodigious matters of expectation, impossible to be realized. But, Sir, who created that expectation? Why, himself. He reviled the last ministry for not bringing forward something commensurate to the extent of our difficulties and dangers, and held himself forward as the possessor of plans sufficient to rescue us from all our evils. 'Oh,' says he, 'I shall just give you an outline of my scheme; but, when I get in, I will shew you what ought to be done. I'll give you the plan that is wanted to set you all right.' Why, Sir, we certainly did look with no small expectation, and with eager curiosity and anticipation, to see what was coming forward; to see what armed Minerva was to spring from the head of this political Jupiter; and not a little surprized, indeed, were we all, at the sight of this little puny ricketty bantling, who, after being sent to the parish nurse, will never have gristle nor bone enough to attain the age of manhood. Who *is* the man, Sir, that has disappointed the house and the country, but he who has been so vaunting and gigantic in promises, and so puny and miserable in performance?—The object of this bill is taxation. It is a farce to call it a bill to raise men. It is a bill to tax all the landed property of the country. It is a tax operating in the most unfair and ignoble manner. It goes to enforce confiscation, where there is no forfeiture, fines where there are no offences, punishments where no crimes are committed. But the rt. hon. gent. knows, as well as I can tell him, that such a measure as this will not succeed. Supposing, however, that the parishes were to raise the men in the manner now proposed by this bill—a most extraordinary supposition I admit—why, Sir, I believe the rt. hon. gent. would be much in the same situation as he was in the other morning, when he suddenly discovered that the principals who were drawn for the army of reserve bore but a small proportion to the number of substitutes. No man could be more surprised, or in a greater state of embarrassment than he, at such an unexpected event, I really believe. But what would he do in that case? He would call for the officers. But where would he, where could he, find 6 or 7,000 officers? He would be flurried and teazed by the unexpected success of his own scheme. But let us assume that his second battalion is complete and fully officered, the rancours between the two battalions would be curious enough. We well know, that there can be no discipline where the officers of a military corps have favours to ask or to expect of their men. If the men should be found tippling or wasting their time, they may make a tolerable excuse, that they are only doing their duty to gain over the second battalion. In fact, the bill might be fairly intituled, a bill for the better destruction of all military discipline. My rt. hon. friend below me (Mr. Windham) seems to think only of a large permanent regular army, as the means of defending this country against an invading enemy. Some recommend a limited time of service. For myself, Sir, I feel, upon a view of all the arguments, disposed both in favour of a service limited for time and limited in space. In sending troops, however, to the West Indies, I would send those only who might be considered as seasoned soldiers; not raw recruits, such as perished in the charnel house of Saint Domingo. With respect to the army, however, I wish to observe, that in my opinion men should be enlisted for that service, not only on terms limited as to time, but as to place. The latter regulation would tend to save the lives of many soldiers, while the policy of the former is so generally acknowledged, and has been so often discussed, that the surprise is, that ministers hesitate to act upon it. Upon this question, as to the augmentation of our regular army, I cannot forbear to say, that I always look upon such augmentation with jealousy, I would not risk the liberties of the country, by the enlargement of our standing army. If I were asked whether I would not rather trust our defence in the field against the attack of a foreign foe, to regular troops, I would immediately answer in the affirmative, still, however, keeping in view the compromise between difficulties, the necessity of securing our freedom against the influence and power of a large standing army. I would have our volunteers and militia aided by a due proportion of the regular army. The people of this country are competent to their own defence, and are ready to take the tone from those above them. They have a regard for the high station which freemen may be supposed to feel; they have none of the slavish attachment to clans, but they look up to their superiors, and I use this word in its liberal sense; they look up to you, their superiors, with confidence, because you do not look down on them with insult. Give, then, to such a people proper example and encouragement, and you will not have any occasion to look for a large standing army to defend your country. The people of England know the value of the objects for which they have to contend. They feel that, from the constitution of the society in which they live, there is nothing of honour, emolument, or wealth, which is not within the reach of a man of merit. The landlord, the shopkeeper, or mechanic must be sensible that he is contending not merely for what he possesses, but for every thing of importance the country contains; and I would call on the humblest peasant to put forth his endeavours in the national struggle to defend his son's title to the Great Seal of England. Acting upon this plan; employing proper means to animate the country, would render it unnecessary to hire an army to defend us or to resist any enemy. It is because I am satisfied of this fact, because I know that in this important conjuncture, which so strongly demands the valour of the brave, the vigour of the strong, the means of the wealthy, and the councils of the wise, we could obtain all that is requisite by operating judiciously upon the character of the people, that I object to the frequent call for an increase of our regular army, as I know that such increase must invest the executive govt. with a power dangerous to the existence of liberty. I object to it. I like an army of the people, because no people were ever found to commit a *felo de se* upon their own liberty; but I dislike a large standing army, because I never knew popular liberty in any state long to survive such an establishment. It is upon these grounds that I disapprove of the sentiments so often urged as to the augmentation of the regular army, and particularly by an officer (Col. Craufurd) whose information upon military subjects is no doubt entitled to the utmost respect; but whatever may be his information and experience upon military topics, if he had the ability of the Archduke Charles, until he shall look at the whole of the subject, until he shall examine it as a statesman, with a mixed attention to the rights of the people and the military defence of the country, I cannot defer to his opinions. With regard to the principle upon which the present administration is formed, I shall conclude with a few observations. The cause of the exclusion, which is so much and so justly complained of, we are all tolerable well able to conjecture; but it would be, I am aware, indecorous to describe it in this house. I know it would be unparliamentary to introduce into debate any particular allusion to this circumstance. Of the personage, however, to whom it refers, I cannot speak from any particular knowledge; but of him who is next in rank and consequence, I can say, that that Illustrious Personage, whose name I know my duty too well to mention, who stood forward at the commencement of the war, displaying a noble example of his wish to promote unanimity, to rally all parties round the standard of the country, entertains no political prejudice against any public man; though, God knows, he has had much to forgive. Far however from indulging resentment, I am sure that he would be forward to accept of the services of any political character who could contribute in this great crisis to the safety of the empire.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer.*—Sir, in the observations which I mean to offer to the house, I shall confine myself to the latter part of the speech of the hon. gent.; because, extricated from the variety of desultory remarks and extraneous matter which he has produced, it is the only part that comes at all near to the real question. I mean the view of the question, as it affects the constitution, the character, and genius of the country. Upon this subject, a great many doctrines have been broached, and many theories have been brought forward to dazzle the imagination. The hon. gent. who spoke last, has, in the most beautiful language, and that captivating style of eloquence peculiar to himself, laid it down as the privilege and prerogative of our happy constitution, and the characterestic quality of the genius and spirit of the nation, that the people can be blended and consolidated into a military mass, more fit for its protection than a regular standing army. Now this is the very principle for which every one of us has contended, the very system which we all wish to establish. We always admitted the zeal of the country, and applauded its noble and patriotic devotion. In these feelings we perfectly agree with the hon. gent.; but, much as we admire that military spirit and enthusiasm, few, I believe, would be inclined to push it to the extent which the hon. gent. wishes; for his argument, in its full latitude, is neither more nor less than this, that in the present state of Europe we are not to look up to a standing army. Now, Sir, without examining that position too minutely, I say, whatever may be the sufficiency of the spirit and courage of the mass of the people for their own protection, it is our duty, in justice to our country, to protect the spirit, to spare that courage, and, by the formation of a regular force, to save, as much as possible, the blood of those brave volunteers who have come forward with so much alacrity, and shewn themselves so ready to risque their lives in our defence. Now, in order to attain this end, I do not believe it will be supposed that we are to exclude a regular force from among the necessary means. If not, then, the question is only to what degree a regular force is to be maintained; and from hence two other questions necessarily arise: first, whether we have at present a standing army of sufficient strength, under all the circumstances in which we are placed? and, secondly, if we had not, whether the present measure is not the best mode that can be devised to supply the deficiency? As to the first question, it would be idle to argue it. Every gentleman who has spoken this night, as well the hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Sheridan), as the rt. hon. gent. on the floor (Mr. Addington), admits the necessity of farther exertions, not merely for the purpose of a general defence, nor the extension of our military system, in all possible ways which ingenuity might devise and contrive; but in the very line and course now recommended, and for the very specific and identical purpose of a regular army. If then the necessity of an increased regular force be admitted, I wish to know how the objection upon the ground of the constitution applies? A great part of the argument in favour of an armed mass was, that it added to the variety of our force; but this is in the very spirit of my plan, as it proposes to place all the leading and principal members of that force upon their proper and respective foundations. Now if we are to look to the keeping up of these different species of force, we must also look to what are to be their proper proportions. Some say the militia ought be raised to exact that extent which should make it a balance to the regular army. I disapprove of this view of the subject: the balance and the warfare to which I look, and by which I estimate, are, as it relates to the enemy, as it is more or less competent to resist the foe, and defend the country from the attack of the external foe, and not in relation to any equipoise between the regular and irregular force, or the policy of dividing and subdividing them, with a view to produce an equality. Of the militia, I will say, that its officers have conducted themselves in a manner as constitutional towards the country as its men have proved themselves vigorous and brave against the enemy; but if it be not a force as available as the regular army, what are you to do? Why, you are desired to carry it higher than its constitutional limits would admit. Some insinuate that I mean to reduce the militia below its constitutional principle; but the fact is, that though I wish to reduce it, yet still I mean to leave it higher than even those who complain of the reduction think, according to their own arguments, upon constitutional principles, it ought to stand. I only mean, that the excess shall be taken off, and applied to a more available force.—We are next told, that there is something in this measure that violates the bill of rights, so far as the same respects a standing army. According to the bill of rights, I have always understood, that to keep up a standing army in time of peace, without the consent of parliament, is contrary to law. This, I conceive, to be the principle of that bill. But how do I violate it by proposing to maintain a standing army in time of war, with the consent of parliament; an army, too, amenable to the mutiny-bill, and unobjectionable, I think, in many other respects, particularly after the clause which I moved this day, that it was not to remain embodied longer than 6 months after the signing of a definitive treaty of peace, and to be subject, while so embodied, to martial law? Such being the case, I give gentlemen all the benefit of the arguments derived from the bill of rights and the spirit and practice of our ancestors.—Now, Sir, in reference to the state of Europe, let us see how this measure operates upon our future safety. Unless we can be perfectly sure, and indeed I know not any degree of foresight and sagacity that should tempt us to suppose that it would not be folly and presumption to be sure; unless, I say, we can be perfectly sure, that at the end of the present war, and when that period shall arrive, we have no means to calculate or ascertain, we shall see Europe and France reduced to such a state, that we may return to our old system; unless we shut our eyes and are wilfully blind to our destruction, we may find ourselves obliged for years to make the country a more military nation than it has ever been before thought necessary. Now, if this be the case, there are only two ways by which it can be effected; either by laying the foundation of a large supply in peace that may be brought forward in a prepared state upon a sudden emergency, or by creating a large force which, though disembodied, when its services are not necessary, may be reproduced as occasion shall require. Those who look back to the public feeling at the commencement of the present war, cannot surely forget how desirable it would have been, had we attained that state at which we have only now arrived, after several months of anxiety and protracted danger. With this experience will you then have a regular force, which is only efficient while embodied, or a force which may be produced for the necessary occasion without the constitutional objection to a large regular army? Even the very persons who are jealous of a standing army in peace, recommend it in war; and the present measure is such as may be easily efficient when necessary, and facilitates the filling up of the regular force. Upon every ground of public safety and economy, it is particularly recommended to those who would have a large force in war, and a small one in peace. It is the means of a provisional force, which is attended with no expense in peace, and may in time of war be rapidly brought forward for the emergency.—A rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Addington) says, it is not wise to change the character, manners, and habits of the people. The general principle is right; but if it be necessary to have a large force, I ask, what is so little likely to interfere with the habits and manners of the people as the present measure, which establishes no permanent force, and only requires a month's exercise in the year? To hear him, one would suppose it would operate so great a change, that the plough was to stop, and the country was to be converted into a nation of Spartan soldiers, and yet the measure is neither more nor less than to raise by a milder mode that very number of men which the parliament thinks necessary, I mean 16,000 in England, and 3,000 in Ireland, being the amount of the present deficiency, and when that is completed, to raise annually a force of 12,000. Now, whether this is likely to produce a change in the genius and habits of the nation, I leave to the understanding of the house. As to the difficulty stated, of procuring a sufficient number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers for the number of men proposed to be raised, this certainly applied with equal force to the former plan, and, indeed, is essential to any mode of recruiting to any considerable extent the regular army; and, therefore, it amounts to nothing as a particular objection to this bill. If, as it is generally admitted, it is necessary to enlarge the army, it is surely right, in the present circumstances of the country, to begin that increase as soon as possible. Every experience under the army of reserve act shews that the present bill is likely to be successful, and attract men to enter, when they would have objections to do so for general service. Being once entered they will gradually become acquainted with the military life, and will, by a natural operation of causes, without any kind of deception, be the more readily induced to enter into the regular service. Without, however, attending, in the first instance, to its effect in recruiting the regular army, it will immediately have one beneficial consequence, namely, that of setting free a portion of the regulars nearly corresponding to the numbers raised, which are now locked up in defensive service. The next consequence will be, that by a slight and natural transition, great numbers will enter into the regular army, and constantly supply its wasting numbers. That it will be successful to its objects, the example of the army of reserve system holds out the best grounded hope. The plan promises to raise men more expeditiously than any other mode we are acquainted with; at the same time it is free from the evil consequence of high bounty incident to the army of reserve system, which induced many to desert from the regulars to enlist in the army of reserve, and then to desert again for the repetition of the bounty. This great and increasing evil, it is manifest, will be totally corrected by means of the regulations of the present plan, which diminishes, and renders fixed the bounty both for limited and unlimited service. From the first effect of a reduction of bounty it is natural to expect some check in the numbers recruited, but this circumstance will soon correct itself; and when the recollection of high bounties is worn away, the service will thrive as much with a diminished and fixed bounty, as it does at present with a higher and uncertain one. Be this, however, as it may, the house having already come to a resolution against high bounties, the experiment must be made. It is obvious they have no other choice, having once made up their minds that high and fluctuating bounties are to be diminished and rendered stationary. Against this diminution of bounty it is to be seen under this plan, what may be the inducement of limited service and local influence, the benefit of which I doubt not will fully counteract the evil otherwise to be apprehended from a decrease of bounty. This measure being already determined on by the house, I must take it for granted that there will be no objection to this plan on that account, but rather, on the contrary, that it will therefore meet with general approbation. It has, however, been said, that by striking out the ballot, I had destroyed the only effectual part of my own plan. I must, however, ask gentlemen gravely to consider the subject a little farther before they urge objections of that nature: whatever the plan was originally in my mind, the house has decidedly expressed its dissent, both to high bounties and ballot; so that however desirable either might be on general principles, yet, with respect to this measure, they are equally inadmissible; and therefore, though efficiency is desirable, it is only to be expected in proportion to the opportunity left us to make use of.—With respect to recruiting the army, let it be recollected, there were only four possible modes: 1st, the usual mode of recruiting for bounty by the officers of the regular service; 2d, recruiting by limited bounty and local influence, as pointed out by this plan; 3d, recruiting by ballot and compulsion, now generally exploded as an oppressive system; and 4th, recruiting by personal ballot, without the possibility of substitution, a mode yet more objectionable. In times of great emergency, this latter mode may doubtless be resorted to, but, in general, it has a rigour not suited to the habits and feelings of the country. Supposing, as is the case, that the first of these modes is not sufficiently productive, and a greater force is wanted, we must, of necessity, have recourse to the second, the third and fourth being, as has been shewn, of a nature not, at least in the first instance, to be resorted to. In adopting the second mode it is also evident, that the first, that of mere simple recruiting, remains wholly unmolested, and has a concurrent operation. Under the present plan we have all the benefit of what may be called regular recruiting; and add to that whatever may be obtained by the secondary mode. If any other plan equally productive, and as little objectionable, can be suggested, I can have no possible wish but to adopt it: none such, however, has been suggested, and, perhaps, it is not presuming too far to conclude, that none such can be found. According to the regulations as laid down in the provisions of this bill, the newly-adopted system with respect to the army of reserve bill, in no degree, interfere with the higher bounties left to the regular service.—Before I sit down, I shall say a few words with respect to the expectations which I have held out to the country. Gentlemen have said, that they have expected something from me very far beyond the present bill. I am not conscious that I ever encouraged the idea, that I had discovered some miraculous mode of providing for the defence of the country. I say this is the very measure of which I gave notice, except so far as it is improved by the omission of the ballot entirely, and the imposing the payment of the bounty upon the parish instead of the individual. Whether the measure be worthy of my situation I do not say, but that it is the identical measure which I held out, and taught the public to expect from me, I must contend. That there were other points within my contemplation I also admit, I mean in the naval department, with regard to the proper craft to be used in the narrow seas, and the means necessary to ensure a succession of ships to a proper extent. These subjects, however, as I said before, cannot be comprehended in the present bill, but it does not thence follow that they are neglected by his Majesty's ministers. There were other points I also admit, which were the subject of my observations before I came into office. If gentlemen will look back, they will see that I did propose a measure for our future defence; but that as to immediate defence, I considered that all that could be done was, to improve the discipline of force then subsisting. But has nothing been done since? I recommended originally, that the volunteers should be called out upon permanent duty. That system has been adopted; and not less than from 150,000 to 100,000 volunteers have been placed in that state for improving their discipline. Now I would appeal to every officer of experience, whether the result of this proceeding, by the improvement of their discipline, has not increased their strength more than if their number had been increased one-half? I will not therefore have it said, that administration have been wholly idle, and that nothing has been done for the defence of the country. That being the case, I know nothing on my part inconsistent with any rational expectation that the house, or any man who has attended to the notices I gave, could have formed. I am ready to have my measure decided by experience, and I am confident that every discussion will be beneficial to it, as it will place it more and more in its true light. Of the mode of opposition which it has experienced, I have a right to complain. There has been a disposition to draw into argument foreign topics, which divert the attention from the real subject, and in such hands as those of the hon. gent. who spoke last, may be productive of entertainment, and relieve the tediousness of debate by the brilliant display of wit which we have just witnessed. As to the argument, that the administration is not worthy of confidence, I am at a loss to conjecture upon what ground it rests. This, its first measure, surely cannot be the cause, for it looks to an object upon which all persons of all parties and all descriptions are agreed. There must then be something awkward or unfortunate in the manner of bringing it forward, if it be the cause of this loss of confidence. I confess this is a very delicate subject, and I know not well how to deliver myself upon it. But whatever opinion some people may entertain of the advantages of an administration formed on a broad basis, I am satisfied that the principle, that it is the prerogative of his Majesty to chuse his ministers, will not be denied. I am the more convinced of this, when I remember that some weeks ago the hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Fox) stated in this house, when it was thrown out as a matter of speculation, who were to be the new ministers, if the late ministry were obliged to retire, that it was not within the province of the house to take any notice of such a circumstance, and if it would have been unconstitutional to agitate such a topic before the removal of that ministry, it is equally unconstitutional to deny the King's prerogative as to selection in every instance; and is it reconcilable with any ideas of constitutional principle and of public duty, that when a ministry has been changed, their successors should be obstructed in their very first operations, by any combination founded upon any circumstances connected with the recent exercise of his Majesty's prerogative? It has been said, indeed, that I should take the hint to resign, which the proceedings of the house, on this question, have given; and the hon. gent. thus admits the object of the extraordinary zeal with which this bill has been contested; but I can assure him that the hint is not broad enough for me to take it. I am sanguine enough to believe that the bill will pass, and that it will pass with an increased majority. I am sanguine enough to hope, the opposition to the bill being now avowed, it will make its way through the house with an increased concurrence; if not, I shall lament the failure of a measure which I sincerely believe to be calculated to promote the public advantage. It is now obvious what are the motives for that zeal and perseverance that have animated the late contests, and have combined in one cry troops, who upon no other occasion could ever be made to speak the same language. I trust, at least, that the hon. gents. on the other side will not feel themselves under the necessity of questioning as to every individual object, the right of the King to chuse his minister. I have been at issue upon this point in former times, and I am now ready to maintain it as necessary to our free and as yet monarchical constitution. As to my sufficiency, or the sufficiency of those in office with me, it is not necessary to say a great deal upon that subject; but I am surprised at the language that has fallen from a noble lord (Temple). I think it a little singular that my acting in concert with a part of the late administration should be made a bar to the confidence of him and his friends. Does my noble relative think, that on this account, I have justly forfeited the confidence of him and of his friends? I do remember the time when, in the moment of his bitterest opposition to the hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) the noble lord and his friends were so partial to me, that they declared, that my admission to a share of the executive power would, in a considerable degree, remove their apprehensions of the public danger. I hope that since that time I have not, by concurring very frequently and acting very cordially with my noble relative and his friends, forfeited the good opinion they were then so partial as to express of me. I confess my surprise too, that after such public declarations concerning me, they so soon find themselves compelled to with-hold their services from the public, on account of the exclusion of an hon. gent. (Mr. Fox), with whom they have been so little accustomed to think or act in unison. Much has been said of the inefficiency of the members of the present cabinet. But is it to be said, that the present ministers are unequal to the duties of the stations they fill? With respect to the members of the present ministry, and who were members of the last, being liable to the charge of inconsistency, I cannot see that there is the least foundation for it. The present bill is better than that which it supersedes, and aiming at the same end by juster means, is fairly entitled to the support of those who supported the former bill. It is said, however, though not quite correctly, that the members of the last administration are a majority of the present. But what, if it were, would be the inference? There is no reason why those who sat in a former cabinet should not sit in this. I hope the present cabinet is not one in which there will always be a necessity of counting noses, and of coming to a vote upon every measure. When differences of opinion exist, there is room for mutual concession and accommodation where men agree in a general object. If this were not the case, how could any administration go on? far more an administration formed on the broad basis which some gentlemen consider so desirable? Were I to take the "broad hint" which has been given me; had that sort of administration been formed, the failure of which is represented as having struck such despair throughout the country, how could any measure have been carried in the cabinet among men who have had long and important differences, unless mutual accommodation and concession had taken place? It is said, however, that there has not been a sufficient change in the ministry. But, surely, the rt. hon. gent. below (Mr. Addington) must at least be satisfied that the change is sufficient, and that the present is really a new administration. And, notwithstanding all that has been said of it, I hold it to be substantial enough to answer the purposes for which it was formed. Many objections have been urged against it by the hon. gent. who spoke last, who has indulged himself in that vein of pleasantry and humour, for which he has most deservedly acquired so much celebrity, in comparing some of the members of the present administration with those whom they have succeeded in office, and has indulged himself particularly in contrasting Lord Melville with the Earl of St. Vincent. I should unquestionably think myself extremely wrong, were I to say that Lord Melville was as good a sailor, or understood how to work or fight a ship of war as well as Earl St. Vincent; but yet I can have no hesitation to say, that in my opinion, there is every reason to suppose that Lord Melville will make a better first lord of the admiralty; for experience has often forcibly shewn us, that it is by no means necessary that a first lord of the admiralty should be a naval character; and though it may not be fit to speak of myself, it surely will not be considered that it is no change that the office of first lord of the treasury, reckoned that which has a leading influence in the executive government, is now held by me. Few will doubt that a very real change has taken place. With respect to any differences of opinion which I may have had with the late administration, it will not be pretended that they were of such a nature as to prevent us from acting in the most cordial and satisfactory manner upon general affairs. For those my rt. hon. and noble friends I have uniformly entertained the utmost private friendship and esteem. With them I have thought and acted almost without interruption on every public question since our acquaintance commenced. Neither is there the slightest ground to imagine that another noble friend of mine (lord Hawkesbury), whom I have always loved and esteemed, is degraded by taking the home, instead of the foreign department; though I confess there were some parts of the foreign system which I did not approve, and of which it is not now necessary to say more. Those who know the fact know how far that change was from any motive that could infer degradation. Indeed, Sir, I cannot see with what view such a thing could be mentioned, unless it was for the purpose of sowing jealousies and dissentions among his Majesty's present ministers, and, as such, it deserves my severest animadversion.—If the present bill should be lost, I shall be sorry for it, because the house and the country will thereby lose a good measure; but the hon. gentlemen opposite will be much mistaken, if they think they will thereby be any thing the nearer getting rid of me. It is well known, and has ever been allowed to be one of the first and most established privileges and prerogatives of the crown, that his Majesty has a right to chuse and nominate his own ministers; and with that conviction on my mind, I shall not be deterred from bringing forward such measures as may be necessary in aid and support of the present bill, which I have no doubt will meet the approbation of a considerable majority, notwithstanding all the opposition it has met with from the hon. gent. on the opposite side of the house.

Mr. *Fox* then rose and spoke to the following effect:—Sir, I shall not at this late hour (four o'clock on Tuesday morning), and on a question which has been so often and so victoriously discussed, take up much of the time of the house in adverting to the topics which the rt. hon. the chancellor of the exchequer has thought proper to take up. In a discussion on a bill of this kind, I am not surprised there should be so great a difference of opinion. But in one of the arguments of the rt. hon. gent. with respect to these topics, he has said, that the mode which has been pursued to get rid of this bill, has been very personal. I can only say, Sir, that in every business that comes before this house, on whatever subject it may be, no one can be more averse to personalities than myself. I will ask him, and I think I can safely appeal to the house, whether, till he brought them forward, one single word was said on that subject? and whether they were not entirely owing to himself, and to the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Canning) sitting by him. Whatever may be the inclination of the rt. hon. gent. opposite me to enter on subjects of a personal nature, I can assure him that I do not feel the smallest inclination to follow his example; age has diminished my propensity to such contests, and instead of wishing to shew my prowess, I wish rather to shew my prudence. I can say,

> Lenit albescens animos capillus,
> Litium et rixæ cupidos protervæ,

although in other times, and in other circumstances of the country, the latter part of the quotation would have better suited my disposition,

> Non ego hoc ferrem, calidus juventâ,
> Consule Planco.

In addition to my disinclination to treat the subject in such a way on the present occasion, my principle would be to avoid it. I certainly have entertained the opinion ever since the commencement of the present war, that it would be of the greatest advantage to the country, if, forgetting all former animosities, it were possible to form an administration on a broad basis, combined of all parties, and uniting all those whom the country think proper to look up to. There are, however, one or two points of the rt. hon. gent.'s speech, on which I must beg leave to make a few observations. He says, that his Majesty is by his prerogative unquestionably entitled to choose and appoint his own ministers. This is a position which nobody is more inclined to recognize than myself. But how does it apply to his argument? He admits that it may be wise in the House of Commons so to conduct itself as to convince his Majesty that he ought to remove them. He has admitted it more than in words; he has admitted it in fact. I do not know what the rt. hon. gent. means by an opposition composed of such discordant materials, that there is scarcely a point on which they can agree. If I recollect rightly, there was a period when what he has said of my hon. friends would equally apply to himself. There was a period, and that at no very great distance, in which that rt. hon. gent. himself supported, and a time also quickly succeeding, in which he opposed the late administration. In the course of a few months, he supported, with the utmost warmth, all the military measures of the rt. hon. gent. his predecessor, and very soon afterwards he opposed the army of reserve suspension bill, in order to make way for the present measure, which he gave the house to understand would be found so much more efficient at the present important crisis.—To return, however, to the prerogative of the crown. If it be, which I do not deny, the prerogative of the King to choose his own ministers, it is equally the right and the duty of the House of Commons to judge of the capacity and the intentions of those ministers; and if they should be found deficient in the confidence of the House of Commons, and in the confidence of the country, such disapprobation is a strong and fair ground for the King to dismiss them. If ever there was an administration that was deficient of that confidence, I think I may fairly and justly say it is the administration now in office. When the rt. hon. gent. is attacked on the subject, he has no other answer to give, but "look at me," as if the whole administration were wrapped up in himself. He says, Lord Melville is likely to be a better first lord of the admiralty than Earl St. Vincent; and, after speaking with the greatest complacency of himself, and the two secretaries of state, he asks the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Addington) on the bench below him, whether he is not practically convinced that this is a new administration? If any one person was more disappointed at the formation of the new ministry than another, I should have thought that it was the rt. hon. gent. himself; it is what his friends give out for him. I should be sorry to give credit to the rumours which are abroad, and which go strongly to prove, that all his wishes centered in the object he has attained. But he has dealt harder with my friends on the lower bench. He says they wished to see him at the head of the government, and, provided that were the case, they should be happy. He then taunts them with refusing him their support in his new administration. Undoubtedly, Sir, he had a right to offer situations to whomsoever he pleased, and they as undoubtedly possessed the power of refusal; and if they thought that in an administration so formed they could do no good to the country, their refusal was meritorious. The rt. hon. gent. says, he thinks the opposition to the present bill extraordinary, and that it is dictated by a desire to give a hint to ministers to retire. On some principles of the bill, he says, the opposition totally differed, and then he asks, how they would have agreed, had they formed part of an administration? There, indeed, I cannot answer the rt. hon. gent. How far he might have insisted on any one or more parts of his bill, and how far he might have conceived that we ought implicitly to yield to his opinion and to his direction, I cannot pretend to say; but this I know, that an administration formed on a broad and comprehensive basis in times of danger, would be highly beneficial to the country, and that we should have entered into such an administration with the spirit of conciliation. The rt. hon. gent. says, we may give as many hints as we please; he will not take them; but I should be glad to know, if the House of Commons shews that it has no confidence in him, does he mean to say that he will not take the hint? Did he not give a hint to the rt. hon. gent. on the lower bench, his predecessor? If public rumours are not very much mistaken, there are some of the present administration who did advise their colleague to give way, when he saw the sense of the House of Commons was against his measures. I do not know who they were, but I hope they did not give the hint, in order that they might have "two strings to their bow" (see p. 312). The rt. hon. gent. pleased to say, that it would be absurd in the cabinet to be counting noses as we do in this house. I dare say, Sir, he is perfectly right; and if his intention was to form an administration where there will be no counting of noses, I believe he has completely succeeded. If, Sir, for our opposition to this bill, we are told that we are "a faction," we are told no more than the rt. hon. gent. himself was, a few hours before the late administration were turned out of office (see p. 342); and told, too, by that very noble lord (Hawkesbury) who has consented to accept the office of secretary of state for the home department, under the administration of the rt. hon. gent. The rt. hon. gent. has mentioned the change which has taken place in the secretaries of state with some exultation, and contends, that in such a proceeding there is no degradation. The rt. hon. gent. is most undoubtedly at liberty to form his own judgment on such a humiliation; I can only say that I totally differ from him in opinion.—Now, Sir, having made these few observations on a subject which it is my constant desire to avoid, I shall trouble the house with a few words on the bill itself; which, whatever the rt. hon. gent. may please to surmise, I declare to be the sole object of my opposition. After all that has been said of the army of reserve bill, the rt. hon. gent. must be perfectly aware that this bill cannot be agreeable. The right. hon. gent. has laid great stress on the clauses which he has introduced this day, by which 70,000 men are to be embodied during the war, and then disbanded at the peace, but registered, so that in case of any future war, they may be called on to serve again. I cannot help thinking that these clauses are a new thought, and not at all belonging to the present bill. This, I will venture to say, is by no means so good as a militia; for in that kind of force you know where to find the men. You look for the Yorkshire militia in Yorkshire, and the Kentish in the county of Kent. But where will you find this army? These battalions are to be composed of such a mixture of men from all parts of the kingdom, that you may have to look for the Yorkshire in Cornwall, and the Cornish in Lancashire. In short, there will be no knowing where to find them. The rt. hon. gent. says, is not my mode more likely to be efficient than any other system? I answer, no. It will not be so efficient either as the militia or the army of reserve. The mode of raising recruits by parish officers, I must severely condemn. The influence of parish officers can be attended with no further or other advantage in the raising recruits than what results from a system of terror and oppression, which cannot fail to be the case in such a system as the present, where persons are to be fined for not doing what it is impossible they should be able to do. Besides, fines are in themselves a species of punishment, and punishment ought never to attach to persons who have been guilty of no crime.—As a measure of finance, the public most assuredly have not gained by the present bill. I contend that there is the greatest inequality in a system of taxation by fine, such as this is. For instance, suppose I send my servant to market to buy a bushel of wheat, or any other grain, but I tell him, at the same time, that he must not, on any account, give more than half-a-crown for the bushel. "Half-a-crown, Sir," says the servant, "I cannot buy a bushel of wheat for that sum; it is worth 7 shillings a bushel, and no one will sell it for less." "No matter," say I; "you must give no more than half-a-crown, and if you do not buy it for that money, you shall be punished with a fine." In the same way will it exactly turn out with the recruits under this bill. Men will not enlist for the sum to which these parish recruiting officers are restricted, and then the parishes must be fined, which will prove as great a hardship as can well be conceived. The whole system is also very unequal, for it falls much heavier on the landholder than any other description of persons, and with the greatest inequality even on those. I see no reason why the mode of recruiting for the regular army advised by my rt. hon. friend (Mr. Windham), who has taken the lead on military subjects, in a manner so honourable to himself and so beneficial to the country. I say, I see no reason why that mode should not be tried. Why not enlist men for a limited time, or for limited service? I am one of those who are exceedingly sanguine of such a mode of recruiting the army. I have no doubt but such a trial would be attended with success. I can, however, see no possible advantage, but only the contrary, in enlisting men for a limited service, in order to seduce them afterwards into general service, which is to be the operation of the present bill, and from which I cannot see that any benefit can possibly be expected. Because the army of reserve could not do its service with the ballot, it is rashly presumed that this bill will effect the same purposes without the ballot; a mode of arguing, which militates expressly against the nature of things. For my own part, I voted for the suspension of the army of reserve bill, for the express purpose of giving this measure an opportunity of being fairly and fully discussed; and now that has taken place, I am convinced it is one of the most oppressive, as well as one of the most inefficient measures, that could well be devised, for the purposes it is intended to effect. Indeed, to speak of the absurdities of the bill in detail, would be ridiculous. I just now said that the bill would be found both inefficient and oppressive. But then comes the rt. hon. gent. with his famous dilemma. "How," says he, "do you make that out? How can my bill be oppressive and inefficient too." I say, Sir, the bill will occasion very considerable oppression without producing any considerable addition to your force. The bill appears to me, in every part of it, full of oppression and injustice, and tending to a more circuitous mode to recruit your regular army, than the plan proposed by my rt. hon. friend (Mr. Windham), and as such I must continue to give it my determined opposition.—Before I sit down, there is one observation which fell from the rt. hon. gent., upon which I cannot avoid saying a few words. The rt. hon. gentleman says, "if you throw out my bill, I shall be sorry; because you and the country will lose a good measure, but you will not thereby be the nearer getting rid of me." A more indecent and disrespectful expression from a minister to a house of commons I never heard. Is not this bill a bill of considerable detail, requiring the general consent and approbation of all ranks of the community? Is it possible, I ask, that this house can so far lose sight of its duty as to send a bill of such unexampled severity and oppression to be executed all over the country, contrary to the opinion of nearly one half of its members? Can such a bill be well executed by a country that disapproves of it? It must be allowed, that the bill, with all the influence of government, will be carried by only a very trifling majority. Under such circumstances it cannot be executed with that general good will and general consent by which only its operations can be rendered beneficial to the country.

After Mr. Fox sat down, General Norton endeavoured to say a few words in support of the bill, but the question being loudly called for, a division took place, when there appeared,

For engrossing the bill -	265
Against it - - - - -	223
Majority for the bill -	42

The bill was then ordered to be read a third time that afternoon.—Adjourned at half past four on Tuesday morning.

List of the Minority.

Adair, Robert
Adams, J.
Addington, Rt. Hon. H.
Andover, Lord
Andrews, M. P.
Anson, Thomas
Antonie, W. L.
Astley, Sir J.
Althorpe, Lord
Aubrey, Sir J.
Adams, C.
Babington, T.
Bagenel, W.
Baker, J.
Baker, P. W.
Bampfylde, Sir C.
Barcla., G.
Barclay, Sir Robert
Barham, J. F.
Baring, Sir F.
Barlow, F. W.
Bastard, E.
Benyon, R.
Berkeley, Hon. G.
Best, W. D.
Blackburne, J.
Bloxam, Sir M.
Bond, Rt. Hon. N.
Bouverie, Hon. Edw.
Bragge, Rt. Hon. C.
Brogden, Jas.
Brooke, C.
Brown, E. J.
Browne, H.
Buller, J.
Bunbury, Sir T. C.
Burdett, Sir F.
Byng, G.
Calcraft, John
Calvert, N.
Carew, R. P.
Carnegie, Sir D.
Cavendish, W.
Cavendish, Lord G.
Caulfield, Hon. H.
Chapman, Charles
Cockerill, C.
Coke, E.
Coke, Thomas Wm.
Combe, Harvey C.
Cooke, Bryan
Cornwall, Sir G.
Courtenay, John
Craufurd, Robt.
Creevey, T.
Cumming, G.
Curtis, Sir W.
Cocks, Hon. J. S.
Dallas, Robt.
Dickins, Francis
Dolben, Sir W.
Douglas, Marquis of
Dundas, C.
Dundas, Hon. Charles
Dundas, Hon. George
Dundas, Hon. Law.
Durand, J. H.
Elliot, W.
Ellison, Richard
Erskine, Hon. Thomas
Estcourt, T.
Eyre, A. H.
Fane, J.
Fellowes, Hon. N.
Fellowes, Robt.
Fitzgerald, Rt. Hon. J.
Fitzpatrick, Rt. Hon. R.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Foley, Hon. A.
Foljambe, F. F.
Folkes, Sir M.
Folkestone, Lord
Fonblanque, John
Fox, Hon. Charles James
Francis, Philip
Frederick, Sir John
Fuller, John
Geary, Sir W.
Giles, Daniel
Golding, E.
Graham, Sir J.
Grenfell, P.
Grenville, Rt. Hon. T.
Grey, Hon. Charles
Grimstone, Hon. W.
Hamilton, Ld. Arch.
Harrison, J.
Hawthorne, C.
Heathcote, Sir G.
Heathcote, J.
Hippisley, Sir John
Hobhouse, B.
Holland, Henry
Holland, Sir N.
Honywood, Sir J.
Howard, Henry
Hulkes, James
Hunce, W. H.
Hurst, Robt.
Hussey, W.
Hutchinson, Hon. H.
Jekyll, Joseph
Jervis, Thomas
Jervoise, C. J.
Johnstone, Geo
Jones, T. Tyrwhitt
Kensington, Lord
Ker, R. G.
King, Sir John D.
Kinnaird, Hon. Charles
Knox, Hon. G.
Ladbroke, Robt.
Lambton, Ralph
Langham, James
Langmead, Phillip
Langton, W. G.
Latouche, J.
Latouche, R.
Lawley, Sir R.
Lefevre, C. S.
Littleton, Sir R.
Lemon, J.
Lemon, Sir W.
Lloyd, James Martin
Loveden, E. L.
Lygon, Wm.
M'Mahon, John
Madocks, Wm. A.
Maitland, Rt. Hon. T.
Manners, J.
Markham, J.
Martin, James

Mellish, W.
Metcalfe, Sir T.
Middleton, W.
Milbanke, Sir R.
Milford, Lord
Mills, C.
Mills, G. G.
Milner, Sir W.
Mitford, W.
Moore, G. Peter
Moore, Peter
Morpeth, Lord
Morris, Edward
Mostyn, Sir Thomas
Newport, Sir John
Noel, Gerrard Noel
North, Dudley
Northey, W.
O'Brien, Sir Ed.
Orde, William
Osborne, Lord Francis
Ossulstone, Lord
Palk, Sir L.
Palmer, John
Patteson, John
Paxton, Sir W.
Peirce, Henry
Pelham, Hon. C. A.
Petty, Lord H.
Plumer, W.
Peirrepoint, Hon. C.
Pocock, George
Pole, Sir C Morice
Ponsonby, Rt. Hon. W.
Porchester, Lord
Poyntz, W. S.
Pulteney, Sir W.
Pytches, John
Raine, J.
Robarts, A.
Russell, Lord William
St. John, Hon. St. A.
Sargent, J.
Saville, C.
Sanderson, F.
Scudamore, John
Shaftoe, R. E. D.
Shakespeare, Arthur
Shelley, H.
Shelley, T.
Sheridan, R. B.
Shum, George
Sibthorpe, H.
Sinclair, Sir J.
Smith, Charles
Smith, Joshua
Smith, William
Somerville, Sir Mar.
Spencer, Lord Robt.
Stanley, Lord
Stanley, T.
Stewart, James
Stewart, Rt. Hon. Sir J.
Sullivan, J
Sullivan, R. J.
Symondes, Thos. P.
Talbot, Sir C.
Tarleton, B.
Taylor, C. W.
Temple, Earl
Thellusson, C.
Tierney, Rt. Hon. G.
Townshend, Lord John
Trowbridge, Sir T.
Tyrwhitt, Thomas
Vansittart, G.
Vansittart, N.
Walpole, Hon. George
Walpole, Hon. H.
Walsh, J. B.
Ward, Hon. J.
Watson, Hon. G.
Western, Charles C.
Wharton, John
Whitbread, Sam.
Wilkins, W.
Williams, Owen
Windham, Rt. Hon. W.
Winnington, Sir Ed.
Wynne, C.
Wynne, Sir W. W.
Young, Sir William

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 19, 1804.

MINUTES.]—The house, in a committee of privileges, heard evidence in support of the claim to the barony of Roos.—After some few observations from Lord Carleton, explanatory of the laws of marriage in Ireland, their lordships heard evidence in support of the petition of Mr Tighe, praying for a dissolution of his marriage with his now wife, on the score of adultery. The bill was afterwards read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Thursday.—The Aylesbury election bill went through a committee without any amendment, and was ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.—The bill to exempt British and Irish linens from the 4½ per cent. exportation duty, was read a first time.—The other bills on the table were passed in their respective stages.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 19, 1804.

MINUTES.]—Mr. Hardman presented a petition from several merchants and others in the county and town of Drogheda, against the report of the corn committee; Col. Vereker presented another of similar import from the inhabitants of the city of Limerick; and a third Mr. Hobhouse presented from the city of Glasgow. They were each ordered to lie on the table.—It was stated in a message from the lords, that their lordships had agreed to the Caledonian canal bill, and several others, without any amendment.—Their lordships also requested, by message, that this hon. house would furnish them with a copy of the minutes of the proceedings, and the evidence before the committee appointed to consider of the state of circulation in Ireland and the course of exchange between this country and that for some time past. Ordered, and a copy sent up.—Mr. Foster brought up a bill for regulating the price of corn exported and imported to and from England and Ireland. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—Mr. D. Browne moved for copies of the returns made under the army of reserve act in Ireland, specifying each county and town; and also the numbers that may have deserted, as far as the same can be made up. Ordered.—Mr. Huskisson moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury to issue exchequer bills to a sufficient amount to answer the amount of that part of the supply voted for the service of the year 1804. Granted.—The papers formerly moved for by Mr. Whitbread, from the county of Bamff, were presented at the bar, and afterwards ordered to be printed.

[COUNTERFEIT DOLLARS' BILL.]—Mr. *Sturges Bourne* moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the counterfeiting of silver coins, called dollars, issued by the bank of England, and also of Irish tokens, and to prevent the circulation of such base coin from the one country to the other.

Mr. *Princep* said, he would take some future opportunity of stating his objections to such a bill, as he did not approve of any coin being allowed to be in circulation but what had been coined at his Majesty's mint.

Mr. *S. Bourne* assured the hon. member that the provisions of the bill would sufficiently obviate his objections. Leave granted.

[PRIZE AGENCY BILL.]—Mr. *Jarvis* proposed to postpone the second reading of this bill, to this day se'nnight; and, if his

Majesty's ministers should not then be prepared to meet the discussion of the subject, and to offer such amendments as, in their view of it, might render the measure efficient to its object, considering the lateness of the sessions, he should not be disposed to press the further progress of it then, unless he should perceive it to be the decided sense of the house; and that the postponement of the question might be likely to produce a better effect, than to exhaust the time of the house.

Mr. *Dickinson*, junr. expressed considerable satisfaction at the course the hon. gent. had taken, as certainly the bill did appear to him to contain many parts which were objectionable, and if it was to pass at all, would require several alterations.

Sir *W. Elford* also said a few words against the principle of the bill.

Admiral *Berkeley* said, he was extremely glad that the bill had gone off; it was a bill by no means called for by the navy, but which, on the contrary, was almost universally condemned by it. There was one part of it in particular, which appeared to him introduced for no useful purpose, and which he must call an errant job.

Sir *C. Pole* said, that it was known to all the navy that great mischiefs did result from the manner of paying prize money. Instead of acting as a boon to the sailors, it was now rather a cause of discontent, and perhaps did more mischief than good. It was to remove these discontents and to remedy these mischiefs that the bill was intended, and he really knew no part of it that was meant as a job. However, he thought it was now in good hands, when in the hands of his Majesty's ministers.

Dr. *Laurence* stated, that he thought it was an extraordinary indulgence in the house to admit such a report as that which had been presented, to lie upon their table.

The *Advocate General* spoke on the same side; and, after some further explanation, the order was postponed according to the terms of the motion.

[ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.]——The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the order of the day for the third reading of this bill.

Col. *Eyre* said, that when this bill was first brought forward, it did appear to him to contain principles so extremely hostile to the constitution of the country, that he was anxious the house should reject such a dangerous innovation; but one of the clauses which had been introduced yesterday, had altered it so much, that his chief objection was greatly removed, though he thought it still very exceptionable. He was not, however, so unreasonable as to expect that a great plan of defence could possibly be devised, that would be deemed totally unobjectionable. As the sense of the house had already been taken upon it, he would not now throw any thing in the way of its future progress. He deprecated the principle of joining in opposition, in order to remove any man, or set of men, in whom he considered himself bound to put confidence.—Such a mode of procedure had a very pernicious effect, as we had already witnessed, by forcing from his Majesty's councils, a rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Addington), who at once possessed the confidence of his Sovereign, and that of the people; and owing to whose vigorous exertions our force had been raised beyond all former precedent, for the purpose of strengthening our constitution, and enlarging our liberties.

Mr. *T. Grenville* said, he had been prevented from giving any opinion during the past stages of the bill by an accidental indisposition, which had prevented him from attending to the discussions that had taken place, as regularly as he should have otherwise wished. The same reason would then prevent him from dwelling upon the subject at any length, particularly as the objections that had been urged against the measure had been hitherto unanswered. So little had the supporters of the bill advanced of sound reasoning against the arguments that had been urged against it, that it appeared to him unnecessary to add any thing to objections so forcibly urged and so insufficiently answered. Whatever, therefore, might have been his opinion of the efficiency of the measure, he should have contented himself with saying a few words on the present occasion on that subject. A different topic however had been introduced into the discussions on the question, which had a direct reference to expressions supposed to have been used either by himself, or by those connected with him in this house and in another place. He confessed that it appeared to him a necessary duty not to pass over in silence the reference to such expressions, and he begged leave to observe, that, though he felt it an urgent duty to offer a few words on that subject to the house, he had never on any former occasion, since he had the honour of a seat in that house, felt more embarrassment than he did at that moment. His embarrassment arose from the nature of the topics to which he had adverted, involving allusions personal to himself, or to those connected with him, which must always be painful to him. What had been considered difficult by his rt. hon. relative (the chancellor of the exchequer), in the discussion of yesterday, appeared to him impossible; and though he could not impute what had fallen from his rt. hon. friend on that occasion to wilful misrepresentation, he felt that it was calculated to place him and those connected with him, in a state of self contradiction, which he could not reconcile with their opinions of the state of the country, or of the remedies for the dangers and difficulties with which it was threatened. He was not disposed to cavil about the precise words he might have used on a former occasion; but he was confident that when it had formerly fallen to his lot to express the very high estimation in which he held the talents and abilities of his rt. hon. relation, no expression had ever escaped him or any one connected with him, nor had it ever entered into their imaginations, that it was possible for them so to look at the situation of the country as to suppose, that the accession of any single individual to the administration, whatever might be his talents or abilities, would be sufficient to work the salvation of the country. The expressions that had been on that occasion used were, that when the situation of the country called for a strong, vigorous, and efficient administration, as much of the talents, abilities and character of the country as possible, should be included in it, and though he had never supposed that such expressions could have been urged against him, or against the claim of the country for the formation of such an administration, as would be most suited to meet its difficulties, and provide for its ultimate security and success, he had never used any words inconsistent with such a view of the situation of affairs; and however highly he was disposed to estimate the merits and talents of his rt. hon. relation, however anxiously and earnestly he had expected to have an administration formed on such principles, under such superintendance and influence, he could never suppose expressions directed to such an object inconsistent with his high estimation of those talents. It was with pain and regret that he felt himself under the necessity of adverting to this subject, so personal to himself and his connexions; but he felt, however, a higher motive for regret, because he found, that whatever public objects he and his friends might have proposed, whatever claims the country might have had for the formation of a strong, vigorous, and able administration, the conduct and system of his rt. hon. relation was calculated to deprive them of the means of accomplishing that most desirable object in the present perilous and alarming times. In what he had urged, he had felt himself actuated by a true sense of what was due to his own character, and to the characters of those who acted with him, in order to shew that there was no contradiction in their conduct, and that it was not inconsistent with their past professions. Impressed with such sentiments, therefore, it was not without uneasiness he saw his rt. hon. relative in a situation in which he could not view him but with pain and regret.—The rt. hon. gent. then observed, that he should not weaken the objections that had already been so powerfully urged against the bill, by attempting to enforce them. Though there were some objections into which he did not enter entirely, there were others that had appeared to him fatal to the measure, which had never even the appearance of an answer; one of these he begged briefly to notice, namely, that this measure would create a premium against the regular recruiting. After dwelling shortly on this objection, the rt. hon. member concluded with giving his dissent to the measure.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he had been necessarily led to the topics adverted to, by the allusions which a noble lord opposite (lord Temple) now in his place, had made personally to him. He had touched on these topics, not with any design of interfering with the opinion which any individual might have, as to what would be the best kind of govt. for the country, and that which he would wish to see established. What he did allude to was, not merely a sentiment of what was desirable, but a known intention of the noble lord, and those who thought with him, marked by an excessive partiality towards him, of which he was highly unworthy. In speaking of the govt. that then existed, which they characterised as inefficient, he had understood it as the express sense of the noble lord and his friends, that his being placed at the head of his Majesty's govt. would be a circumstance that would remove in their minds, every objection to it. He could not speak precisely as to the words, but he was so clear as to this being the sense of what was said, that unless the rt. hon. gent. had contradicted it, he would still have believed it. He only mentioned this to account for his thinking it very extraordinary that the noble lord and his friends, should, after the extensive change, in which he had been called upon by his Majesty to act a leading part, adopt a conduct so different from the language he then understood them to hold, that they should think such a change, and the share he had in it, such as to call for a systematic opposition to the govt. to which he had supposed them so pledged, and that they should have commenced that opposition at the very outset. If he misunderstood the expressions, he withdrew his opinion upon them; but what he founded his observations upon was clear in the recollection of the house.

Mr. *Grenville*, in explanation, said, to the best of his recollection, he, and others nearly connected with him, had expressed the very high opinion which they had ever entertained of his rt. hon. friend. But it could never be supposed, that they meant to have gone the length of saying, that the single circumstance of his rt. hon. friend being made a part of the govt., which he then opposed, would be a sufficient reason to them to desist from their opposition.

Earl *Temple* said, that whatever might be the conceptions of his rt. hon. relation (Mr. Pitt) or the conceptions of any of his friends, he must, for himself, disavow having ever made use of any such expression, or having ever entertained such a sentiment. However great the respect was which he had for the rt. hon gent.'s talents, however attached to him by friendship, still he never supposed that merely his introduction into a govt. which he had opposed as fundamentally and radically bad, could give him a confidence in that administration. It would be in the recollection of the house, that when he made use of the expression, the rt. hon. gent. was a supporter of the govt. which he had since opposed, and which he was now at the head of. Whatever room there might be to imagine, from a confidence in the exertion of his rt. hon. friend's great talents, that this govt. was of much greater value than the former, he could not, though he allowed there was accession of talent, see much consolation in a change, which was confined to a single individual.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* in explanation said, he referred to what had been said by those nearly connected with the noble lord, and not particularly to any thing that had been said by him.

Mr. *Windham*, though not himself included, could not feel indifferent to the accusation brought against those with whom he was nearly connected. If he had been a party to the expressions which were made the grounds of the accusation, as he was not, (and as he might now be allowed to say he was glad that he was not,) he should not wish any further defence than the very grave, temperate, and dignified explanation which had been given by his hon. friend: and he was persuaded the rt. hon. gent. opposite would not persist in affixing to those expressions any sense which it was declared by the authors, they were not meant to convey. There were different rules of construction for different subjects: penal statutes were to be construed strictly: but he never heard that the same principle was to be applied to compliments and effusions of friendship.—He came now to the consideration of the bill, on which, though he agreed that the matter was probably decided, though after the frequent discussions and long sittings he could not suppose that the house was disposed to hear much more upon the subject, he could not forbear offering some further observations, merely to disburthen his mind, and to mark to the last his feelings against a measure so pregnant, as he conceived, with mischief. The points to which he should advert were such as had either been overlooked, or at least, not sufficiently pointed out. And the first remark to be made was on the manner in which this measure had been brought forward. When a new military system was about to be established, the natural course of proceeding was to take a comprehensive view of the whole of our military force at that time subsisting. Of this force it was not natural that a part should be omitted, so considerable in itself, and certainly so considerable in our estimation, as that of the volunteers. When these had been duly considered, some information might perhaps have been expected as to the numbers and situation of our regular army; a species of force which, however overlooked in all our late military arrangements, had in other times been thought to be of some account. In fact, both these and every other part of our force required to be distinctly in our view, before we could possibly say either what was necessary or what was practicable; how far the measures proposed were consistent with those already adopted; or what alterations were requisite in order to prevent the several parts of the system from interfering with, and defeating each other. With respect to the volunteers, those, it was true, who thought of that force as he might be suspected of doing, might not regret the effect which the present measure must infallibly have upon them, and which could be nothing less than to withdraw one of the main principles by which they had hitherto been held together. Though many of the volunteers had engaged upon other motives, it could not be questioned that numbers had entered with a view to the exemption. Upon all these the effect of the present measure would be that of a sentence of dissolution. It would operate like the sun upon the wings of Icarus. The wax would be melted, and down the corps must fall. In saying this it must not be supposed that he was so confounding things, as to conceive, that by rendering exemption useless only by rendering it unnecessary, the present measure had done an *injury* to the volunteers. Unquestionably their condition was not made worse, merely because that of others was rendered better. He spoke only of its practical effects. At the same time he must say, that there was something a little ludicrous, as well as not quite decorous with respect to the house, in suffering the volunteers to strut away with a full persuasion, that they were enjoying a most valuable privilege, while those who were in the secret, not being indeed the members of this house, knew that a measure was in agitation which would render the whole of this supposed privilege a mere delusion, or, what was vulgarily called, *a bite.* So much for the connexion of the present measure with the volunteers. With respect to the regular army, the connexion was, if possible, still closer. So close was it indeed, that it was impossible satisfactorily to give an opinion on the present measure without knowing previously what was done and proposed to be done with respect to the army. If any one was asked, whether it was right to have an intermediate force, such as was now proposed, he must say, tell me first, what you mean to do with your army, and on what footing service *there* is to be put: according to the regulations there introduced, will be the necessity of having a force of this description at all, or of modelling it in such and such a manner. All these previous inquiries, however, the hon. author of the present plan seemed to think not only useless but injurious. He studiously and industriously avoided them. So earnest was he to separate from this question any mention of the volunteers, that all which related to that system was forcibly and violently thrust out of the house, pushed off the stage by head and shoulders, in order that it might be clearly removed before the present measure made its appearance. In like manner, till this measure was done with, nothing was to be said about the plans that were in agitation for the army. The hon. gent. seemed to be afraid of distracting the attention of the house, by bringing before them too many objects at once. It was not a question of the rule laid down for the old comedy, *Ne quarta loqui persona laboret:* he was so apprehensive of crouding his scene, so fearful lest his characters should have any thing to say to one another, that he would never suffer more than one to be upon the stage at a time: his whole piece was a continued soliloquy. If such was the manner in which this measure was brought forward, with a view to the means afforded for estimating its merits, an equal objection might be made on the score of time, and of the little notice which the house had had of the sort of measure which it was meant to submit to them. Till within a few days (almost within a few hours) of the motion being made, not an idea was entertained that the plan about to be proposed, was any other than that which had been opened by the hon. gent. some months before. It was not till the moment of performance, and when the curtain was actually drawn up, that the manager stept forward (without an apology) and signified that the whole was changed, and that instead of the piece which had been announced, we were to have, not, as an hon and learned friend of his had said the other night, the good old play of the Recruiting Officer, but a strange fantastical piece, produced for the occasion, and got up in a hurry, called *The Regimental Vestry*, or, *The Recruiting Church Wardens.* It was difficult to conceive what the progress of the counsels could have been that gave rise to so happy an idea. It could never have been formed at once, or in any ordinary circumstances, but must have been the result of a consultation, such as that described in Foote's farce of the Minor. 'A great day coming on; the greatest day this season. All the world to be there;—old opposition, new opposition, a vast attendance from the country. Nothing in the meanwhile settled. Ballot found to be impossible, and no expedient thought of by which its place could be supplied.' In this situation somebody seems to have conceived the idea of a sort of proceeding which should be neither compulsory nor not compulsory; should not be a *quota*, yet should be connected with districts and parishes; should be a system of recruiting, yet be carried on by persons not named by government, though possessing a certain degree of authority, and known in the country. 'I'll be hanged,' says some one, 'if you don't mean recruiting by parish-officers.' The hon. gent. seems to have jumped at the hint, and parish-officers it has been. The point important to be considered was what were likely to be the effects of the measure thus happily hit off. The hon. gentlemen here vapoured a great deal, and asked triumphantly, what *they* had to offer by whom the present measure was objected to? To this it might be sufficient to answer, that they who objected to a measure were not therefore bound to be provided with a better in its room. It was enough if they could reasonably presume that a better might be provided. But he was willing to go further, and having frequently stated what his own ideas were, to compare those ideas with what was now adopted. Your ideas said the hon. gentlemen are merely negative: they are nothing at all. They would do well to ask, before they pressed, that to pick were their own plan stripped of its negative merits, how much of it would remain? The negative merits of the plan, the house would recollect, were all that the hon. gentlemen insisted upon. The plan was good, because it abolished the ballot, because it reduced the militia, because it removed competition, because it limited the bounties. So it certainly was: and so equally, and on the very same accounts, was the plan opposed to them. All the ideas above-enumerated, the hon. gentlemen would recollect, were ours as well as theirs; and, what was not less to the purpose, were ours long before they were theirs, and when in truth they were made a matter of reproach to those who held them. There was nothing on these points, therefore, in which one plan differed from the other. The great advantage which we had was, that with us all was negative, and that in addition to the rest that we got rid of, we got rid of the hon. gentlemen's scheme of fining parishes, and recruiting by parish-officers It was curious therefore to hear the rt. hon. gentlemen calling upon us to know what were our ideas, and what we had to propose in the room of what we objected to. We were in the situation of a man who, having been stripped of all he had, is asked by the robber where his money was. Where is my money? he would say: why, in your pocket. Where were our ideas? why in the hon. gent.'s bill. He must not be understood to mean, however, that in claiming these ideas for himself and his hon. friends, he would be willing to take them such as they had now become in the hands of those who had lately had possession of them. The hon. gent. had made them his own by the manner in which he had treated them. He must say with the Roman epigrammatist,

> Quam recitas meus est, ô Fidentine, libellus:
> Sed malè cum recitas incipit esse tuus.

The opinion seemed to be, that nothing could be good, that was not attended with considerable inconvenience. It was like the fancy of some sportsmen, that a gun could not carry its shot well, if it did not kick a little,—did not make itself felt upon the shoulder. The hon. gentlemen could not persuade themselves, that means might be at once both easy and efficacious. Their notions were those of the countryman who came to London to have his tooth drawn: when the operation had been performed with great ease and address, and he was called upon to pay half-a-guinea,—half-a-guinea, says he! why, in our town, for a quarter of the money I have been pulled round the room. He wished the hon. gentlemen did not despise so much plans which might otherwise be good, merely because they did not happen to be of great show and bulk, did not form a *justum volumen*. It was as possible for a measure of little display and parade to be worth something, as it was for one of a contrary description to be good for nothing. Of the latter position the present bill would probably furnish an example. Nothing was ever worse calculated to answer its purpose, in whatever view it was considered. As operating upon the military spirit of the country, its effect would be that of wet sand upon a fire. Nothing could be devized more injurious to the real military feeling of a country than a great home-army. To separate military distinction from danger, was the very receipt which any one would recommend who wished to enfeeble and relax the respect felt for the profession and character of a soldier. But setting aside these more general considerations, and viewing the measure merely with reference to its more direct objects, and as a means of obtaining men, it was in his opinion hardly less objectionable. The part of the population of the country who could be induced at all to engage in military life, might be distinguished into three classes, viz. those who would enter into a militia or home-army, if such existed, but would in no case be prevailed upon to engage for general service; those who would engage for general service, were the opportunity afforded them, but would otherwise not enter at all; a class less numerous probably than the former, but by no means so little as was commonly supposed, and thirdly, those who being bent at all events upon a military life, would enter as soldiers in one way or another, into the regular army, if there were no other species of force, or among the troops for home service, if there were no such thing as a regular army. It was not meant to be contended, that by having a force of both descriptions, more men would not be gained than if the choice were limited to either service separately. This must of necessity be so, if men were found under each of the classes above enumerated. But the question was, in which way would more men be gained to the regular army? And here it was evident, that in the first instance the comparison was wholly against us. Those who would engage for regular service, and in no other, we should have on either supposition. Those whom nothing could induce to engage in regular service, we must with respect to the regular service be deprived of on either supposition. But of those who being determined to become soldiers, would at all events engage in one service, whatever that might be, were the other not offered to their choice, all who would now engage in home service, of whom the number could not be considered as small, would be so much clear loss. While we gained in number of men, we should lose in number of real soldiers. This was strictly the result of the comparison of the two cases, namely, that of our having a regular army only, or a regular army combined with such a one as was now proposed,—with respect to all those who should enter at any one time. All the men who should so enter must be found in one or other of the classes above enumerated. But he would not dissemble, meaning to argue the question perfectly fairly, that a further advantage was proposed by this plan, namely, that of changing one of these classes gradually into another, and of converting those who originally would have consented only to serve at home into persons who would engage for general service. By tempting them into the army at first upon easier terms, it was thought that habit would do the rest, and that they would be led finally to engage their services to the full extent required. This, undoubtedly, in many instances would happen, though less generally probably than seemed to be supposed; because it must not be inferred, that those who might be induced to extend their term would necessarily be inclined to change their service. But against this number, whatever it might be, must be set off, in whole or in part, those, who being originally decided against general service might, by degrees, have been led to engage in it, if a service of another kind had not interposed to intercept their inclinations, and finally to fix their choice for home-service only. At all events, he must enter his protest against the conclusion, that all who entered into the army from the army of reserve, were persons whom the army of reserve had been the means of procuring. No inference could be so completely false. If the bounties had been arranged, as every one must have expected that they would, namely, so that the bounty for the army of reserve, joined to that for removing from thence into the regular army, should have been equal, or somewhat inferior to that which was given for entering into the line at once, there might have been some ground, though far from a conclusive one, for that argument. But in the present case, where more was to be got by entering the army through the medium of the army of reserve than by enlisting as a soldier at once, nothing but complete ignorance or thoughtlessness could prevent men from taking that course. Who would not be willing to make that little circuit for the sake of that additional advantage? Men for ever went out of their way for the sake of a turnpike where they were to pay: but here, with the addition of a safer and easier road, was a turnpike at which they were to be paid! It would be odd, indeed, if this was not the route most frequented. Were it not so, the only possible reason which would be assigned, was one which would sound odd in the mouths of those, who supported this bill, namely, that so strong was the preference for the regular army, that even superior profits could not induce men, though only for a short time, to enter into any other species of service. How this came to be so settled, it was hardly possible to conceive. It would really seem, as if it were done with a view to blinding the public as to the effect of the measure. All that came from the army of reserve, it was meant to state, he supposed, in evidence of the benefit of this system: and as it was plain that nothing could go out of the army of reserve that had not been previously in it, the more was drawn into that repository, the greater might seem the advantages that had been derived from it. They bribed men into the army of reserve, in order that more might be seen to come out it. They offered a premium to those who should take this circuitous course, and thereby defraud, in the very first instance, the very service that was proposed to be the great object of the measure. He was glad to make these observations beforehand, that they might not be thought hereafter to be contrived for the occasion, when they should be told triumphantly of the great number of men that had entered from the army of reserve. These were among the reasons, why he thought the measure not likely to be very effectual for its purpose. But a learned gent. (the attorney general) had discovered, that if the measure was likely to be inefficient, it could not consistently be accused, at the same time, of being vexatious. For his part, nothing seemed more intelligible, than that these two properties should go together. This house was certainly of that opinion, when according to a well known *formula*, its committees were directed to find whether the petition referred to them had not been *frivolous and vexatious*. Here the conditions were not only compatible, but the one was commonly a consequence of the other. There was often no better way to show a cause to be vexatious, than to show that it was frivolous. In the present instance, the inference held both ways. Not only might the present measure justly be described as having both the one and the other of the properties in question, but they were dependent mutually on each other; the measure was vexatious because it was frivolous, and frivolous because it was vexatious. The former position was easily intelligible; and the latter would be so upon a little reflexion, when it was considered how much of the effect of any law depended upon the reception which it met with in the public feeling. Of this a striking proof was to be found in the army of reserve bill. That measure was actually brought to a stand by the growing repugnance of the country to submit to its further progress. It was not that the country was absolutely exhausted: that men were literally no longer to be had. If that had been the case, what would become of our present hopes? It was that the sense of the country rose so strongly against the vexation and inconvenience of the measure, that the execution of it could no longer go on. The same fate might well be apprehended for the present bill. The feeling of its vexatiousness, and the conviction of its inefficiency, would soon arm the public mind against it. Among its numerous evils, one was the encouragement it would give to the system of crimping. To call for recruiting from church-wardens and overseers, was to lay down the rule that the business must be done by deputy; and who would the deputies of the church-wardens and overseers be but crimps? This was a further proof of the effect of the bill, not only in producing evils, but evils the very same with those which it affected to cure,—consequences the very opposite of those which it professed to have in view. It was to get men for the regular army: it began, at least, by drawing men away from the regular army. It was to abolish crimping: the effect could hardly fail to be a great increase of the practice of crimping. It was to lower bounties: it might not, to be sure, carry the bounties quite to the exhorbitant amount to which they had risen under the quota and army of reserve bills, but it established bounties higher than had ever before been given by government, and which would, moreover, be increased in practice beyond the sums at which they were established. This was probably the only fruit that we should derive from the measure. The parishes would get no men; but they would completely establish a rate of bounty which we should enjoy for ever after. It was the *somnium latronis*, the thief's dream: we thought to have men, and we should find nothing but expense: we caught at a purse, and we grasped a halter.—Other evils there were of a subordinate kind, and some of them of such a nature, that the sense of the evil was lost, in a great measure, in the ridicule. The whole functions of life were so confounded and blended in this curious system; that while half of our lawyers were becoming soldiers, all our soldiers must become lawyers. One of our principal generals had been for some time past the attorney-general. Instead of sending our young men to join their regiments, immediately upon their removal from the college at Wycombe, we should give them the run of a few months at one of the inns of court; that they might take in their law, and be instructed in their profession under the various heads of service, of quarter sessions, meetings of deputy lieutenants, and correspondences with parish-officers. Burn's Justice and the Church-warden's *Vade mecum*, would be as necessary to young officers as the Field Engineer, or Adjutant's Assistant, or any of the elementary treatises, to which their studies had hitherto been confined. Great pains had been taken to compare this measure with the army of reserve, sometimes for the purpose of assuming the merits of that measure, at other times for the sake of an advantageous contrast. But no comparison could be made between them. They stood on entirely distinct grounds. No greater distinction need be sought, than that the one was temporary, the other permanent. If such was the distinction between this and the army of reserve, a difference not less marked, would be found between the measure in its present shape and that in which it appeared, when it was first announced, and when the ballot was included in it. It seemed as if being a military measure, gentlemen thought it fair to employ it for the purpose of a stratagem of war. They had therefore used it as a masked battery, and held forth the idea of the ballot, which they afterwards withdrew, to bring forward the real attack of fines and penalties.—The rt. hon. gent. concluded with expressing a hope, that a measure so destructive and ruinous would be reconsidered.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in explanation, declared that the rt. hon. gent. spoke in a total misapprehension of the plan, which he had on a former occasion detailed to the house. Notwithstanding all the wit, humour, and sarcasm, as well as invective, with which the rt. hon. gent. opposed this measure, it was the very same in principle which he had before stated to the house. He would assert that he had expressly proposed recruiting by parishes.

Mr. *Fox* asserted that there was as much difference in the application of the principle as described in the rt. hon. gent's. outline, and as contained in this bill, as there was between light and darkness.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* repeated his former opinion as to the parishes.

Mr. *Fox* pointed out the difference he before alluded to, between the first proposition of the rt. hon. gent. and the present bill, as in the one case the recruits were to be raised by the parish for the parish, whereas by this bill they were to be raised by the parish for the public.

Lord *De Blaquiere* rose to address the house; but the question being loudly called for, it was put accordingly, and the bill was, without a division, read a third time and passed.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, June 20.

[Minutes.]—Mr. Tighe's divorce bill went through a committee, and was ordered to be reported.—The Aylesbury election bill, after a few words from the Lord Chancellor, who characterised it as unjust, illegal, and unconstitutional, was read a third time and passed.—The additional force bill, and several other bills, were brought up from the Commons, and read a first time.—On the additional force bill being read, Lord Camden moved, that it be printed, with the view, should printed copies be on the table of the house on Friday, of its being read a second time on Monday.—Their lordships were accordingly ordered to be summoned for Monday.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, June 20.

[Minutes.]—A new writ was ordered to be issued for the election of a member to serve in parliament for Bridgewater, in the room of Jefferys Allen, Esq. who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee on the Irish linen manufacture regulation bill. Ordered to be read a third time to morrow.—The Scotch additional defence bill was recommitted, several amendments made, and the report ordered to be received to morrow.—The bill to prevent the counterfeiting of dollars and tokens was brought up, read a first, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday next, and to be printed.

[Solway Fisheries Bill.]—Sir William Pulteney moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Solway fisheries bill. On the question being put,

Gen. *Gascoyne* opposed it on the grounds that it was a gross attack on private property. A gent. who had made a fortune by his own industry, purchased the estate where this fishery lay from the noble family of Anandale. While it was in the possession of that family, this question had never been thought of. After some other observations, he concluded by contending that this was a point for a court of law to decide, and not for parliament. The loss of the private property could not in this bill be made up by a compensation, as no such thing was claimed in the preamble.

The *Speaker* observed, that it was perfectly competent to a committee to leave a clause for compensation, whether any thing of that sort was claimed in the preamble or not.

Sir *W. Pulteney* contended, in opposition to the major general, that no private property was here invaded. The method of fishing practised by the gent. alluded to, was illegal, and ought, for the good of the neighbouring country, to be put an end to. He hoped, therefore, the house would fairly consider the question, and not be carried away by the loudness of the major general's voice.

Mr. *Hurst* maintained the necessity of going into the committee, in order to enable the house to form a proper judgment of the merits of the question, as the two hon. gent. who had just spoken differed so widely, that a committee to take the subject under consideration was the only means of coming at the truth.

Mr. *Creevey* thought the court of session every way competent to give redress, if any was necessary. He thought the hon. bart. had not made out his case, for private property was certainly injured by this bill. If the fishery in question was destroyed, some of the fish might come into the nets of the hon. bart., but the country would be nothing the better for it, for the hon. bart. would not sell them cheaper than others would do. He therefore moved, as an amendment, that the bill be read a second time this day 3 months.—The house then divided on the question, that the bill be now read a second time, when there appeared, for the bill 56, against it 74. The bill was consequently lost by a majority of 18.

[Irish Budget.]—The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, Mr. Alexander in the chair,

Mr. *Foster*, pursuant to his notice, rose to call the attention of the committee to the state of the finances of Ireland, and to the remedies he proposed to recommend for the deficiencies existing therein. It had fallen to his lot in the late parliament to represent to the house that the revenues of that country were in a rapidly decaying and decreasing state, and he had on that occasion prognosticated that they would not become better. Experience has verified the prediction; for so far from being better, they were actually in a worse state, as would appear from a statement of the amount of the Irish debt at different periods. In the year 1793, the national debt of Ireland amounted to 2,400,000l.; in 1800, the year before the union, it amounted to 25,000 000l.; last year to 43,000,000l. and 9,500,000l. had been added to it in the course of the present year, which made it nearly 53,000 000l. If England was to increase her debt in proportion to that sum, according to the settled rates of duties in each country, the sum of that increase would amount to 64,000,000l. But it was evident that England did not increase her debt this year to any such amount. If the due proportion, therefore, was not kept up, and if Ireland continued to accumulate a much larger debt than she should do, according to the rate of debt accumulated in England, it was plain that the former country was going upon a system wholly ruinous; and one which it required the whole energy of persons connected with Ireland to put a stop to. Parliament might propose an equalization of taxes, and a consolidation of the accounts of both countries; but in the progress Ireland would be found to be increasing her burdens far beyond what Great Britain increased hers. And the worst circumstance of all that belonged to this ruinous system was, that the govt. of Ireland was borrowing money out of the country; and by that means, not only created absentee debts, and absentee taxes, but was contracted, by all the means she possessed, of increasing her exports, and diminishing her imports. While she was able to raise money, by loans in G. Britain, every exertion towards accomplishing these great causes of national wealth was taken away. But the debt so raised, had a still worse tendency; it had the effect of diminishing that revenue, that should pay the interest of it. Ireland was in as bad a state with regard to her revenues, as her debt. It was also an effect of the increase of the debt, that the ordinary revenues to pay the interest of it were on the decline. In the year 1800, the amount of the ordinary revenue was 2,800,000l. when the debt was but 25,000,000l.; last year the revenue was 2,789,000l., 16,000l. less than the year before the union, and the debt of Ireland was at present 53,000,000l. But assuming the net produce of the ordinary revenue at 2,800,000l., the amount of interest and charges to be defrayed thereout was 2,500 000l., so that scarcely 300,000l. would remain to be applied to the joint charge of the empire, the proportion of which that had fallen upon Ireland in the present year had amounted to 4,000,000l. But the prospect was even worse, for it appeared that the revenue had decreased since Jan. in the proportion of from 2 to 300,000l.; and if it were to continue to diminish in the same ratio to the end of the year, there would remain nothing for the joint charge, and Ireland would be, in that respect, as a blank sheet of paper. If such were the situation of the country, as to its finances, he put it to the representatives of Ireland, all of whom, now in London, he was happy to see in their places, whether the best and fairest mode would not be to look these difficulties in the face, and to endeavour to raise a revenue, without oppressing trade or manufactures, so as to keep pace with, he should not say, the sister country, but with this part of their country. The first means of assisting the revenue would depend upon the exertions of the gentlemen of Ireland to prevent private distilleries; the effect of which would be to augment the revenue, so that whoever might be the future chancellor of the exchequer should not be under a necessity of resorting to a direct tax on their properties. The good effects of the co-operation of the gentlemen with the govt. was evident from the advantages that had resulted from it, with respect to a proposition he had himself made in 1785, of equalising the revenue to the expenditure. In consequence, no addition had been made to the debt of Ireland from 1786 to 1794, the first year of last war. Much depended on the exertions of gentlemen themselves to create a revenue for the peace establishment;

whatever taxes should be necessary for the support of the war would be the subject for future consideration. The incidents over and above salaries and pensions, in 1800, amounted to 106,000l. and the last year to 129,000l. The revenue had been collected in 1800 for 10l. per cent; last year the expense of collection was 13l. per cent.; the abuses in the collection therefore deserved attention.—Another point that called for serious consideration was, the amount of the balances in the hands of the collectors. Here on the immense revenue of England there had been a balance only of 30,000l. in the hands of the collectors last year, whereas the balances in Ireland were nearly 600,000l. In 1803 they were 460,000l.; in 1804, 505,000l.; and this in the hands of collectors now in office. What was in arrear from collectors retired or deceased amounted to 120,000l., all to be sued for by law, and of doubtful recovery. The balance in the hands of the stamp collectors was 80,000l.; the whole amount of the duties on stamps was only 162,000l., though the stamp-office was in Dublin, and the money was paid there. The balance in the hands of the postmasters-general was in 1803, 16,000l.; this year 22,900l.; though the whole post-office revenue was only 25,000l. The means he proposed for aiding the revenue were three; 1st, the assistance of the gentlemen of Ireland in the collection of the revenue; 2d, a reform in the collection; and 3d, a decrease of expense, which last would depend on the govt. here, and the rt. hon. the chancellor of the exchequer near him. He meant to give notice on some future day, of a motion for leave to bring in a bill to appoint commissioners, as in this country, to inquire into all offices, and until then, he should forbear all comment on the subject. He should now, with leave of the committee, proceed to state the nature and extent of the taxes, he meant to recommend, which would affect those large articles of import and inland commerce, which were charged with a lower duty in Ireland than in this country, but he did not mean to raise the duty to the full of its amount in this country.—The first article he proposed, to place an additional duty on, was wine. The duty on French wines he proposed to raise per ton, to 97l. on port, 65l. on madeira, 70l. on rhenish, 60l. all others, 60l. being an addition of 22l. on French wine, 20l. on port, 16l. 7s. on madeira, 22l. 9s. 4. on rhenish, and of 24l. per ton on all other wines; this on the average of 7 years, would produce 109,000l.—The next article was malt, the duty on which he proposed to raise from 7s. 7d. per barrel to 9s. being a rise of 1s. 5d. which would produce 63,750l. He proposed to double the existing duties on tea, which would make the whole on black teas 51l. per cent.; and on the finer sorts, 84l. 14s. and would produce 180,000l. The duty on tobacco was to be further raised from 1s. 1½d. per lb. to 1s. 5d. which, on an average of three years, would produce 112,000l. The duty on home made spirits now 3s. 9½d. per gallon, was to be raised to 4s. which would yield 41,000l. The duty on raw and refined sugar was to be equalised as in this country, the effect of which would be to yield an additional revenue on the former of 35,000l. on the latter 3,300l. All affidavits sworn before magistrates were subject to a stamp duty, except those relating to grand jury presentments for roads, and for charities; he saw no reason for the exception, and therefore proposed they should also be subject to the stamp duty. Permits also for exciseable goods were to bear a stamp, to vary between 2d. and 1s. in proportion to the value of the article. The duty of 6l. per cent. on retail importers was to be revived, which would yield 8,000l. The next and last duty he had to propose would not only assist the revenue, but have other beneficial effects, in familiarising the Irish people to the English currency, preparatory to some measure for assimilating the currency of both countries. The duty was to arise from making the whole of the revenues of Ireland payable in English currency, which would yield 290,000l. making with the whole of the other additional duties, 853,000l. He had some propositions to submit at a future opportunity to the house, for the regulation of the excise in Ireland, which would produce 400,000l. The whole then to be added to the revenue by actual duty and regulation, would amount to 1,253,000l. He hoped the Irish gentlemen would be disposed, in the language of the sailor, to give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, in order to save the sinking vessel of the state. The rt. hon. gent. observed, that these additions to the revenue would not press upon the trade or manufacturers of the country, nor hurt the feelings of the middle or lower ranks.—He next proceeded to observe, that although the union with Ireland had been now four years in operation; and though committees had been appointed to investigate the joint accounts between the two countries, yet to this hour no balance had been struck to shew how the countries had been going on, or whether Ireland was paying more or less than her quota to the common expense. But though the short remnant of the session might not afford opportunity to produce any satisfactory result upon this head, he hoped, the commencement of the next, to have the accounts in such a state of forwardness as to be able to shew a clear statement; and in the interim, he trusted, a given time in the session would be settled, for bringing forward the Irish business, so that the members for that country might have an opportunity and timely notice for attendance. He then proceeded to move the first resolution.

Mr. *Corry* said, he did not wish to offer the least obstacle to the rt. hon. gent.'s propositions, but wished nevertheless to make observations on a few of the articles that had been submitted to the house, and hoped he would be justified in doing so by the observations he had to offer. He was particularly anxious to justify the Irish govt. in regard to their manner of conducting and collecting the revenue. He did not blame the rt. hon. gent. for his anxiety in this respect, but he insisted that powers sufficient did already exist for better collecting the revenue. They already had the power, if they had the inclination, and even in that he thought the present govt. had not failed. He was the more anxious to justify that govt. as they were absent, and therefore unable to defend themselves. The arrangements of the treasury of Ireland had been established on the precedency of the treasury of this country. He was glad notwithstanding that the rt. hon gent. had directed his attention to this object, as some advantages might be expected to be derived from it. He offered some reasons why the committee had found it impossible hitherto to make such arrangements as to enable them to give a satisfactory statement of the accounts between this country and Ireland. The accounts respecting the army particularly were very complicated in their nature; a mode of adjusting them had been nevertheless adopted which promised to be successful. The rt. hon. gent. then went into a discussion at some length relating to the expenditure of Ireland compared with her contribution, and gave a detail of the supplies when he had the honour to introduce them to the house.

Mr. *Foster*, in explanation, said, that the rt. hon. gent. had certainly done him no more than justice, when he said that he had no intention of throwing blame on any one.

Mr. *Corry* rose to explain. He had omitted to answer one of the statements of the rt. hon. gent.; that in which he observed, that very great balances remained in the hands of collectors. He thought it necessary, in justification of the govt of Ireland, and to remove a prejudice that might otherwise exist against them, to state how this matter actually stood. Large balances were frequently suffered to lie in the hands of collectors for the purpose of convenience, in order the more easily to pay those detachments of the army and volunteers that happened to be stationed in the districts where these collectors were. And it frequently happened that money lay in their hands, because they could not get good bills to transmit it to govt.; and govt. was often obliged to send messengers on purpose for the money.

Mr. *Francis* said, he was by no means satisfied with the account of the balances given by the rt. hon. gent. who spoke last. The rt. hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Foster) had represented the balances being left in the hands of the collectors, as an abuse; the rt. hon. gent. who spoke last, said these balances were left in their hands for the purpose of paying the army and volunteers. He thought there must have been some sort of mismanagement somewhere. If the govt. of Ireland was not vested with sufficient powers to take the balances out of the hands of the collectors, they should have applied to parliament to have obtained them. It was a melancholy fact to reflect on, that the whole of the revenue in Ireland was swallowed up in paying the interest of the debt. He was sorry to find the rt. hon. gent. had so arduous a task to perform, as to raise taxes to such an amount, when he acknowledged that the trade of the country had fallen off to so great a degree. He assured him, however, that he had his best wishes for his success in the undertaking.

Mr. *Foster* said, that if the difficulties at present existing were looked fairly in the face, and properly met, he had no doubt but that they would be overcome.

Mr. *Dawson* objected to that tax which was proposed to take place on the registry of freeholds, as he thought it would bear too hardly on the inferior classes of the people. In respect to all the other taxes, he would do all in his power to assist him in making them efficient. He would also join him in his long pull, so far as it went to the tax on wine, though he was afraid that the tax might cause the consumption to be less, and, in that respect, injure the trade.

Mr. *Foster* said that he had no doubt as to the efficiency of the tax on wine, from the well-known predilection which his countrymen, from the moisture of the climate, he supposed, had for the bottle.

Sir. *J. Newport* said, that as there was an absolute necessity for raising taxes, he could not see how they could be better proportioned than these were in general, with the exception of that on tobacco, which, instead of producing an increase of revenue, he feared would tend to diminish it, by the great opening and encouragement it would give to smuggling.

Mr. *Foster* said, the observation of the hon. bart. was certainly very accurate, but the present was to be an excise and not an impost duty.

Mr. *W. Ponsonby* thought the present state of Ireland rendered taxes absolutely necessary, and those proposed by the rt. hon. gent. were, perhaps, as unexceptionable as any that could be resorted to. He could have wished, however, that the inferior wines had been taxed lower, and the superior wines higher; as the inferior wines were much more used in necessary consumption, as in cases of sickness, &c. than the superior, which are mere articles of luxury, and used by the affluent only. He entertained the same sentiments with regard to the tax on tobacco, as had been expressed by the hon. bart., and feared it would be evaded by an increase of smuggling.

Mr. *Ker* thought the tax on the registering of freeholds might prove an injudicious one, and would fall heavy on the middling and lower classes of freeholders.

Mr. *Lee* expressed his entire approbation of the taxes now proposed. He was convinced of the necessity for adopting them, and he had uniformly, since the union, called on the late chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland, to come forward with an increase of taxes, instead of resorting to the ruinous system of loans, which had added so largely to the debt, and so greatly increased the rate of exchange.—The resolutions were then severally read and agreed to. The house resumed, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[SLAVE TRADE.]—Mr *Wilberforce* moved the order of the day for the further consideration of the bill for the abolition of the slave trade, and for hearing of counsel against the same; which being read, he said, as there was then a very thin attendance of the house, and it might be more so, he would propose to postpone this order till to-morrow, when he hoped he sould be able to bring it on at an early hour, and avoid the disagreeable delay which had already occurred by there not being a sufficient number of members present to proceed with business.

General *Gascoigne* hoped the hon gent. would then positively proceed with the business, as it was very inconvenient to many of his constituents, who were come to town to attend the progress of the bill, to have it so often postponed. He hoped it would come on at an early hour also. If it did not, and their attendance should take place, he would, however great the outcry was against it, enforce the order of the house.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, that with regard to the management of the business, the hon. general was the last person he would consult, though he might be inclined to accede to any thing that could contribute to the hon. general's personal convenience. He was, however, surprised to hear those complain of delay, of which they themselves had been the cause.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, the friends of the gallant officer had alone protracted the business.

Mr. *Fuller* said, he hoped this bill would be protracted to another session. He mentioned that there were now 7000 prisoners from the island of St. Domingo in that of Jamaica, who were guarded by a black regiment. He alluded to the language that had been used by the blacks some years past, "that Massa King Wilbee was willing to free them, but that the parliament would not let him;" and when the present state of Jamaica was duly considered, he was sure it would be much more politic to defer the bill, than to pass and send it out at present.

The *Attorney General* thought it would be better to pass the bill as soon as possible, and set the minds of the blacks at rest at once. They would then see that "Massa Wilbee" had every wish and desire to alleviate and better their present situation, but that he had no intention of emancipating them. They would know what parliament really meant to do in the case; and, in his opinion, the sooner they knew it the better.—The further consideration of the report, and hearing of counsel against the bill, were then ordered for to-morrow.

[CORN TRADE BILL.]—The order of the day being read for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the report of the committee on the corn laws, the act of 1791 was entered as read *pro forma*, and it was ordered that it be an instruction to the said committee to take the said act into consideration. The house then went into the committee, Sir C. Bunbury in the chair.

Mr. *Western* said, the principal object of the committee in drawing up the report now to be considered was, to make a fair regulation of the prices of corn and grain, between the grower and the consumer in the country, and to take care that the importation and exportation should be so restricted as to forward this desirable and important purpose. The act of 1791 had hitherto been the sole regulation in this particular; but as circumstances alter, it was necessary some change should take place in the laws relative to this grand article. Since the year 1790, very great alterations indeed had taken place in this country in the price of labour; the amount of the poor rates, the price of provisions, and many other things, which could not fail of operating very powerfully on the farmer, or grower of corn, and made it almost impossible for him to raise and sell it now at the same price at which it was raised at that time. In order to shew this more clearly to the committee, the hon. gent. stated, that since the year 1790 the value of money had undergone a depreciation of 13½ per cent. according to the best calculation, and that alone was sufficient to decide the necessity of altering the law. There was also a vast increase of the poors' rate, which in 1783 was at 2,129,721l. for England and Wales, and from that time to 1790 he did not think it could have increased much; whereas, in 1803, it was 5,128,000l. being an advance of 3,000,000l. charged on land. A proportionate increase had occurred in every other article he had before enumerated; and it was clear that agriculture could not be carried on but at a very great increase of expense, which rendered it necessary to alter the regulations and restrictions of the act of 1791, and to make a new regulation in the average prices of England and Scotland. He would not, therefore, trespass further on the time of the committee than to read and move the resolutions of the committee on this subject. He then moved the first resolution, viz. "That the importation of foreign corn be regulated by the average price of corn, grain, and flour in the twelve maritime districts in England, and the four maritime districts in Scotland."

Mr. *Patteson* rose to make some general observations on the report. He would for the convenience of the house have acceded to a proposition of the rt. hon. gent. over the way, (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), to defer his remarks to the second reading of the bill, but as the session was so far advanced, he was not sure of being able to address the house at another opportunity, and therefore finding he was in order now, he would proceed. The petitions from the different parts of the country were not all in favour of the measures proposed by the committee; their tenor was various. The high price of labour which the committee so much dwelt upon, arose from the high price of provisions; from the high bounty given for entering into his Majesty's land and sea service, and from the additional employment afforded of late by the vast number of inclosure acts. When these causes ceased to operate, as there was reason to think they would in a great degree very soon, the price of provisions would be moderated, and the price of labour would of course fall in proportion. The price of utensils had increased, so had the price of stock, so had the govt. taxes, but not so as to justify an alteration to the extent made by the committee. The poors rates had increased, but it was in consequence of the increased price of provisions, and the allowance to militia-men's families, when these were removed, that things would be reduced to their former level. The increased rents were also made a ground of this alteration, but the farmers had voluntarily offered these rents, from a confidence of the continuance of the high price of grain. Within these last 20 years, beef sold at 4s 6d. per stone, it was now 9s.; mutton, 4d per lb. now it is 8d.; butter 36s. a firkin, now 68s to 70s.; and cheese in proportion. He spoke of the country markets, he said, by which it appeared that every thing was doubled; yet none of these were, in his opinion, sufficient reasons for altering the laws. The various cases of hardships on the grower should have been more explained; and before we gave bounties to foreigners, for eating our corn, we ought to be provided ourselves with the produce of the pasture, at reasonable prices. Bounties serve certainly to increase the prices; and however desirable to a certain extent, they ought still to be kept within proper bounds. It was very desirable to fix the average price, so that both the consumer should be satisfied and the grower sufficiently paid, to encourage him to raise corn, in order that we might not again experience the distresses of scarcity. In the last 13 years, he said, we had imported 646,000 quarters of corn on an average. In favourable years we had exported, to the amount of 6 or 700,000l. per annum. The increased population, by occasioning a greater interior demand, had lessened the exportation. Our potteries in Staffordshire, our steel manufactures, our immense cotton establishments, and our vast trading and commercial concerns in various ways, multiplied and magnified since the year 1765, had found ample and profitable employment for this increased population, so that the diminution of the export from this cause was not to be regretted. There had been, however, a spirit of agriculture continualy increasing also, for he found that since the year 1780, there had been passed 1197 inclosure bills, so that with care and attention, he thought corn would find its own level without altering the laws.

Sir *John Wrottesley* supported the report, and stated that the corn intercourse between England and Ireland would be made the ground of a separate measure, in which the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Foster), who gave such a laudable attention to the affairs of Ireland, would be particularly consulted.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* agreed as to the increased price of labour; but was afraid that the operation of this bill would fall heavily on the county of Lancaster, which was supplied with corn principally from abroad, and also from the other manufacturing counties. He objected to an average of all the districts becoming the criterion of the price of export, and thought it should be regulated by the price of particular districts, for such districts.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* did not think it necessary in the present stage of the question, to enter into any minute discussion. The point, however, last adverted to, deserved immediate notice. The general object was to equalize the price of corn, and this was now more easily and more completely effected than at former periods. Within the last 20 years the great facility of communication by the canals, which intersected the whole country, was not to be forgotten; and if Lancashire, or any other county, required supply by this vast national improvement, it was to be readily afforded. No gent. could doubt that it was much preferable to supply a deficient province by this expedient from the internal resources than from foreign markets. On the plan adverted to of diffirent ratios for the bounty in different districts, it might be the unfortunate effect that we may be importing in one district when we should be exporting in another. The design of these regulations was that scarcity should be avoided, and for this purpose it was provided, that corn should constantly acquire such a price as would be a sufficient encouragement to promote its growth. We had lately seen the value at 118l. and this arose from the deficiency, but the best means to avoid the deficit was by never admitting this department in agriculture to remain without a sufficient compensation.

Sir *R. Buxton* said, this measure only went to put things in the same state they were in 1791, and not to alter the corn laws. Something must be done to encourage the growth of barley, for if it did not fetch a better price, the farmers could no longer grow any.

Mr. *Fuller* deemed it impolitic to favour grain at the expense of all other articles of produce of equal importance. He wished the measure to be put off till another session.

Sir *J. Newport* stated the question to be, by what means the farmer would receive a fair emolument. If that were correctly determined, he would consider for himself whether his land were most advantageously devoted to pasture or grain, and, to promote his own interest, would be most successfully to conduce to the interest of the public.

Mr. *W. Smith* said a few words, in favour of the measure, after which the resolutions were agreed to, and reported.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, June 21.

[MINUTES.] Counsel were heard in continuation, relative to the writ of error, Lucena v. Crawfurd. The farther consideration of the case was deferred till to-morrow.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—The delivery of judgment on the appeal cause, Hog *v.* Lashley, was postponed till Monday; and the order for the farther consideration of the claim to the Zouche peerage, which stood for to-morrow, was discharged, and renewed for Monday next.

[CONDUCT OF JUDGE FOX.] Lord *Carleton* presented a petition from Luke Fox, Esq. one of his Majesty's judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Ireland. The noble lord, after stating the principal heads of Judge Fox's petition, moved that the clerk do read the same. The clerk then read the petition. It stated "that he, the said Judge Fox, had learnt from the public newspapers, that charges of gross misconduct had been committed by him while on the northern circuit, which charges were contained in a petition from a person of the name of Hart, and which petition and charges (see p. 533) were stated by an hon. member of this house in his place; that being extremely surprised at such unfounded charges, the precise nature of which he was at a loss to conceive, further than what he had been informed, he was anxious to vindicate his character, and had accordingly applied to the lord lieut. for permission to come over to England to repel them. Having arrived in London, he was given to understand that he could not procure a copy of Mr.

Hart's petition without the express permission of the house, and it being necessary that he should learn the specific charges alleged against him in order to prepare his defence, he hoped their lordships would order him a copy of the said petition. He was also informed that the noble lord who presented the petition had given notice that he intended to follow the petition up by some motion; he wished to be prepared for his defence, and whenever that period should arrive, he was satisfied he should establish his innocence in the clearest point of view. He trusted that period was not far distant, especially as the duties of his judicial station would require his presence in Ireland."

Lord *Carleton* observed, that as he had no wish to take their lordships by surprise, he should merely move, that the petition do lie on the table, intending, on Monday, when he understood there would be a full house, to bring the subject under consideration.

The Earl of *Limerick* thought the case of the learned judge rather a hard one, in his having received no notice of the proceeding in question, though the facts to which the petition adverted, were alledged to have taken place about nine months before. Of the facts stated he knew nothing; but he felt it was a principle with that house, in its wisdom and justice, to deem every man innocent until he should be proved guilty. He considered the prayer of the petition as perfectly fair and reasonable, and he doubted not their lordships' disposition to accede to it.

Lord *Mulgrave* recalled to their lordships' recollection the very important business intended for discussion on Monday, and deprecated any discussion which might take up their lordships' time on that day. As to the prayer of the petition, he thought it so fair and reasonable, that it might be at once acceded to. Under that impression, he should move "that a copy of the petition, as prayed for, be furnished to Mr. Justice Fox." Upon this the question was immediately put; and it was ordered accordingly.

Earl *Camden* observed, that, as the prints of the additional forces bill were upon the table, he should now move that the said bill be read a second time on Monday next. Ordered.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, June 21.

There being but 38 members present at four o'clock, the speaker, by the rules of the house, was precluded from taking the chair; and adjournment consequently took place till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, June 22.

Minutes.] In the case of Lucena, *v.* Craufurd and others, Mr. Erskine was heard as counsel for the plaintiff; and Mr. Gibbs in reply, on the part of the defendants. After which the Lord Chancellor went through the whole of the case, and concluded, by informing their lordships, that he would have them furnished with copies of the various questions which had occurred to him upon the case, and his observations thereon, for their consideration, previous to their lordships pronouncing their final judgment.

[Conduct of Judge Fox.] The Earl of *Limerick* rose, and adverting to a morning paper stated, that a misrepresentation had been made of his speech upon the petition of Mr. Justice Fox. He had been made to say, in the paper alluded to, that the learned judge could justify his conduct. He denied having said so; on the contrary, he affirmed, that if that gent's. conduct was one-tenth part as bad as had been represented in the petition presented to that house, he should not be suffered to retain his situation on the judicial seat one moment. He did not mean to bring the publisher of the paper alluded to, before their lordships; if that had been his intention, he would have proceeded to prove who the publisher was; he only mentioned the business, as a caution to the persons who reported the proceedings of that house, not to misrepresent any thing that might take place in that house.

The Marquis of *Abercorn* said, he had this day come from the country, purposely on this business. When he presented the petition of Mr. Hart against Mr. Justice Fox, he totally neglected to move, that the learned judge should be furnished with a copy of it. It was mere inadvertence on his part, as it was certainly his original intention that it should have been done. He had several other petitions in his possession on this subject, and he would trespass on their lordships' time, a few moments, in addressing them on Wednesday next. As he had very little to say, he should not move to summon their lordships.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, June 22.

[Minutes.] A message from the lords informed the house, that their lordships had agreed to the Irish Linen Duty Exemption bill, and to the Aylesbury Election bill.—An Account was presented from the office of the Secretary of State for Ireland, of the number of Officers in half-pay; also an Account of Pensions, &c.—Several papers were presented from the E. India Comp. relative to the Mahratta war; ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—Sir J. Newport gave notice, that early in the ensuing session, he should submit a motion to the house, for revision of the Irish Election acts.—A petition was presented from the Freeholders of Limerick, against the report of the corn committee; ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Foster gave notice, that he should move for leave to bring in a bill for the appointment of commissioners to inquire into the amount of fees, emoluments, and perquisites of certain offices in Ireland.—The report of the corn laws bill, were recommitted.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee on the Irish Budget. All the resolutions but the last, imposing a tax upon the registering of freeholds, were agreed to. The last resolution was objected to by Mr. Stewart, Mr. Dawson, and Mr. Hutchinson, as trenching somewhat on the elective-franchise, and as an improper object of revenue.—Sir J. Newport on the contrary, thought it an excellent resolution, and hoped the right hon. gent. would persevere in it as the best means of stopping the immense influx of electors introduced for sinister purposes.—The opposition to the resolution being persisted in, a division took place—Ayes 119, Noes 31.—The resolutions were then read a 2d time, and bills ordered to be brought in pursuant to the same.—Mr. Foster gave notice, that he should on this day se'nnight move the house to go into a committee on the Irish Revenue Regulation bill, and that if any of the English distillers had objections to urge against it, they might be prepared to bring them forward on that day.—Mr. Foster then moved for an account of the funded debt of Ireland from the year 1784, till the year 1801, and also from the year 1801 till the year 1804, distinguishing how much was created by oir, &c.—Ordered.—Mr. Foster also moved for the names of those commissioners who held in their hands balances of the public money.—Ordered.

[Lord Advocate of Scotland.] Mr. *Whitbread* rose and said, that, previous to his making the motion of which he had formerly given notice, he wished that the extracts of the letters upon which he meant to found his accusation against the rt. hon. lord advocate of Scotland should be read by the clerk. The letters were accordingly read, and are as follows:

"Copy from the Public Record of the County of Banff, of a Letter signed 'C. Hope;' dated Edin^r 30 Dec. 1803: Also; of a Letter or Recommendation from the Sheriff Substitue of the County of Banff, addressed to the Sheriff Clerk, thereto subjoined, signed 'Geo. Forbes,' and of the same date.

"Sir,—I return you the memorial, with my opinion; and in the circumstances of this case I decline taking any fee, which I also return to you. The case in the memorial, is one of those for which unfortunately no provision is made in any of the Volunteer acts, and therefore of course a person who neglects his master's work, on account of attending drills or reviews, is I am afraid in the same situation with a servant doing so from any other cause.—The conduct of Morison however is most atrocious, and every possible means ought to be taken to stigmatize him, and to punish him by the scorn and contempt of all the respectable men in the county, who ought to enter into a resolution to have no communication or dealings with him whatever.—And further, as I consider that Morison's conduct can only have arisen from a secret spirit of disaffecton and disloyalty, it is my orders to you, as sheriff substitute of the county, that on the first Frenchman landing in Scotland, you do immediately apprehend and secure Morison as a suspected person; and you will not liberate him without a communication with me; and you may inform him of these my orders.—And further, that I shall do all I can, to prevent him from receiving any compensation for any part of his property which may be either destroyed by the enemy, or by the King's troops to prevent it from falling into the enemy's hands.—I am, Sir, Yours, &c. &c. (Signed) C. Hope. Addressed George Forbes, Esq." Sheriff Substitute of Bamffshire.—"I recommend the Sheriff Clerk to transcribe this letter, and send the copy to Mr. Morison, keeping the principal in the record of court.—Signed, Geo. Forbes. Edinburgh, 30th Dec. 1803.—What is contained in the preceding are just and true copies of the letter, and recommendation thereon written; faithfully transcribed in obedience to the order of the House of Commons, dated 6th June, 1804, and reported to the house accordingly.—Pat. Rose, Sheriff Clerk of Bamffshire."

Mr. *Whitbread* rose, and addressed the house to the following effect—Sir; these papers having now been entered, as read, in the Journals of the House, it is my intention to make them the ground of an accusation against the rt. hon. gent. opposite (the lord advocate of Scotland), whom I am happy to see this day in his place. In the observations which I shall feel it my duty to submit to the house, I trust that I shall come to the discussion with that coolness and impartiality which the important and interesting nature of the subject so strongly demands. Though at the first moment that the business was communicated to me I did feel very warm on the subject; though, the more I have considered it with the gravest attention, I have continued to feel equally strongly, yet I hope I shall discuss the subject at this time without either passion or prejudice. I trust that, before I sit down, it will appear that I have not been led away by the warmth of my feelings, but that the motion with which I shall feel it my duty to conclude, is one fairly and justly deducible from the papers now on your table. I have said, that it gives me sincere pleasure to see the rt. hon. gent. in his place, for on this, as on every other similar occasion, I am anxious for the application of that grand principle of the law of this country, that the accused shall, in all cases, be confronted with his accuser. The rt. hon. gent. being in his place, will hear what are the grounds of my accusation, and no step will be taken against him till he shall have been fully heard in his defence. Though the house of commons have taken up this subject, he will not be at all precluded from any exertion to shew that the whole charge is totally without foundation. The matter having, however, come under our consideration, I do not at all see that we can, by any possibility, avoid coming to some decision. The house having ordered the papers to be produced, we are called on, by every consideration of duty, of honor, and of justice, to say aye or no, whether the charges which I mean to found on them, are or are not well founded. This is a decision which we owe in justice to the people of Scotland, whose interests and whose rights it so naturally involves. It is a decision due to the character of the rt. hon. gent., whose conduct is subjected to a serious imputation. It is a decision which we are called on to give in justice to the cause of the liberty and independence of every order in the community. A decision must, then, on all these grounds, be come to, either that my proposition is false and groundless, or that it has been substantiated, and that the people of Scotland are liable to a species of gross injustice and oppression, against which it is incumbent on this house to shelter them. In the outset it may be proper for me to state the precise words in which my intended motion will be couched. While we do this, it is also proper for me to add that I shall not confine myself to this first motion if it should meet with the support of the house. I should feel that I stopped far short of my duty, if I did not follow it up by another motion, clearly founded on the first proposition which I shall have the honor to submit to the house. My first motion will be, "that the conduct of the rt. hon. the lord advocate of Scotland, in writing the letter to James Morison which has been read and entered on the Journals this evening, was oppressive, illegal, and contrary to his professional duties." The house, Sir, are aware of the powers vested in the rt. hon. gent. as lord advocate of Scotland, are of a very enlarged description. Great, however, as they are, I cannot allow myself for a moment to believe, that they are as great as those which the language of the letter in question appears to claim. But allowing me to grant, for a moment, a thing which I utterly dispute and disclaim, that the powers invested in the lord advocate were as ample as the letter would require, still I should contend, that the conduct of the lord advocate, in writing it, might be legal, but still was most grossly oppressive to Morison, the person who had preferred his complaint. Let me suppose the monstrous power, merely for the sake of argument, for in no other light can it be listened to for a single moment, that the lord advocate had the power, without having any defence, without at all taking the trouble to make the least inquiry into the grounds of accusation, of cutting off any individual, from the comforts of civilized life, and reducing him to the situation of a mere wretch on the face of the earth; let me suppose all this to be consistent with the powers of the lord advocate, and still I shall not have come up to the powers pretended to be exercised in the case which I am to bring under the consideration of the house. Here the lord advocate, without even the shadow of reasonable accusation, without even deigning to consider, that, by the law of this country, defence was allowed to the accused, not only endeavoured to cut off Morison from all the comforts of society, but orders him to be apprehended, not to be released in the ordinary course of law, but to be detained in close custody till his own pleasure on the subject should be expressed. The lord advocate of Scotland is not satisfied with carrying his power thus far, but, anticipating invasion as an event near at hand, and knowing that property was liable, in such an event to destruction, he actually declares, that he shall take special care to prevent Morison, in any case whatever, from receiving compensation for any loss of property which he might sustain, from whatever causes that loss should arise. Such is the general nature of his charge against the lord advocate of Scotland, and if I can substantiate it, I will then leave it to the house to determine, whether the rt. hon. gent.'s conduct was not, in every point of view, grossly oppressive. It is not my wish to detain the house long, on the subject of the earlier transactions of this business, but the rt. hon. gent., being now in his place, I hope I shall be indulged the opportunity of submitting to the house a very brief statement. It appears that Garrow, the servant of Mr. Morison, whose discharge gave rise to the opinion and letter of the lord advocate, had, contrary to the consent of his master, entered himself a private in the 2d battalion of Bamffshire volunteers. On a particular day he had left his business to attend an inspection of the corps, and for this, as being expressly contrary to his master's orders, he was discharged. Under these circumstances, he wished to ascertain whether he was intitled to recover from his master, wages for the whole time that he had contracted to serve him, or only for the time that he had actually served. A memorial was sent to the lord advocate, requesting his opinion on this case, and in his answer he does not pretend to say, that in dismissing the servant, Morison had been at all guilty of any thing illegal. Even in that opinion, however, an indirect libel is conveyed on Morison's character, of which I do strongly disapprove. I am not disputing the right of a counsel to introduce into an opinion addressed to a client, observations which may affect the character of the opposite party, but where this is made a public document, it unquestionably assumes a new character and form. It is in this point of view then, that I object to the manner in which the opinion of the lord advocate of Scotland was conveyed. But, Sir, it is of the letter, of the rt. hon. gent. that I principally complain. Has the conduct of Morison been proved to be illegal? On the contrary, the lord advocate admits that it is legal. Has there been adduced the slightest presumption of his disloyalty? Not a single insinuation to this effect appears on the whole face of the transaction. Under these circumstances, how is it that the rt. hon. gent. proceeds? Without calling a single person to explain to him Morison's general character for loyalty and respectability, without taking the opinion of a single human being on the subject; in total ignorance of any one ground by which criminality could be attached to the conduct of Morison, he, without the slightest delay, consigns him over to the severest pains and penalties. I call, Sir, on the lawyers of England, I call on the lawyers of Scotland to deliver their opinions on this subject, and not to suffer so foul a stigma on the law of the country as this, to pass without the severest censure. The rt. hon. gent., while in the exercise of this most illegal and oppressive conduct had not a single motive of reasonable justification. He had no proof of misbehaviour on the part of Morison in the particular transaction under consideration; and it surely was but fair to believe that Morison was a man of loyal principles, at a moment when all ranks of the community partook of a general feeling of ardour and patriotism in the defence of the liberties and independence of their common country. What right, then, had the rt. hon. gent. to presume that Morison was a man of nefarious or dangerous principles? From the internal evidence of the letter, it appears to me that the rt. hon. gent. was determined to represent Morison as a dangerous individual; but not a tittle of evidence then existed, nor, as far as I know, now exists, to shew that Morison was a man at all of discontented principles. This is at least clear, that not one overt act manifested such a disposition to have existed on his mind. The rt. hon. gent. indeed says, in his letter, that the conduct of Morison had originated from a secret spirit of dissatisfaction with the govt. This spirit of disaffection has indeed, Sir, been so very secret, that not one act proves its existence, or has to this hour been recorded; while there are a number of gentlemen of the greatest respectability, who have known Morison for a number of years, and who are ready to testify their belief of the loyalty of his political principles. In this view then, the charge of secret disaffection is altogether illegal, as well as unjustifiable. But here, Sir, I wish to say a few words as to the specific cause for which Garrow was discharged from Morison's service. If the information which has been transmitted to me on this subject be correct, I have no hesitation in saying, that the circumstance which gave rise to Garrow's discharge, would have justified me or any other gent.

in this house in discharging a servant on similar grounds. It has been stated to me, that Mr. Morison is a farmer who holds a very respectable character, and that his character for loyalty in particular had never been called in question. This was indeed, according to my information, fully proved a few years ago, when disaffection to govt. was supposed to be much more extensive than it will surely be represented at the present moment. Garrow, his servant, had, contrary to Morison's consent, entered into a volunteer corps at a distance of about 7 miles from Morison's residence. He had, contrary to his master's orders, continued his attendance. A day or two previous to the day of his discharge he had been employed in thatching a barn, and Morison had informed him that if he absented himself from his work he should dismiss him from his service. After this distinct intimation Garrow did absent himself, and the consequence was, that he was accordingly discharged. Now, Sir, I do contend that Morison in this case had an excellent reason for turning off his servant, under all the circumstances. When we think of the season of the year that this work of thatching the barn was going on, and what material inconvenience might have resulted from its being delayed, it is easy to see that Morison might have been perfectly justifiable in insisting on the constant attendance of the servant for the purpose of completing this piece of work, the urgency of which could not be disputed. Let me remind the house, too, that this was the first instance in which Morison had positively interfered with his servant's attendance at the drills of the corps. Not a single symptom of disloyalty beyond this fair exercise of his authority as a master had been attempted to be alleged against him. Are we, Sir, to have such charges as this adduced without a single pretence of their being founded in truth, or are such insinuations at all consistent with the spirit of the volunteer establishment? Are we, Sir, to be dragooned into volunteer corps; and are masters who happen to discharge servants under circumstances similar to those which I have stated, to be charged as hostile to the govt. and the safety of their country? Surely, Sir, it is of the very essence of the volunteer system that it should be exempted from all restraint; and, sure I am, that in this country, the doctrines attempted to be inculcated by the rt. hon. gent. would be universally reprobated. If such doctrines were tolerated for a moment, it is impossible to decide to what extent oppression and persecution might be carried. I am equally persuaded that they would be as strongly resisted in Scotland, and that there, as here, the letter of the rt. hon. gent. cannot fail to be regarded as equally illegal and oppressive. —But, Sir, there is another circumstance connected with this business which it is important for me to state to the house, and which certainly places the conduct of the rt. hon gent. in a still more aggravated point of view. I am informed, that after the rt. hon. gent.'s letter had been published in Bamffshire, Morison actually applied by letter wishing to have the harsh statements which it contained retracted—[the lord advocate whispered across the table that no letter was received]. Well then, Sir, perhaps I am misinformed as to the precise mode of the application, but that an application generally to this effect, was made, will not, I am sure, be denied. The application was refused in the most peremptory manner, and the right hon. gent. proud of the vast powers which he possessed, and knowing that Morison had no means of making a stand against him, seemed determined to shew him how far his uncontroled authority could carry him. I have felt it my duty, Sir, to state this, for if, in the first instance, the conduct of the rt. hon. gent. in writing the letter was illegal, surely his conduct in refusing to retract his original statement, and to give Morison some compensation for the unfounded charges made against his character, shewed no less strongly the rt. hon. gent. had failed most unjustifiably in the exercise of his professional duties. While, Sir, I am thoroughly convinced of this conduct being highly oppressive, I am no less clear that it is grossly illegal. As lord advocate of Scotland, I deny that the powers claimed in the letter can at all be exercised, consistently with the strict unequivocal enactments of law. I am not disposed to go into any detail on the laws of Scotland; but permit me to state this, the liberty of the subject in Scotland is guarded by a variety of statutes, of which it is impossible for a person of the rt. hon. gent.'s professional talents to be ignorant. I might allude to several of these statutes, but one particularly passed in the reign of William, soon after the revolution, is on this point particularly worthy of consideration. By this statute, Sir, it is in the first place declared, that no man shall be imprisoned without having the grounds of his arrest explained to him. It is true, indeed, that in cases of extraordinary emergency the imprisonment of persons, without in the first instance assigning these grounds, is permitted. In these cases, however, perhaps strong ground of suspicion might exist, though it might not be prudent at once to disclose it. In the case of Morison, however, there was no information lodged against him. There was no presumption of his guilt. There was no pretence for threatening him with the deprivation of his liberty. There was no warrant or writ pretended to be executed. The whole business was conducted in a way fatal to the very existence of personal liberty. I am sure the rt. hon. gent. will not pretend to support the legality of the transaction, and this I will assert without fear of contradiction, that if the instructions of the right hon. gent. had been attempted to be carried into effect, and Morison had attempted resistance, and individuals had been killed in the affray, no trial for murder could have taken place. But, Sir, the conduct of the rt. hon. gent. is illegal, not merely so far as the imprisonment of Morison is concerned. By the act to which I have alluded, persons imprisoned had a right to demand their trial after the expiration of 40 days, and for certain offences bail might even be accepted. But how has the rt. hon. gent. here proceeded in the case of Morison? Why, Sir, he tells the sheriff of Bamffshire that Morison must not only be arrested, but that he must be kept in durance vile as long as he himself thought proper, and that for his liberation they must wait for his precise orders. It is contended perhaps that, in the event of a threatened invasion, imprisonment of suspected persons may take place on the ground of responsibility; but, Sir, even here the statute to which I have referred does not leave the subject without a certain degree of relief against oppression. That relief, however, the rt. hon. gent. is determined to with-hold, and Mr. Morison is to be punished just to whatever extent the rt. hon. gent. may be pleased to appoint. I am not now, Sir, challenging the policy of that part of the law of Scotland which vests in the lord advocate the powers granted in this country to grand juries and coroners' inquests, the value and importance of which our ancestors so properly estimated. I may be permitted, however, to say a few words on the extent of these powers. Let it be recollected, Sir, that let a matter of accusation be ever so grave and serious, it remains with the lord advocate to determine whether it is a subject fit to be brought before a court for legal investigation. Even in cases where persons most interested actually solicit such an investigation, it was in the power of the rt. hon. gent. to refuse compliance with their solicitation. With such extensive and almost unparalleled powers, it is needless, merely, Sir, to enlarge on the importance of the person holding it being actuated by the soundest discretion. If there are cases where the rt. hon. gent. has either abstained improperly from the exercise of the powers vested in him, or in other instances has carried them beyond the bounds of justice or discretion, it is certainly fit that his conduct should be fully scrutinized. This Sir, is the charge which I bring against the rt. hon. gent. opposite, and I confess myself at a loss to anticipate what the nature of his defence will be. I shall only hope, that it may be of a nature which will rescue the character of the rt. hon. gent. against the very serious charge now brought against his conduct. It appears to me, that this can only be effectually done by shewing, that the whole of my statements are wholly without foundation. Viewing the rt. hon. gent.'s conduct to Morison as equally illegal and oppressive, I must add, that it seems to me to have been wholly unnecessary. There was no fair pretext for severity to Morison on any supposed ground of danger. If invasion did not take place, but was expected, it would have been easy to have seized him, if really of a suspicious character, independent of the instructions contained in the letter. If, on the other hand, invasion did take place, Morison could do no harm, as he was surrounded by thousands of men distinguished for their loyalty and public spirit. It was quite superfluous therefore, for the rt. hon. gent. to have recourse to such an unnecessary stretch of power. As to the responsibility about which we shall probably hear a good deal, it appears to me a mere joke under the circumstances of the case. The fact was, that if the injustice which Morison had experienced had not been brought under review, this responsibility would have been kept altogether in the back view. But what I particularly complain of in the whole of this business is, that this very letter, which will not now be defended on the ground of its legality, was sent forth to the public as perfectly legal, constitutional, and expedient. As to the motives which may have given rise to the rt. hon. gent.'s conduct, it is not at all my wish to apply any harsh epithets, I have no reason to think that they were not in their nature the most pure. Perhaps they originated from great strength of zeal, inflamed by the particular situation of the country. I must be allowed, however, to say, that they betray the strongest indiscretion in a great public officer, whose mind ought to be kept wholly free from all impressions of prejudice, partiality, or want of due reflexion. Under all the circumstances of the case, I think that the house ought to mark the conduct of the rt. hon. gent. in terms of severe reprobation. The motion with which I shall conclude appears to me, therefore, one which is equally due to the honour and dignity of the house; to the protection which the people of Scotland have a right to expect of us; and to the great cause of national liberty and justice.—The hon. gent. was about to read his first motion, declaring the conduct of the lord advocate of Scotland unjust, illegal, and oppressive, when

The *Speaker* interrupted him by stating, that as he preferred a complaint against a member of the house, the regular mode of proceeding would be to hear that rt. hon. and learned friend in his defence. After he finished his speech, then the hon. gent. might submit his motion to the consideration of the house. Thereupon

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland* rose, and replied as follows:—It seldom has happened to fall to my lot to stand in the character of a person accused, and certainly I little expected that I should this day feel it necessary to rise in my place in this house to answer to any charge of injustice and oppression. I do assure the hon. gent. who has brought forward this charge, that, whatever opinion he, who knows me not, may entertain of my official conduct, a charge of injustice or oppression, was never before coupled with the name I bear. It is a consolation to me, Sir, that though the hon. member is not acquainted with my public character, I have never been without the approbation of those who have known me best in my own country. With the hon. gent., and others not acquainted with the character which it has been my good fortune to sustain, this charge may have obtained a temporary belief; but I can say, with a safe conscience, that had the same charge been promulgated in that city in which my lot is cast, a hundred thousand tongues would be raised against it, and not a few arms against him by whom it might be preferred. It is also another consolation to me, that if I have been guilty of injustice or oppression to Morison, Morison and his friends have in their turn grievously retaliated. I must be allowed to state it, as a most extraordinary circumstance, that after passing two months in London, either present or ready to be present in my place in this house, not one word was said of the charge now preferred against me, though six months have elapsed since the letter which has been made the ground of so much animadversion has been publicly known in that part of the country which was so materially interested in the subject. In saying this, let me be understood as conveying no sort of insinuation against the hon. gent. opposite, as to the time when the business has been agitated. He, I am confident, is incapable of any mean or unjustifiable manœuvres to take me by surprise, or to put me to any unnecessary inconvenience. Of any such motives I do most sincerely and fully acquit him. I believe that the hon. gent. brought forward the business as soon as he received the information on which the charge was founded, and that in bringing it forward he acted fairly and honorably. When I have stated this, I have to declare my opinion that some kind friend, no doubt with the best motives, contrived to get the business introduced just at the time that my presence in another part of the kingdom was the most necessary, and when my professional duties called for my most unremitting exertions. It is under these peculiar circumstances that I am now forced to return to London to answer a charge of the gravest and most serious kind. If, in this case, I have not had reason to complain of the horrors and the terrors of imprisonment, at least I have a fair right to complain of a pretty severe share of punishment.—Before, Sir, I enter at large into the subject, it may be proper for me at the outset to say a few words on a supposed letter sent from Mr. Morison, wishing me to retract the sentiments contained in my letter to the sheriff substitute of Bamffshire. It is not true that I ever received from Morison any such letter. It is true, indeed, the writer employed by Morison in Edinburgh to manage his business, for certainly in point of property Morison is a respectable man, did, about three weeks after the publication of my letter, call on me, wishing me to retract my former statement, and assuring me that they had occasioned Morison a great deal of uneasiness. At this interview he assured me that, as far as he knew, Morison was a loyal man, and altogether a person of unexceptionable character. To this proposition my reply was short and simple. Previous to any retraction on my part, I required that Morison should offer an apology for his conduct; and this I conceived indispensably necessary, before I humbled myself so far as to go on my knees to any individual whatever. Whether I was right in following this line of conduct will depend on a review of those circumstances which it will be necessary for me to state before I close my observations on this very serious charge. This only it is proper for me to add on this point, that from the day that this interview took place, I received no explaination, and that I never heard more of the business till it was first agitated in this house.—Having made these preliminary observations, I should now proceed to the merits of the case. Before, however, I do this, it will be necessary to introduce some general observations, which will materially assist the house in comprehending the real nature of the proceedings which I thought it my duty to adopt, so far as Morison was concerned. In the first place, I wish to direct the attention of the house to the period of the year at which the letter in question was written, and the means of defence which Scotland at that time possessed, as applicable to the formidable danger with which the country was threatened. It will be necessary for me, before I sit down, to dwell somewhat at large on the nature of the duties connected with the office of lord advocate for Scotland; but even now it is proper that I should incidentally allude to it. I must first of all say, then, that in the circumstances under which the letter was written, I acted under the gravest responsibility. I have to state, that at that period the means of defence in Scotland were totally inadequate to its defence. When I say that Scotland was then almost wholly left to itself, I mean to throw out no charge either against the king's late ministers, or the illustrious persons at the head of the army.—The effect of this however was, that very considerable alarm and dissatisfaction did prevail in Scotland, though the wisest and more reflecting part of the community were convinced of the necessity of concentrating the troops in the vicinity of the capital. The house are sufficiently aware what a large proportion of the recruits for the regular army are at all times obtained from Scotland. Notwithstanding this I have now to mention, that, at the period to which I am referring, there were only, in all Scotland, two weak battalions of the army of reserve, without clothing and without arms, and one solitary regiment of dragoons. In this respect, then, we were solely left to ourselves. But, Sir, this was not all. At that very moment the noble lord, at the head of the troops in Scotland, had actually received orders to detach some part of our force to Ireland, and two of our best appointed and most steady regiments of militia were actually under marching orders for a district in Northumberland. We had then only thirteen battalions of militia; the supplementary militia were then hardly in the ranks, and of the volunteers a great proportion were also destitute of arms, and in every point of view unprepared for service, on the east coast of Scotland. When I mention that under two major generals there were only two regiments, I think I must convey to the house a tolerable picture of military defence of Scotland at the time when this letter, on which so much animadversion has passed, was written. With regard to the north of Scotland, its whole safety depended upon the voluntary exertions of the people. The noble lord at the head of the forces felt it his duty to concentrate what troops he could collect for the defence of Edinburgh, and therefore the defenceless state of the northern part of the island could not, at that moment, be possibly avoided. I appeal then, Sir, to the candour of the house, what my feelings must have been, when called on to offer an opinion respecting the conduct of an individual, whose proceedings went to the direct discouragement of the exertions of the volunteers, on whom the safety of the North of Scotland depended. Am I to be severely condemned for not having guided myself wholly by the cold formal terms of law? The more we felt the necessity of concentrating the troops in the vicinity of Edinburgh, the more did we see the expedience of encouraging, by every possible means, the exertions of the volunteers in the Northern part of the island. Unquestionably it was the duty of every man to discourage any attempt to damp the ardour of the volunteers, and though I have no idea of dragooning men into volunteers, I certainly did feel, that the conduct of Morison, under all the circumstances of the case, was highly to be reprobated. So much I have conceived it necessary to say as to the means of defence possessed by Scotland, at the period when the letter was written. The next point to which I wish to advert is, the means of information with regard to the probable attempt at invasion, at the period to which I have been referring. At that time it was almost universally understood among all the deputy lieutenants, or at least among all the lords lieutenants of counties, that invasion might be expected from day to day. The noble lord at the head of the troops, strongly represented the immediate probability of the attempt, and even went so far as to read a letter from the secretary of state, intimating that government, from their knowledge of the enemy's preparations, were in daily expectation of the enemy endeavouring to effect a landing on our shores. So far, indeed, did the noble lord and I carry our views on this subject, that not contented with precautions for the readiness of the troops, we carried them even so far as to our own persons. I can state to the house, that the noble lord was so scrupulous on this point, that he determined not to sleep even one night out of Edinburgh. He even went so far as to refrain to sleep at Dalkeith, the seat of the Duke of Buccleugh, though only six miles from Edinburgh, from the apprehension that the signal for the approach of the enemy might be hoisted, and even an hour should not be lost in leading the troops against the invaders. It was under such circumstances and such impressions, that I sat down to consider the case of Morison, and in the answer which I gave to the memorial submitted for my opinion, as well as in the letter to the sheriff of Bamffshire, I certainly did deliver my sentiments under the impression that the enemy might have landed in Scotland, even before my letter reached its destination.—Having put the house in possession of the real state of things, so far as our information respecting the time when invasion might have been expected in Scotland, I proceed to make a few observations on the nature of the office which it is my duty to hold, and which may tend to enable the house more fairly and impartially to judge of the question at issue. They, Sir, who judge of the office of lord advocate for Scotland by a comparison with the dry, formal office of attorney-general in this country, have, indeed, formed a most erroneous opinion on the subject. The hon. gent. has professed his inability to explain to the house the various and complicated duties of this office. I wish that I could within any reasonable compass define its duties, and then I can assure the house that though extensive, almost beyond conception, they would afford me ease and retirement, compared with the endless succession of duties which now successively pass under my review. It will be necessary for me to say a few words here respecting the executive govt. in Scotland, previous to the union. At that period the lord high chancellor, the lord justice general, the lord justice clerk, the lord privy seal, and the lord advocate, were the constituent members of administration. From a variety of causes these had successively disappeared. The lord high chancellor was no longer in existence. The lord privy seal existed merely for the purpose of appending the seal of Scotland. The lord chief justice general is the mere nominal head of a court at which he never presides. By a special act of parliament the lord justice clerk can have no seat in the house, and is wholly confined to his own court.—Under these circumstances, Sir, the whole of the duties connected with these various departments have now entirely devolved on the lord advocate of Scotland. To him all inferior officers look for advice and decision, and with the greatest propriety it may be said that he possesses the whole of the executive government of Scotland under his particular care. I, Sir, have found in my own experience how boundless are the duties which this office imposes. It has fallen to my lot in a thousand instances not only to give advice on subjects connected with my professional pursuits, but on subjects altogether foreign from my habits of life. I have often been under the necessity of giving advice on matters purely military, and to endeavour to remove difficulties which had occurred in arranging the means of national defence. I may state, without exaggeration, that since the first passing of the acts for the defence of the country, I have given to lord lieutenants and others employed in carrying these acts into effect, no less than eight hundred different opinions on the subject of military arrangements. This I have been called to do from the difference of habits and manners in different districts of Scotland, to which no general legislative opinion could ever reach. While I am on this subject, I may with the utmost propriety add, that, since the arrival of the present commander in chief in Scotland (Earl Moira), I have been in a great measure relieved from this very fatiguing part of my public duty. That gallant nobleman possesses not only the utmost perfection of military science, but unites so much civil and political knowledge, that he has conciliated and endeared all hearts. Under his auspices we have not only begun to feel no dread of invasion, but have imbibed confidence in ourselves. We have not only adopted this confidence, but we have been inspired with an enthusiastic desire to prove ourselves worthy of our illustrious commander, and by our blood to add new glory to his fame in arms. I am proud, Sir, to boast of the confidence which the noble lord has been pleased to repose in me, and I will put it with fairness to the house, whether, if my public conduct had ever been marked with severity, wantonness or oppression, it is at all likely that I should have continued to enjoy the good opinion of one so much distinguished by his public and his private virtues. Will the house credit the possibility of the noble lord's at all times honouring with his regard an individual under whose administration the people of Scotland were reduced to the degrading state which the hon. gent. who introduced the charge seemed to represent? In judging of my public conduct, the house ought to bear in mind the duties which I have to perform and the scene on which I am called on to act. It should be remembered that, with the exception of the legislature, Scotland is still to all intents and purposes a separate kingdom. Its laws, its customs, and its manners have undergone no change. In the application of general acts much local explanation is required, and therefore the lord advocate of Scotland must frequently act on his responsibility. This is the sort of conduct which every one in this situation is necessarily compelled to pursue. Cases do occur when nothing but responsibility can enable a lord advocate of Scotland firmly and honestly to perform his duty to the public. In the American war, a noble lord (Lord Melville) who then filled the situation, acted on one occasion on this principle in a way that did him the highest honour. The instance to which I allude was the case of several vessels about to sail from Greenock and Portpatrick for New York and Boston. If these vessels had been permitted to sail, the consequence would have been that a number of British subjects would have been totally lost to this country. What then did the noble lord do under these circumstances? He did precisely that which his public duty imperiously required of him. He incurred a grand responsibility, immediately sent orders to the custom-house officers at the ports from which the vessels were to sail, and had them all embargoed. Thus, by incurring responsibility, an important public object was obtained, though the act in itself was not strictly legal. Another case, which is also strongly in point, occurred during the administration of my predecessor in office. It so happened that he received intelligence that a letter would be sent from the post office at Perth, and would reach Edinburgh on a particular day. In this case, if legal forms had been adhered to, an order from the secretary of state's office must have been obtained before the letter could be stopped. But what had his hon. friend done at such a crisis? he felt that he must and ought to stand upon his responsibility. He did follow this course. He intercepted the letter, and from the information it contained he was enabled to detect and bring Watt, the traitor, to condign punishment. In my own experience I have also felt it my duty to stand on my responsibility, when it appeared to me that the public service was interested. Information reached me, that several vessels were about to sail from ports in the west of Scotland, with a number of emigrants on board, bound to America, and that the amount of provisions was not much more than one-third of what was necessary to provide for even an ordinary voyage. Here I did not hesitate a moment, but immediately, by orders to the custom-house officers, had them embargoed, till a proper supply of provisions was obtained. The action was not strictly legal, but my own sense of public duty represented to me the necessity of resorting to it and awaiting the consequences. No fault was found with my conduct, and if I had thought that it would have been blamed, I could only have come to this house for an act of indemnity. I felt it my duty to act on the same principles in July last, when the insurrection broke out in Dublin. At that time I was apprized that numbers of Irishmen were arriving at Port Patrick, from Ireland. I naturally supposed, as was the case, a bill would pass, enabling the Irish govt. to prevent any person leaving Ireland without a passport. There was no similar law against their reception here; but, acting on the principle that this act was meant to be reciprocal, I immediately sent orders to prevent any persons but women and children from landing in any port of this kingdom, without a passport; and those who had no passport I immediately ordered to be sent back again to Ireland. Here, to be sure, I did not act in conformity to the strict letter of the law. Carrying the matter to strict interpretation, an action of false imprisonment would, perhaps, have lain against me. But I should have been ashamed of myself if, from an apprehension of any such consequences, I had at all dreaded to encounter responsibility, or to answer for my conduct with my head. On these principles I have always proceeded, and on these grounds it is my determination always to act.—It did occur to me, in the event of the enemy appearing off the coast, and evidencing an intention of landing, that it would be impossible to go on in the common mode of administering justice, and I therefore, in conformity to the opinion of the noble commander in chief, applied to government for the appointment of a conditional committee, for declaring martial law in the event of the enemy's landing.—Feeling that the noble secretary of state was apprehensive that the knowledge of such a measure might create unnecessary alarm, I desired himself only to say so, that I would take the whole responsibility on myself, would burn his letter on the subject, would on my own responsibility take every step that was necessary for the public safety, and would throw myself on the candour of this house. If, however, the house be inclined to take on themselves the responsibility which had always been understood to attach to the character of lord advocate, I shall feel happy, and thank them for the relief. There is another thing which may give some idea of the situation in which Scotland stood at the moment when that letter was written, and of the degree of responsibility which the imperious necessity of the times called on me to undertake. At that time Edinburgh was in the greatest state of alarm, and was by no means adequately defended, such as by the exertions of the noble lord to whom I have so often alluded, it now is, nor could it at that moment have resisted an attack of five thousand men. In this situation, the banks and private bankers had provided the necessary accommodations for retreating with all their effects. I was here again forced to interpose my responsibility. If the enemy should land, what in that case would become of the payment of the troops, the banks having fled with all their cash? I caused a military chest to be erected, in which all the cash of the country should be deposited. I told them that I would take the responsibility on myself. The pay of 20,000 troops, while an enemy was in the country, could not be suffered to depend on a check or bill on London. Such was the responsibility in which I stood, and such the character in which I acted. It was not as public prosecutor that I wrote the letter in question; it was not my object to have Mr. Morison apprehended as a suspected person, but I felt it a duty incumbent on me, from the situation I held, arising from the official information which I had received.—The hon. gent. says that my opinion and my letter were very different. They, indeed, were so, for they were founded on very different information, and were given under very different circumstances. The one was an opinion delivered by me to a client; the other was a letter written in consequence of a communication made to me in my official capacity, by a person holding an official situation in the county in which the transaction occurred. The memorial or statement, on which my opinion was formed, was not laid before me by the sheriff substitute, but by the private agent of Garrow. It stated the fact of the service, of Garrow's dismissal, and concluded with the question, "is he entitled to payment for his service during the period of his service?" The letter, on the other hand, was written in consequence of a communication made to me officially by Mr. Forbes, sheriff substitute of the county, whose business it is to impart to me such occurrences in the county as he may deem of any public importance, or as likely to aid or impede the public service. He thought it a business of such a nature as called on him to wait on me, and communicate to me the circumstances under which it occurred. I shall state that information to the house, and then let them judge of the dilemma in which the lord advocate of Scotland must stand, if, with the high responsibility to which he is subjected, he is to be liable to charges like the present. Were I to wish to shelter myself under a vile insinuation against Morison that I had received information against him, which, independent of the circumstances attending the dismissal, would warrant the conduct which I had adopted, would the house ask me to divulge my private information? It unquestionably would not. If it did, there would be an end to all communications of the kind, as none would be found in such circumstances ready to give any information. If I ask for indemnity, is it necessary to shew that I have acted legally? Of what use, then, would be an application for indemnity? If I produced *prima facie* evidence of being actuated by no sinister or improper motive, I would not be required to divulge the real grounds on which my conduct was founded. If a disclosure of such secret grounds of opinion were at all required, they would not be called for openly, but in a secret committee. It is not my wish, however, to screen myself under such an allegation. Justice to Mr. Morison requires me to declare, that I have no cause to impute any improper conduct or motives to him, farther than was communicated to me by the sheriff substitute regarding this affair. Feeling the bad effects which the conduct of Morison had, and was likely to have in that part of the country, the sheriff substitute, on his own part, and on the part of the other magistrates of the county, came to me, and stated how materially the public service had been injured. He informed me that the servant had not entered against the will, but without obtaining the consent of his master. That his master had seen him attend drill for four months without objecting to it, he having done it at extraordinary hours. Having thus qualified himself for the service, and entitled to avail himself of his attendance, he asked leave of his master to go, but was refused, a particular piece of work being at the same time pointed out to him, which he must perform. So great was his zeal for the public service, and at the same time his desire not to neglect his master's work, he rose during the night-time, and completed the task assigned him. Having done so, he shewed it to his master, again asked leave to go, and was again refused. This, probably, was the first time he had worn his uniform, desirous, most likely of figuring before some of his female acquaintance, and anxious, no doubt, to profit by the attendance which he had formerly given, he did attend the inspection, expecting at the very most that he would receive a scold for his disobedience. In this, however, he was deceived, his master dismissed him, although he offered to work extra hours, or any additional day at the expiration of his agreement. But how was he turned away? Was he turned away as the hon. gent. would dismiss one of his servants who had deservedly offended him? Were his wages honestly and fairly paid to him? No, he and his family were turned to the door without a single farthing of wages, even for the time he had actually served, which he did not latterly recover, but through a decree of the sheriff. Dismissal of a servant in Scotland, it is to be observed, is very different in its effects from a similar line of conduct in this country. In Scotland servants were not engaged by the day or week, but by the half year, at two stated terms, when every servant necessary for that half year's work, is engaged. It was therefore not to be expected that he should get a place for the remainder of the winter. There are, besides, no poor rates in Scotland, of course no alternative seemed to await him but to beg or to starve. These are the circumstances on which I proceeded, communicated to me not by the servant, but officially by the chief magistrate of the county, impressed with the conviction of the mischievous effects which such conduct had produced on the public service. Is there then a man in this house who will now hesitate where to apply the terms injustice and oppression? I do say, that I, at this moment, consider the conduct of Morison to have been unjust and oppressive in the extreme; and, on mature and calm deliberation, if I doubt of any part of my conduct in that business, it is how far my legal opinion, that he was warranted in dismissing his servant, was well founded. The circumstances were stated to me as guardian of the laws of Scotland. In what light could I view the conduct of Morison? The hon. gent. says, that I was not entitled, however, to read a man's motives in his conduct; as if there was one man in the North of Scotland in the pay of France, in what manner could he act to denote his character more clearly than Morison had here done? The hon. gent. has completely misplaced those sentiments of commiseration and compassion on which he had so largely dwelt. This, however, I am convinced proceeded from a partial and incomplete information of the facts of the case. Had he known them fully, he must have seen that his compassion was far more justly due to the servant than to the master. There is, however, another circumstance, of which I then had information, with which the conduct of Morison exactly corresponded, nor was I at all unwarranted in supposing him to be a person of that description. I was not ignorant that there had existed at Portsay, within a mile or two of the place where this gent. lived, a society called "the Society for Universal Liberty," founded on the principle of never ceasing to promote their chimerical and visionary plans, so long as a member of it existed. The conduct of this society had been such as to induce the sheriff to inform them, that he must have the honours of the sittings at the after meetings, and on this notification they had thought proper to dissolve. That they did, however, still continue to meet in small parties, for feditious purposes, and that one of their objects was to discountenance and discourage volunteering among servants, was known. I was well aware that the *primum mobile*, the principal instigator and promoter of this society, was a person very likely to have influence over Mr. Morison. What then was I to think, when I saw him so wantonly and undisguisedly impeding the public service, but that he was one of the persons who had adopted this as their grand and systematic object? My mind, probably, is not properly constructed, but such was my feeling and persuasion on the occasion. Let me ask, if a person had sold himself into the service of France, and were to put the question to the First Consul, how he could best serve him, what would he answer? "You live in a remote part of the country, where you can expect little aid from the regular force, which must necessarily be kept near the capital. Intelligence you can send me none; therefore, the most essential service you can render me is, to do every thing you can to discourage, impede, and defeat the volunteering." If, therefore, Morison had been in the direct pay of France, he could have done nothing more effectually to serve it than he actually had done.—Having now gone through, at much greater length than I intended, the conduct of Morison, as stated by the sheriff substitute, I shall proceed to make a few remarks on the letter. The hon. gent. has divided this branch into three distinct points. There is one on which he has not touched, which, as it may militate against me with some of the legal gentlemen near me, whose good wishes I am eager to reconcile, I must explain. The passage I allude to is that in which I state, that I have returned the fee; a practice, I can assure my learned friends and the hon. gent., by no means common in my country, and one which I shall be sorry to extend to the hon. gent. should he be ever pleased to employ me. The first part of the letter touched on by the hon. gent. is that in which I state the conduct of Morison to be of an atrocious nature, and that the gentlemen of the county should enter into a resolution not to associate with him. When I first suggested this to the sheriff substitute, he told me that this was already in a great measure the case. I told him then, the power of punishing was in their own hands, and if they required my testimony in support of their conduct, they should have it. That sentiment I still retain. Will this house entertain a complaint against a public officer for libelling a private individual? To an action of damages, I am sensible, if I have libelled Mr. Morison, I am liable, and even that my official situation might be a ground for enhancing them. But, with such a question, this house has nothing to do. I have expressed my opinion of his conduct. In that opinion I still persevere. The very act of sending the letter may amount to publication of the libel, if it be one. Let Mr. Morison bring his proper action, and I shall be ready to answer to it. As to the idea that my advice to the gentlemen of the county not to associate with Mr. Morison, was to produce that sentiment, can the house believe that such would have been the effect, had not such an idea corresponded with their own feelings? A pretty satisfactory proof of this feeling manifested itself at a quarterly county meeting, where one gent. was found willing to bring my letter under consideration; the motion, however, was thrown over the table. Was I the only person not entitled to express this opinion? or does the hon. gent. think, that I was bound to recommend him to the notice and respect of the gentlemen of the county, and to advice them to take him cordially by the hand? standing in the situation in which I did, and told officially, by a public officer, what effect his conduct had produced, what other step could I have adopted? the next point touched on, by the hon. gent., was that part, in which I recommend, that in case of a landing of the enemy, Morison should be apprehended. On this head, the hon. gent. remarks, what would be the effect, if, in resisting such attempt, he should commit murder? His offence, says the hon. gent. would not be punishable, he would have been apprehended without a warrant! The hon. gent. has clearly misconceived this part of the case. My letter would not have been the warrant, on which, in the event of a landing, Morison would have been apprehended. It could only have served as the authority or mandate to the sheriff, or other officer, to issue the proper warrant, and to which, therefore, the objection of the hon. gent. will not apply. But, says the hon. gent., if you did think this act necessary, you have even exceeded it; for, not content with apprehending, you have also ordered him to be detained. If this had not been ordered, what use could there have been, in ordering him, or any suspicious person, to be apprehended? it could be of no use whatever; if not detained till the enemy were driven from the coast, what beneficial effect could arise from apprehending him on the first landing of the enemy. On this subject, the act of 1791 had been referred to, and I feel happy in seeing that act alluded to and read. It proves that the liberties of my country are fixed on as solid a foundation as those of England are, by the boasted habeas corpus. But the hon. gent. ought to have observed, that times of invasion or rebellion, are expressly excepted in the act. The warrants. however, it is to be remarked, are ordered to be issued, under the orders of five members of the privy council. Unfortunately there is now none such in Scotland, and if I, who now bear on my shoulders the whole weight of the privy council of Scotland, am not entitled to grant such authority, Scotland is in the unhappy situation of possessing no remedy against this evil. If it is on this narrow ground, that the hon. gent. wishes to propose a censure upon me, I shall, most willingly, submit. This letter, however, it was never in my contemplation should go out of the pocket of the person to whom it was written, unless in case of it being necessary to apprehend Morison. Then it would have been a justification to the person who issued the warrant. But I desire it either to be put on record, or a notarial copy to be made of it. But the hon. gent. says that I am liable for any consequence which may result from the writing of this letter, whether I could have divined the consequence or not. This is rather a new and dangerous principle to maintain. It was equally impossible that I could figure that this letter could have been put on record, as that a letter written by the hon. gent. or by either of our wives, should have found its way thither. But the hon. gent. might say, now that we are in possession of the fact, that you really have such suspicious characters, let us see that you have no more of them. Let us see your green boxes, and we will tell you how far you are well founded. This, indeed, would be exceedingly convenient, as there would then be no responsibility. What if Morison had been apprehended—would gentlemen have said, make out a legal case? Then there would have been no occasion for indemnity.—Having thus laid the case before the house, having stated the danger of the country at the period when the letter was written, having pointed out the responsibility of my own situation, I leave it to the house to determine whether I have not made out such a case as must satisfy them. I trust I have already said enough to shew that, in the very critical situation I was placed, and with such information as was then before me, I might have undertaken, on my own responsibility, to have Mr. Morison arrested in the event of invasion. I am now assured that Mr. Morison is a loyal and respectable man. It may be so; but in time of great danger we must act for the safety of the state, on the evidence then before us.—The rt. hon. gent. concluded by throwing himself upon the candour of the house, and apologizing for having so long detained it. The lord advocate then withdrew from the house.

Mr. *Whitbread* then moved, "that it appears to this house that the conduct of the rt. hon. Charles Hope, his majesty's advocate for Scotland, in writing the said letter, has been oppressive, illegal, and contrary to his official duty." The question being put,

Lord *A. Hamilton* rose and stated that he thought the first sentence which had fallen from the noble lord in his defence, was an aggravation of his offence. His lordship had said, that if Mr. Morison had apologised to him, all might have been well. Mr. Morison's conduct he did not admire, but the conduct of the lord advocate did not the less deserve his reprobation. After what he had heard, he could not deny that the powers of the lord advocate were great, but he was not the less on that account called on to be circumspect in his conduct. It was not the conduct of Morison, but that of the lord advocate which was now before the house, and though the conduct of Morison might be calculated to impede the voluntary exertions, it could hardly be contended that the mode in which the lord advocate had conducted himself, was calculated to inspirit them. He had said that the letter was not intended to go out of the pocket of the person to whom it had been sent. How, in that case, could it hold him out to the contempt and odium which it professed for its object? Keeping the letter secret, his lordship rather thought an aggravation of the injury, for in that way it must have come on him like a thunderbolt, without any previous expectation, and while he thought himself secure, he must, without being heard in his defence, have been deprived both of his liberty and property.

The *Attorney General* was of opinion, that after what they had heard from the rt. hon. and learned lord himself any thing that he could say, could add but little to his justification. The learned lord had stated, that, as a lawyer, he had founded his opinion on the private information of an individual, but in regard to the question now before the house, he had acted on the information of the sheriff, and not on the information of a private individual. The principal objection to the conduct of the learned lord, he stated, arose from an idea that it was oppressive to the individual: but, even allowing this objection its full force, all would, at the same time, admit, that this was not a case that required the interference of the house. The laws of the country were already sufficient for the redress of such grievances. He would be the last man, he said, to say, that the expressions contained in the letter, were all justifiable. Many of them, on the contrary, on re-consideration, would be found blameable, but he did not think that those expressions could form a sufficient ground for the interference of parliament. From the statement that had been so distinctly given, he could easily conceive why Morison would rather apply for redress in this way, than in any other. It would have been no wise proceeding in Morison, he conceived to have had recourse to law, in the usual manner, not because there was no law in his favour, but because, from all circumstances, it was probable that he might not have had damages. If the case really led to so great damages as was represented, Morison had an opportunity to have them, as the law was open to him, and competent in evey respect for redress. In regard to indemnity, it was not usual for an officer to apply, prospectively, for any security of this kind. But the fact requiring indemnity, had really not been committed. The learned lord, had only given orders that such a fact should take place, and no indemnity, therefore, became necessary.—The hon. and learned gent. then directed the attention of the house, to the passage in the letter respecting compensation. The law, no doubt, provided, he said, that compensation should be made to sufferers, but here also, distinctions were to be made. If such sufferers had not been careful to preserve their properly, if they had not used every means in their power against the common enemy, if they had even prevented the operation of measures for the general defence, what degree of compensation could such men expect? the opinion of the learned lord seemed to originate in this principle, but it was only an opinion, and could not operate to the prejudice of the supposed sufferer, as it could have no legal effect. Suppose the case ever could have existed, it must afterwards have come before a court to be tried, before which the learned lord could only lay the circumstances, such as he understood them, and with whom he could have no influence, but only in so far as his opinion corresponded with those circumstances. But the house ought to attend to the circumstances of the country, and the situation it was then in, which he did not think by any means a matter of so little importance as the noble lord (A. Hamilton) seemed to do. The house ought certainly to view the matter with great consideration, but at the same time he could not see that any fair ground was made out for their interference. He disagreed with the noble lord opposite, that the conduct of the learned lord could impede the services of the volunteers. The hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Whitbread), had said that the volunteers were a good thing, but that we were not to be dragooned into volunteering; but if we were not to be dragooned into volunteering, we certainly ought not to be dragooned out of it. When it was known that the servant rose in the night time, and did the work that stood for the day, the house, he thought, would alter their opinions in some respect as to the general question. If Morison's case appeared to be in some instances a hard one, that of the servant could not be considered as less so, and he had no doubt, that had the hon. gent. considered all the circumstances, he would have said to Morison, it is unnecessary to apply to parliament, take the usual course of law. If the learned lord was really convinced that the conduct of Morison proceeded from disaffection, he certainly could not be to blame for the manner in which he had acted, He had been anxious for the defence and safety of the country, and what he had done had been the effect of that anxiety. So far, therefore, was he from approving the present motion, that he would rather move that the other orders of the day be now read. The rt. hon. and learned gent. then concluded with moving an amendment to that effect.

Mr. *Grey* rose and addressed the house in the following terms:—I feel, Sir, no degree of surprise that it should be the wish of some gentlemen to get rid of the motion of my hon. friend; but I confess that I am much astonished at the manner in which it is proposed to get rid of it, and this surprise is heightened by the representation which the learned mover of the amendment has given of this important transaction. If any thing could add to the deep regret that the whole of this affair has excited in my mind, it would be the light terms in which it has been spoken of, and the sort of defence set up for it by a learned gent. holding a high public office in the country—a gent. upon whom the pure administration of justice so very much depends. Into the defence offered for his conduct by the noble lord who is the subject of the motion, so far as it refers to the alleged misbehaviour of Mr. Morison, I will not enter, nor do I think it necessary in the consideration of this great question, with which it has little or nothing to do; the point for the decision of the house being simply this, whether the lord advocate of Scotland has, in the exercise of his office, been guilty of oppression and illegality? The noble and learned lord has thought proper to go into a very long detail of the nature of the office which he holds, and the old authorities from which he derives his various powers. Through this detail I will not follow him. It is not now necessary, for whether he enjoys such a combination of power is not for us now to inquire; but whether he has, in the instance before the house, exercised his authority with discretion, and a due regard to the sacred and immutable precepts of justice. The noble lord has stated many acts done by lord advocates which were not legal, and yet were not deemed censurable; but in none of the cases alluded to can I discover any precedent at all analogous to that of which he is now accused, for in each of those a necessity appeared to call for the line of proceeding resorted to. When persons were about to emigrate to America, as the learned lord stated, in order to find their way to the ranks of the enemy, it was unquestionably right to prevent it; and to prohibit ships to sail which were not supplied with sufficient provisions for the sustenance of their crews, was what humanity must approve. The interposition of the lord advocate to intercept a treasonable correspondence through the medium of the post-office, and the recent interdict against the landing of Irishmen in Scotland, without a passport from Ireland, were acts to be supported by strong reasons, but I contend that there is not, in the character of any of those acts, the least similitude to the transaction which the learned lord supposes them satisfactory precedents to justify. They were cases in which the prompt exercise of authority was necessary, or the public interest might have suffered, and the public safety been endangered: but I would ask, whether any such consequences could have ensued from delay in this affair? Can any men pretend to plead that in defence of the conduct of the learned lord on this occasion? Can it be argued that any injury could result to the public, or to any individual, had the learned lord, when he received the information respecting Morison, waited until he had made full inquiry, and given the accused, that of which the learned lord has availed himself this night; namely, an opportunity to resist the charge alleged against him? There was no occasion for a sudden decision upon this question. Would it not then have been becoming the high office which the learned lord holds, and his character as a man, to have taken time to investigate the whole merits of the charge before he attempted to stigmatize the character and endanger the liberty of a British subject? If it be said that the conduct of Morison was reprehensible, as it tended to impede the progress of the volunteer system, I would tell gentlemen, that the conduct of a public officer is much more reprehensible, who by an abuse of power, by oppressive and illegal acts, damps and discourages the spirit of the people, which cherishes and sustains that system. Any inattention to, much more outrage upon the rights of the people, must naturally render them less anxious for the defence of the power which sanctions it. The principal use and object of power is the protection of popular liberty; when it is employed for a contrary purpose its existence is an evil, and the people living under it cannot be interested in its security. What then is so likely to be the effect of such an act as that which is the subject of this debate? To state it is enough to excite reprobation; and serious must be the consequences if it should be overlooked in the way the mover of the amendment would recommend. As to the learned lord's statement respecting the situation of Scotland at the time he wrote this unjustifiable letter to Mr. Morison, I believe it to be strictly true; and if the learned lord states that 5000 of the enemy could have taken possession of Edinburgh, I can assure him that that city was not more defenceless at that period than were many other districts of the kingdom; for, to my knowledge, 5000 men could have very easily possessed themselves of all the valuable collieries in the vicinity of the Tyne. Such was the injudicious distribution of our public force! However, this injudicious distribution or scarcity of our force only serves to shew, that there was a great call for exertion, and that circumstance, far from operating to extenuate, much less to justify the act of the learned lord, places his conduct in a more aggravated point of view, because it had a direct tendency to check exertion and to disgust the public feeling. The learned mover of the amendment considered this subject in two points of view: first, as to the degree of private injury which the letter was likely to inflict upon Morison, and next as to the public consequence which belongs to the transaction. As to the first, I would ask of any man, whether any thing can be imagined more particularly calculated to do a serious injury to any individual in the circumstances of Morison than to affix such a stigma to his character as this letter contains, to hold him out as a person unfit to be associated with, to excite all his neighbours to conspire against him? Surely the mere statement of such an attempt is sufficient evidence of the intent to do material injury to the individual, and the power of the person attempting it to effect his purpose, cannot be denied: but what aggravates this attempt is this, that the man against whom it was made was refused the opportunity of repelling the charge that led to it; and the still farther aggravation is, that the letter concludes with a paragraph that no compensation would be allowed to Morison for any property of his which might be destroyed in the event of invasion; a pretty good hint this, by the bye, when combined with the manner in which the man's character was marked out, that his property might, in such an event, be destroyed with impunity. Upon the whole of the business, then, I would submit to any candid man, whether any private injury could have been more flagrant? The learned mover of the amendment says, that Morison may have his redress for any private injury by an appeal at law; but I would wish to know how is that redress to be obtained? If an application be to the criminal law, I would have the house to understand, that in Scotland the lord advocate is the only criminal prosecutor, and there is no grand jury to whom a bill of indictment can be preferred. In the person of the lord advocate centers the power of criminal prosecutor and grand jury. How, then, is Morison to proceed? If an action for damages were recommended, I would only beg the house to consider what success a man was likely to have, who should be described to a Scotch court as Morison has been, and who should stand forward as the adversary of the lord advocate? Besides, it would not be quite prudent for the man to expose himself to still farther resentment by such a mode of proceeding. The learned mover of the amendment has argued, as if the house should not take notice of this letter, because it only related to something to be done in a certain contingency, and because the act was not complete, therefore, according to the learned gent., not of any serious consequence; but the house must be aware, that its first duty is to watch over the public officers, to prevent them from abusing their authority, and whenever the disposition to such abuse appears, immediately to interfere. That a case has been made out in this instance to call for such interference, and that the house is bound to notice it, I entertain not the least doubt.—The learned lord mentioned in one part of his speech, that this letter was a private order to the sheriff substitute of Bamff, and not meant to be made public; but how does this square with a statement in another part of the learned lord's speech, that he on the day the letter was dated, had a personal communication with that sheriff at Edinburgh? If the order was meant to be private, it might have been communicated at that meeting, and there could have been no necessity for a a letter to be afterwards transmitted to the sheriff's clerk, for the purpose of being inscribed upon the registers of the county. That such a letter as this was not written with a view to publicity, it would be quite absurd to suppose. The very terms of the letter itself, particularly that which related to the exclusion of Morison from the society of his neighbours, was sufficient demonstration of that, and the manner in which the thing was done, with the pretences upon which it was grounded, is enough, if any thing were necessary, to enhance the guilt of the whole transaction. It is pretended, that Morison was a suspected person; but upon what ground he was suspected is not even insinuated. This calls to my remembrance an expression used by a noble lord, not now in this house, who, in the course of an impressive speech upon the enormities of the French revolution, stated, that the majority of the persons arrested and proscribed in France, had no other charge against them, than the "suspicion of being suspected." This seemed to be precisely the case of Mr. Morison. The learned lord states, that there was a society of disaffected persons in Scotland professing universal liberty for their object, and this he mentions with a view to justify the existence of his suspicion; but, although he charges Morison with endeavouring to impede the volunteers, he does not venture to connect him with this disaffected society; he urges nothing against him on this head, and the absence of such information may be very fairly deemed a presumption in favour of Morison.—The learned lord still insists that the behaviour of Morison was suspicious; but I hope the day is far distant in this country when a man's acting according to the letter of the law, particularly in the exercise of his domestic authority, should expose himself to the charge of disaffection, and this I take to have been the only ground of charge against Morison. If such a charge upon such grounds were to be sustained, every gent. who has any knowledge of the country must be aware to what an extent it would reach, and if the disputes between masters and servants were thus to be inflamed by the conduct of magistrates, how melancholy would be the prospect for the country at this critical period? It is said that Mr. Morison wished his servant, Garrow, to stop at home to thatch a barn, when he disobeyed him to go to a parade; but in answer it is alleged by those who are anxious for the crimination of Morison, that a barn was not so material for that season of the year. This, however, is a mistake, as that is the precise time when a barn is most necessary after the harvest, for thrashing, housing the corn, &c. The learned lord describes the industry and zeal of Garrow, the servant, to be such, that he rose out of bed a little after midnight in Oct., and thatched the barn before morning, in order to be able to go to the parade. On this night I suppose there was a good moonlight, but that a man should do as much work in three or four hours as he could during the whole day, was a mockery to think of. I see no reason, however, to presume that the man's disobedience to this order respecting the parade was the sole cause of his dismissal. Upon the master's remonstrating with him high words might have arisen, and from such words perhaps the insolence of the servant might have proceeded the dismissal. I state this merely to shew the impropriety of issuing such an order as that under consideration, without ample inquiry into the circumstances. Even after this order I beg the house to recollect how the learned lord acted, and this will afford some criterion to judge of the possibility of Morison's succeeding in any application for redress in Scotland. When he applied to the lord advocate, did he receive even the promise of redress? No. Was he told that upon explaining his innocence justice would be done him? No. But he was informed that he must confess himself guilty of the misconduct charged upon him before any attention could be paid to his request; that is, that his acquiescence in the censures of the lord advocate, in the propriety of excommunication from society pronounced against him, must be a preliminary to the grant of pardon. Such were the arbitrary terms proposed to an oppressed man, as a condition of his release from oppression!—Under all the circumstances of this question, I hope the house will not suffer it to go abroad that it would sanction the principle of punishing a man upon the presumption of his criminality, and upon mere *ex parte* evidence. I must say that the way proposed by the amendment to get rid of the motion is not consistent with decency. If the defence offered by the learned lord be satisfactory, why go to the order of the day to evade a decision upon it? I cannot approve of the motive or tendency of such an evasion; and, as I am of opinion that the purity of public justice, the liberty of the subject, the protection of private character, the defence of loyalty, and the due encouragement of the volunteer spirit, depends on the fate of the original motion, I shall certainly give it my vote.

Mr. *Dallas* felt it a duty he owed to the public, to that house, and the learned lord who was the principal subject of the debate, to deliver his sentiments upon the question under discussion. If the original motion were adopted, he thought the house would pledge itself to the other proposition which the hon. gent. had announced his intention of bringing forward. Indeed the hon. gent. would desert his duty if he did not follow the adoption of the one by the proposition of the other; and the house would scandalously betray their duty if they should refuse their assent to the one after the adoption of the other. The learned gent. denied that it was right to separate the conduct of Morison from a consideration of that of the lord advocate; for they were necessarily connected. With respect to the words of the motion, he argued that the act of the lord advocate was neither illegal nor oppressive; and so convinced was he of that, that he would not, were he invested with power, or even if he were not, hesitate to use his utmost endeavours to procure the arrest of any man suspected of disaffection, and likely, in the event of invasion, to promote the views of the enemy. No imputation of rancour or personal prejudice could attach to the lord advocate in this affair. His motive was evidently of a pure public nature, and had no view to oppression. Morison he thought to be a disaffected man, and that his thought was not unfounded in a great degree appeared from the cause assigned by Morison for wishing to prevent his servant from attending the volunteer parade. The cause the thatching of a barn. What! at a time that the enemy was hourly expected in the country, a volunteer should be withdrawn from his corps to attend to the thatching of a barn; and that his master should dismiss him, after such an evidence of zeal and animation as the poor man evinced in rising at such an hour to perform his task. From a fair review of the case, he thought it manifest that Morison was actuated by a spirit of disaffection, and that the whole of his conduct afforded grounds for suspicion. So persuaded was he of this, and of course of the reasons which justified the conduct of the lord advocate towards him, that he had no doubt, were Morison, or such a man, to apply to the Court of King's Bench in this country, for a criminal information against a person acting towards him as the lord advocate had done, the court would say to him, "Your conduct has been such, that you have been treated as you deserved, and you have no right to look for any thing from us; for whatever the conduct of the public officer may have been, your conduct has been worse." The learned gent. went on to state, that he respected the motives and applauded the conduct of the learned lord, and believing him to have been influenced by the most honourable feelings, he declared that he would most heartily support a vote of thanks to the learned gent. for the very act to which the original motion referred.

Mr. *Kinnaird* was surprised that after the manly avowal of the lord advocate himself, it should be proposed to the house to come to an indirect vote upon this question, to give it a kind of go-by. Connected as he was with the country over which the learned lord possessed a dominion so important, he implored the house, for the satisfaction of the people of that country, and for the sake of the character of the learned lord himself, not to assent to the proposition for evading the subject. He begged the house to recollect the conduct of the accused upon a late occasion in that house (Colonel Patten's motion). There an attempt was made to pass by the question, by the proposition of the previous question; but the noble lord, who then held a high office in the administration, rejected that proposition with disdain. He felt that when the character of a public officer was charged in that house, he should meet the charge fairly, and the house should directly decide upon it. This was the course which he would advise the real friends of the learned lord, if he had any, to pursue upon this occasion, and not to allow his character to suffer by an insidious evasion. Although the disaffection of Morison was the alleged cause of the persecution practised upon him, he asked if there was one gentleman on the other side who could state any ground for suspecting Morison's loyalty? He called upon any that would be bold enough to state it, and he knew there were gentlemen on that side would be bold enough to state any thing for which a shadow of excuse could be found.

The *Secretary at War* rose, and enumerated briefly the leading points of the lord advocate's defence, and put it to the consideration of any impartial and candid man, to consider the true circumstances. Busied with the duties of his own profession, harassed with the perpetual applications made to him from the nature of his official situation, at this peculiar crisis, and fired with an ardent zeal for the support of the volunteer service, it was not to be expected, that in a moment of warmth he should precisely keep his temper on such a subject, and in all respects be perfectly cold, correct, and accurate. He could state the high character of that noble lord, the life of services he had conduced to his country, which could not be sullied by the transactions now before the house. He appealed to the opinion entertained of him by the noble commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in Scotland, the Earl of Moira, who differing widely, perhaps, in politics, from the noble lord, had given such decided testimony to his public merits. He commanded the Edinburgh battalions, who had, by dint of his energy, been brought forward to such excellence as to have been pronounced by that noble earl equal to regulars. Having done so much for the public service, was it wonderful that his keen and ardent feelings should, in a single instance, go to a little excess? Was it too much to ask the house to look upon such a circumstance with a favourable eye? Had all done as Morison had done, where would have been our volunteers? And where the means for the defence of the country? He wished likewise to correct, before he sat down, an error respecting the consent of the lord advocate, in bringing a prosecution. That consent was never refused; though his personal management of the prosecution might be refused by him.

Mr. *William Smith* said, he would not have troubled the house, but for the observations that were made by the learned gent. (Mr. Dallas.) The last gentleman had indeed made out the best case that had been made for the noble lord, since, in his speech, there was something like apology. But the learned gent. had attempted a justification, and on such principles as he thought, would never have been attempted to be maintained by any English lawyer. He could not but suppose the learned gent. what he affirmed that the conduct of the lord advocate of Scotland was not illegal, must have alluded only to the laws of Scotland. If such be the laws of Scotland, the hon. gent. said, he, for one, should be extremely sorry to live under them. He had asked, who would stand up and say that Morison's conduct had nothing to do with the business? He would stand up and affirm it; for the lord advocate had proceeded upon *ex parte* evidence, and, for aught he knew, every word of it might be wrong and untrue. But supposing it were to be true, if his private opinion were asked upon the subject, he should certainly not feel it his duty to continue his intercourse with him; but what was his private opinion on the matter compared with the public declaration of a great public officer?

Mr. *Windham* said, it was doubtless true that gentlemen ought to come to the discussion of the present subject cool and dispassionate, but still it was natural that their feelings should be warmed by it, though that warmth was not such as to disqualify them from forming an impartial judgment. He, as well as others, participated in that kind of passion, which various parts of the proceeding before the house was calculated to excite. There was an anecdote current at the bar in this country, founded on the saying of a distinguished judge, that he who undertakes the defence of his own cause, seldom had a very wise man for his client. Of this the speech of the learned lord afforded a very strong illustration, which was confirmed by the succeeding defence of some of his friends. Among the defenders of the learned lord there was considerable variety. Some breathed high, some low; some on the trumpet top, some on the gentler notes of the lute. The lower tone he thought much the most suitable to the occasion; and as he approved the bringing forward of the subject, he was disposed to concur in the motion with which it was followed. Among other things in the speech of the learned lord, he was surprised at the extraordinary powers with which his Majesty's advocate in Scotland was invested, Indeed he seemed to combine in his own person all the functions of the constitution. He united all the prerogative of the cabinet, the privy council, and various legal offices. This vast and extraordinary power present all the various considerations applicable to the question; and above all, it might be highly deserving the attention of parliament to decide whether such great and undefined powers should any where centre in one individual. If so much power was to be granted, it was the more necessary, in proportion to its extent, that there should be a real responsibility for its exercise. People might be allowed to use walking-sticks as they pleased, but it was not safe to go out with loaded guns. If then great power has been abused, it adds to the responsibility and criminality. In the present instance it is evident how much the difficulty of redress is increased by the power of the person who has done the wrong, and this is a reason why parliament should be careful in exceeding its control in such cases. If such power too is to exist, it becomes a grave question, whether such a person as the learned lord, in his defence has described himself to be, is fit to be the depository of so great an authority. The learned lord, indeed, though he often spoke of responsibility, seemed to think it was his prerogative to act without rule or law, and to be called to account for none of his proceedings. It was not to be disputed that on great occasions, extraordinary exertions of power were absolutely necessary. An honourable friend of his had spoken of a vigour beyond the law. He was glad the words had been mentioned, because the explanation of them would tend to illustrate the present question. It might be said, that there was a vigour beyond the law, in circumstances where the laws were wholly silent, and were overpowered by the violence of war and conflict. There might be cases of a vigour beyond the law, when occasions demanded immediate action, and when, therefore, it was impossible to consult the law, and wait for its authority. Neither is it disputed that there may be a vigour beyond the law, when, in the moment of necessity it was requisite to supply what the law had not provided for. The cases quoted by the learned lord proved this. But, in these cases, the deviations from law, were admitted and justified by the necessity. That, however, was a very different thing from a vigour beyond the law, straining it beyond its spirit, and applying it to cases for which it was never intended. To come then to the case in hand, let me ask them if there ever existed such a degree of danger, or fair presumption of danger, as to justify the learned lord in those measures which he had thought fit to take? The learned lord put as a sort of dilemma, "If I had got secret information from the sheriff substitute, and if I had acted upon it, would the house have called upon me to disclose that information? Could they then do any thing against me?" It was true that there was always some difficulty in laying open the sources of information necessary to the public safety; but on the other hand, was parliament to suffer a public magistrate to do whatever he pleased on the pretence that grounds on which he had acted could not be revealed? In that case there could be no redress for any crime a great magistrate might choose to commit. As to the conduct of Morison, what was there in it that could be considered so illegal or improper? It was clear that he had for months allowed his servant to attend drills, and on a particular day he refused his consent. But the servant, it seems, rose and thatched the barn by candle-light. [Here it was answered on the other side by moonlight.] But how is it proved that he did so by moonlight, or that he did it in a proper manner at all? The contrary seems to be the presumption. There had been a quarrel between Morison and his servant, but was it not usual for farmers and their servants to quarrel, and when they did, who was to say that it was a suspicious circumstance? Morison's turning away his servant was no proof of being disaffected or in the pay of France. To prove an act criminal, or even suspicious, it was necessary to shew that naturally could not have been done without a bad motive. But was that the case here? The fact was, that the lord advocate resolved to make an example of Morison, *in terrorem*; but surely, however reasonable it might be to wish that the volunteer system should be extended and improved, yet it was not fit that the effect should be obtained by such motives. There appeared then to be two questions, First, as to the propriety of the discussion at all; and next, what was proper to be done now that it was before the house; and he could see no course more proper than disposing of it completely. It had been justly observed, that some of arguments in the defence had been drawn from climates different from our own; and perhaps the connexion which the honourable and learned gentleman opposite had with the person who had spoken at the bar what was more suitable to Asia, might account for so much Asiatic doctrine in his speech (alluding to Mr. D. having been counsel for Mr. Hastings). As to the redress which might be obtained for abuse of power, it might be extremely different if it was to be sought at law. The great might be safely left to seek their redress against the weak, at law; but the weak in a much worse situation, when they had no redress but actions at law against the great. Indeed, after what the learned lord had stated of his enormous powers, to talk of Morison having redress at common law was a mockery. As to private character, it ought not to be counted against evident misconduct and mal-administration. It was said, indeed, by the learned lord himself, that had the present charge been brought forward at Edinburgh, not only 100,000 tongues, but many thousand arms would have been raised in his defence. If then the life of the hon. mover would have been in danger in opening this business, how ridiculous to tell Morison of his action at common law.—No, the real action of damage at common law was in favour of the violated law and jurisprudence of the country. As to the letter not being intended for publication, it could not be doubted for a moment that it was, and the nature of the contents could leave no doubt of the fact. Indeed, it was clear that the lord advocate could not entertain any serious apprehension of Morison, who had only done an act strictly legal, and the whole, therefore, was for example. In a word, then, after hearing such sentiments avowed; after hearing such principles as the learned lord's systematically laid down; was it becoming in the House of Commons to allow such a person to continue the exercise of powers, which he had evinced so little disposition to use with moderation? The state of Scotland, too, ought not to be forgotten on the present occasion. A writer of that country had remarked, that Scotland had attained the liberal arts long before she made considerable advances in the mechanic arts. There seemed to be a similar disparity between the northern and southern parts of the island, with regard to the practical parts of the constitution. The Scots enjoyed the blessings of the constitution, and reasoned well on its general principles; but it did not seem to have entirely entered the system, to have penetrated into the character of the people. In that state of Scotland, it was the more necessary to guard the people against oppression; and, indeed, this was the more necessary, after they had this night heard from the lord advocate, sentiments which no English attorney-general for the last two hundred years would have avowed. If the motion was set aside by the previous question; if no vote of censure were to pass, it would argue an indifference to the situation of Scotland, and might in its consequences, doom hundreds, without redress, to tyranny and oppression; and a refusal to censure, would be to sanction the conduct complained of.

Lord *Castlereagh* maintained that no case had been made out sufficient to warrant an address for the dismissal of the noble lord, which was the ultimate object of this motion, nor any for the present motion itself. He recalled to the house the nature and extent of the lord advocate's office, the situation of the volunteers, and the relative state of the country at that time, compared with the danger of the enemy's appearance. Had Morison been arrested on the grounds now stated, he should have supported an indemnity, leaving open the question as to the malice. The whole of the business narrowed itself to the indignant part of the letter, and there every gentleman must see from all the circumstances, that were the noble lord to write it over again, he would certainly do it in more temperate terms; but at that moment he could feel only indignation at any attempt to check the public defence.

Lord *Henry Petty* said, that it was sufficient reason to vote for the motion of the hon. mover, that it had been proved that one of his Majesty's subjects had been doomed to the severest punishment unheard; and that the learned lord had rejected the opportunity offered by Morison's agent to inquire into the case, to hear the exculpations, and to retract his violent and unjust sentence. It had been complained, that this motion was not made till four or six months after the fact which gave rise to it. A much stronger complaint, however, lay against the lord advocate, who having time to weigh maturely what he had done rashly, had yet with-held all redress and apology. It was said by the learned lord, that his duties were large. Large, indeed, they were, at least in receiving accusation, however limited in receiving exculpations. What, then, must be the state of a country, when all accusations were welcomed, and all defence rejected?—After a few judicious and spirited remarks, his lordship concluded with giving his hearty assent to the motion.

Lord *Dunlo* thought it was in favour of the learned lord that no charge had been brought against him that he had acted from any private or selfish view. The conclusion, therefore, must be honourable to the learned lord, that his only motive was the public good.

Sir *John Newport* hoped sincerely that the doctrines broached on the other side of the house would be generally reprobated. The whole argument, he thought, might be reduced to the simple question, whether Morison had done more than the law authorized? If he had not, for what reason should he be punished? The powers of masters over servants, in regard to their entering or attending volunteer corps, had been repeatedly under the discussion of the house, and when a clause restraining that power had been at last introduced, it was rejected by the lords, and that amendment again approved of by the house, so that this privilege of masters in regard to their servants remained the same as formerly. He thought it for the interest both of Scotland and Ireland, that the question should be fairly canvassed, and the opinion of the house fairly expressed, as public officers in both those countries were less careful of the rights of the people than those more closely under the inspection of government. When complaints, of this nature came before them, they ought not to dismiss them without the most serious attention.

Colonel *Vereker* asserted, that if those bills against which the hon. bart. had so loudly declaimed, had not been passed, and if the Irish magistracy had not acted with that extraordinary firmness the danger and urgency of that crisis demanded, the country of Ireland would at this moment be in the possession of France.

Mr. *Fox*.—Sir; the hon. gent. who spoke last has put the question upon its true grounds. He has stated the proceedings which took place in Ireland, pending a rebellion, in justification of the conduct of the learned lord. It is not my intention, Sir, at present to inquire whether those proceedings were strictly legal and constitutional. We are not ignorant that torture of various kinds has been inflicted on many persons in Ireland, and that bills of indemnity have been passed to relieve all the actors in such transactions from the pains and penalties they had subjected themselves to; but I would ask the hon. colonel, does he wish all those wholesome severities should be exercised in Scotland? I am persuaded he does not. The learned lord has certainly brought the question to a fair issue; he has defended his conduct in a fair, manly manner; he has in some manner challenged the house to decide upon the bare fact, and has deprecated, as became him, any intention of recurring to the previous question. I shall not now inquire what the precise nature of the office the learned lord fills is, and whether he possesses all the powers of the ancient privy council of Scotland. If the powers of his official character be so very extensive, that is the best reason for their being used with discretion and moderation, for the greater the power, the greater the responsibility. But let us, Sir, examine a little into the nature of the offence committed by Mr. Morison, who has had no opportunity afforded him of exculpating himself: why, if I comprehend it, nothing more than this—that he insisted that his servant should employ himself in thatching his barn, when he shewed a disposition to attend a review in preference, or to oppose the enemy, as it has been said in the course of this debate; and that having disobeyed his master's commands, he was dismissed from his service. Is there any thing extraordinary in this? Have not all the volunteer acts that have been passed recognised this right as inherent in the master? Can any thing be more natural than that he should possess that control over him? Sir, it is the very essence of their contract; if my servant does not obey my legal orders, and execute that duty which I have hired him to perform, I certainly have, by every principle of justice, a right to discharge him. Now this, Sir, is the "very head and front" of Morison's offence, and what does the lord advocate do on the occasion? Why, he recommends that no one in his neighbourhood should hold any intercourse with him; expressions which, taken in their extensive sense, mean totally ruining the man. I have heard of laws against intercommuning in the reign of Charles II. which were put into execution by that very privy council the learned lord states himself to represent; but really, Sir, I did not imagine we should have a new edition of those obsolete and tyrannical statutes published at this day. Now as to another part of this curious letter, I mean that part of it which enjoins imprisonment in case of a landing being effected by the enemy; oh, say the advocates of the learned lord, that was merely a threat which was never intended to be put into execution. What, Sir, is there no harm in casting such a stigma on a man, and holding him out as a suspicious character to the whole country? I do not like this law by which a man may be imprisoned, and the motives for his confinement be yet concealed from him. Sir, if the lord advocate have power to do it, as in this instance, he has the power to imprison the greatest men in Scotland, an authority which I am persuaded he will never venture to exercise. The lower the situation of the man and the greater his poverty, the greater his claim on the protection of the legislature and the interposition of parliament. It is, Sir, our duty to protect him, for he cannot receive it elsewhere. Which of the courts of law in Scotland would give him damages? But the learned lord, in his defence, states, that a very wicked society existed about ten years ago in Scotland, in the neighbourhood where Mr. Morison resides. Does it appear that he was one of that society? No such thing. Several smaller societies have since emanated from that; is he proved to have been a member of any of those? By no means: and yet all those societies are said to have been patronized and encouraged by an opulent landholder, whose tenant he was, without his being ever proved to have been influenced to enrol his name in any one of them. I do not know, contending with the influence and solicitation that might have been employed to seduce him into those societies, that more steady loyalty could have been shewn than has been by this persecuted man, who, it seems, is to be shut out from society, than which, with the exception of torture, I know no greater punishment; and for what? for doing that which parliament has recognized he had a right to do, dismissing a disobedient and refractory servant. It is contended that it was above the learned lord's jurisdiction and power to do this. I am very glad of it. But in cases of this sort, to endeavour to do all you can, though in the end it may turn out you can do nothing indecent and intolerable, but in the greatest law officer of the crown, is a crime of so scandalous and aggravated a nature, that it deserves the marked reprobation of the legislature. The office which the learned lord fills is certainly of a most curious, and, at the same time, most formidable character. For punishment he is every thing, there he concenters in himself the powers of councils and of magistrates; and for exculpation he is nothing. When he was accused of official misconduct, he says, "Oh! I am only a simple individual, you may bring your action against me if you please." The learned lord has rested much of his defence upon his general character. He says, "apply to the commander in chief, he has known me for six months, and will give a favourable report of me." Sir, there is no man in the country who would pay more respect and deference that may be advanced by that noble lord, than I should but on questions of personal reputation, the less the general character is referred to the better. We are told by the friends of the learned lord that he is a warm man, that those were hot words; why, Sir, that is the very reason I wish to put it out of his power, or out of any other man's power to practise any abuse of such formidable authority in future.—Scotland may again be in danger, and other Morisons may be exposed to similar treatment. It is said that Morison meant to oppress this man; that he would not pay him his wages. In my apprehension, it would be much easier for Garrow to obtain redress against Morison, than for Morison to succeed in an action against the lord advocate. Is the refusal to pay a man his wages, which I admit to be an act of dishonesty, strictly speaking, such a crime as should authorize the imprisonment of a man? But, says the learned lord, Mr. Morison did not go on his knees to me. Why, Sir, he might have done all that, and here been not the less mischievous subject still. The learned gentleman (Mr. Dallas) who spoke from an opposite bench, and no one respects him in his profession more than I do, has objected to Morison, that he was not unstained, that he was not *rectus incuria*, and therefore not entitled to the interference of a court of law. Now, Sir, I will put a case: suppose some one had said or written, "Mr. Fox has done every thing in his power to discourage volunteering; he is not a loyal man; he is in the pay of the French," and that I had applied to the Court of King's Bench for an information for a libel — Would the court tell me, "You, Sir, have been guilty of turning off your servants at various times, because they entered into volunteer corps, and shall meet with no redress from us." Why, Sir, if that court could be guilty of such a monstrous act of injustice, they would be soon in their proper place expiating their guilt at that bar. As to setting up in the month of October, and thatching by night, and all that trash that has been urged in favour of this servant, it is really, Sir, unworthy of serious consideration, and in this new agricultural regulation of doing the work by night instead of day, will not, I believe, much conduce to the improvement of our husbandry. Sir, I will not longer trespass on the patience of the house, but I will contend that a sufficient case has been made out to warrant the interference of parliament, and that if the house does not come to that decision which is proposed to it, we abdicate our duty.

The Chan. of the Ex.—I believe, no one will dispute with the hon. gent. the proposition he has laid down, that it is the duty of parliament to interfere, on all occasions, where a flagrant violation of justice has taken place; and had such a case been made out, as I contend it has not, I should not be found opposing the motion of the hon. member over against me. But, Sir, the case that has been made out does not, in my opinion, warrant the interference of the legislature. I will not attempt to justify every part of the transaction. There are some things which I wish had not been done, and which I am persuaded there is very little danger of their ever happening again. However, we may criticise and disapprove certain parts of these proceedings, there is not sufficient to induce the house to cast a censure upon the conduct of a great public officer, who has long served his Sovereign and the state with a zeal and ability that have seldom been exceeded. Sir, the hon. gent. who last spoke, has deviated from his usual candour, by very unnecessarily introducing, in my opinion, into this discussion, the unhappy circumstances which took place in Ireland, which, however justified by necessity, we must all lament, as well as the occasion which gave birth to them. I do not see any immediate connexion between those events and the question before us, and I think it would have been wise in the hon. gent. to have abstained from referring to them. But, I perceive in gentlemen a wish to urge the circumstances of this case with the same violence now, that they did when they first brought it forward. I own I am rather disappointed at this, for I would ask, is there a man in the house, who, after having heard a speech of the learned lord, can possibly entertain the same impression of this case, that he did when it was first introduced by the hon. member? If there be, Sir, he has different feelings from those I possess, and I can assure the gentleman, that I feel no great desire to participate in them. Sir, this is not an act proceeding from the learned lord, in consequence of a consultation which he has had with a client in his chambers; but it is the result of an information lain before him by a judicial officer, the sheriff, and which he was officially bound to notice. It is contended, that the conduct of the learned lord was not only unnecessarily severe, but that he stepped out of his province in this particular exercise of it. Sir, if we are to draw to any analogy between this and other acts, I think occasions may occur, where it may be as necessary to prevent the thinning of those ranks that were to oppose the enemy, as it was to prohibit the departure of men who intended to swell the ranks of the enemy. As to Morison's conduct, I see not upon what grounds of justice, it can be defended. It is acknowledged, that he discharged this man, although he had done the work he was ordered to perform, and that at a time of the year when he must have remained six months out of employment, and in aggravation of this inhumanity, he has the dishonesty to refuse him the payment of his wages. As to the argument that his attending that muster was of no consequence, that I most peremptorily deny. What when it was to be inspected by the commanding officer of the district, and that at a time when, from every information that had been received, an attempt at landing might have been hourly expected from the enemy! Placed in the arduous and responsible situation that the learned lord was, was it not natural that he should employ all the reasonable means in his power to discountenance the possibility of such practices in others? Here was no sentence, no trial. Suppose that the signal was actually flying that the enemy were landing, was this Mr. Morison to say his servant, "no; you shan't march to oppose the enemy, you shall stay and thatch my barn." Why, Sir, if such were the conduct of one of those agricultural philosophers, I should consider such apathy, at such a moment, as something bordering on disaffection, I had almost said treason. If the learned lord had shewn such apathy in providing for the defence and security of the country, he would ill deserve the high situation he holds, and which I trust he will long continue to hold, if not disabled by a vote of this house. There were three grounds of accusation against him, extracted from his letter to the sheriff depute. The first which recommended that no persons should associate with him, or, in other words, that he should be sent to Coventry, as it is said, cannot fall under the censure of illegality. There is no law against the practice that ever I have heard of. I will not say that circumstances may be connected with it, which may include it within the law against libel, and may therefore become the subject of an action for damages. As to that part of the charge which respects the destruction of his property, the house cannot be ignorant, that no person but such as whose name has been enrolled, and who shall be proved to have done his best to protect that property, would be entitled to any indemnity for the loss of it. One would suppose that the learned lord had been inciting the populace to the destruction of this property, when he could have meant nothing more, but that in case Morrison should claim an indemnity, he would think it his duty to state against it. Who were to destroy this property? It is not likely the army would do it in consequence of this letter, and from the enemy he could have no apprehension on that score, for the circumstance of his being suspected of disaffection would plead in his favour with them, and entitle him to exemption. Upon the whole, Sir, I will allow, that it was the intention of the letter, that community with him should be prohibited. As to apprehending him, that was only eventually to take place as in case of actual invasion, and the order which was issued was in contemplation of that event; but it is said, why did he not write to London for orders? Certainly he might by so doing, have shifted the responsibility from himself, and thrown it on the minister, who should give such order; but his conduct would not have been the more legal on that account. I will not, Sir, as I said before, endeavour to justify the whole of that letter; but I trust, that an ardent zeal for the public service, operating upon a sanguine and active mind, will not, in times like those we live in, be deemed deserving the censure and disapprobation of the legislature.

Mr. *Whitbread* replied to the different arguments that had been urged against his motion. After which, the question being loudly called for, the house divided on the Attorney-General's motion — Ayes 159, Noes 82—Majority 77 against Mr. Whitbread's motion.——Adjourned at three o'clock on Saturday morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, June 25, 1804.

[Additional Force Bill.] — Earl *Camden* moved the order of the day for the 2d reading of the additional force bill. His lordship said, that it must be very obvious to their lordships, that it was extremely desirable to add, as speedily as possible, a considerable body of men to the regular army; that it had been found by experience, that the mode adopted last year, for raising men for an army of reserve, had not answered the purpose for which it was intended, as it interfered greatly with the recruiting for the regular army, and tended very much to increase the bounties given for the raising of men; that the militia having been increased to a very great amount, beyond what was the number originally proposed, and as this had been found to operate also very considerably towards obstructing the recruiting for the regular army, it was meant by this bill to reduce the number of the militia from 60,000, at which it stood at present, to the number of 40,000, which was its original standard; and that in 14 days after the passing of this act, no man is to be balloted for the militia, till, in each county, the militia should be reduced below the original quota; that the number to be raised for the year ending the 1st of Oct. 1805, shall be 9,000 men annually; that the church-wardens and overseers of the poor, who were authorised by this act, to raise and provide the men deficient in the respective parishes, shall be allowed a bounty for each man, not exceeding three-fourths of the bounty that shall be from time to time allowed by his Majesty for recruiting the infantry for general service; such man having been resident 30 days or more, in the parish for which he should be produced, or in some other parish in the same subdivision or hundred, or in some parish in the same or some adjoining county, not more than 10 miles distant from the parish for which he shall be fonnd or produced. His lordship then gave a general description of the remaining provisions of the bill, and argued that much might be expected from its operation towards increasing our regular force, as it would be the means of lowering the very high price which had been paid for men to serve in the army of reserve, and of lessening at least, if not entirely taking away, the competition, which existed between that army and the regular army of the country. He understood, that it had been said of this bill that it was highly unconstitutionnl, inasmuch as it went to raise a large body of men as a permanent force instead of the militia, which was deemed the more constitutional for the defence of the kingdom; but he by no means saw it in that point of view. It was to be recollected, that what we wanted above every thing was a large, disposable, and well-disciplined force; and as the army of reserve had failed in producing such a force as was expected in the course of last year, he thought this bill was a measure that would be attended with very different effects; that it would produce an effective force, and, as such, he could not but give it his warmest support. Having explained the general purposes of the bill, he said he would reserve his further observations till he should hear what might be advanced in argument, by way of objection to the bill; though he could not but flatter himself, that the bill would be found, in general, satisfactory to their lordships, who must all be convinced how very necessary it was to have a large, efficient, and disposeable force, for general service, raised as speedily as possible. His lordship concluded, by saying, that he should be glad to give every explanation on any parts of the bill which noble lords might require.

The Earl of *Caernarvon* rose to ask whether the noble sec. of state had said the number of men which would be removed from the militia to the army of reserve was 23 or 33,000.

Earl *Camden* said the number for G. Britain was 23,000; for G. Britain and Ireland, 33,938.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* rose, and said a few words in opposition to the bill, but in too low a tone of voice to be distinctly heard below the bar. As far as we could collect, his lordship was not disposed to object so much to the reduction of the militia as to the other parts of the bill, and particularly to the clauses which relate to the duties of overseers and churchwardens.

The Duke of *Clarence* said, that the noble sec. of state deserved the highest praise for the candid manner in which he had opened the debate. H. R. H. was sensible that this was not the stage in which it was usual to go into the clauses of a bill, but it was impossible for their lordships to consider this bill without taking that course: the noble sec. of state had indeed set an example of discussing particular clauses, and H. R. H. was convinced, that the learned lord on the woolsack had too much candour not to admit that what was fair on one side, was fair on the other. H. R. H. chiefly objected to the clause which proposed to transfer the militia to the regulars. The militia had nothing to do with the standing army, nor the standing army with the militia; these two services, in his opinion, ought to be kept perfectly distinct. This bill had been called unconstitutional, and that was a word of a very serious nature, when applied to any measure submitted to their lordships' consideration; it was an epithet which he could not have supposed would have been due to any bill introduced by a minister of this country. It was evident, however, that the measure, as described by the noble sec. of state, was at least of a very novel and extraordinary nature. With regard to the professed object of the bill, namely, the increase of the regular force of the country, perhaps no man thought more necessary than himself. Still however, it was requisite that their lordships should consider the mode in which this end was to be attained. Whatever the necessity of the case might be, such a measure ought not to be adopted on the mere *ipse dixit* of any chancellor of the exchequer, be he "a giant refreshed" or not.—It was fit that some strong reasons should be adduced, before their lordships consented to so a great a change in the military system of the country. If a noble marquis, whom H. R H. did not now see in his place (the Marquis of Stafford) had made the motion of which he had so repeatedly given notice, a notice, which had since been got rid of, and if the house had gone into a committee on that motion, he was confident their lordships would have seen the necessity of increasing the regular force of the country; but the measure would then have proceeded on a very different ground, and he did not think it would have been possible for any minister to have brought it forward in the shape in which it now appeared. Independent of any objection which might be made to the plan, on constitutional grounds, H. R. H. strongly disapproved of any contrivance for transferring the militia to the regulars. As he had before observed, the militia had nothing to do with the army; and these services should never be made to clash in this manner with each other. H. R. H. was perfectly sensible that great advantage would result from having the militia properly officered, and was ready to admit that this improvement would be greatly facilitated, if the number of the militia were less than it now is; but as the present number had been established under the sanction of parliament, it appeared more proper to resort to other means of officering it, than to adopt all at once this plan of reduction. This was a subject which claimed the attention of their lordships; for the inroads which within these few years had been made in the militia system were much to be regretted.—H. R. H. then proceeded to comment on the various clauses of the bill. He particularly objected to the obligation imposed on the inspector general of the army of reserve to attend and assist at the meetings of deputy-lieutenants. With regard to the duties of the parish officers, the result of all the clauses respecting them was, that they were instructed, not as to the manner in which they were to raise men, but how they were not to raise them. H. R. H. was far from supposing the churchwardens and overseers would commit any acts of severity or oppression; but it ought to be considered, that these persons were in general tradesmen, who had their own business to attend to, and that it would be scarcely possible for them to sacrifice their time, to the due execution of the bill. With regard to the clause which limited the period of service to 5 years, it seemed to him to be so worded that it might be extended by a future act of parliament. H. R. H. was sensible that no such thing was intended, but the clause appeared to bear that construction. The provisions of the bill were such, that it was impossible it could be executed. It was not only nugatory, but vexatious. Some other method ought to be resorted to for increasing the regular force of the country, an object to which this measure appeared altogether inadequate. Unless, therefore, he could hear it supported by arguments which would do away his objections, H. R. H. declared he would vote against the bill.

Earl *Spencer* said, he had waited to see whether some noble lord, on the opposite side of the house, would not rise in support of the bill; but as that was not the case, it was with considerable reluctance he was obliged to deliver his sentiments on the subject. He thought the principle of the bill was so highly objectionable, that though he was firmly of opinion there was nothing more desirable than to augment the regular military force of the kingdom, yet the present measure, professing to have that object in view, fell so far short of what it ought to do, and was, he was convinced, likely to prove so totally inadequate to the purposes for which it is intended, that he could not, in duty to himself, and to the country, refrain from giving it a decided negative. He thought and hoped they would have had the means before them of accomplishing so desirable a purpose. The principle of the bill, according to its title, was to attain its object, by raising an additional force, and reducing the militia. His lordship said, he was, and had always been, a steady friend to the militia establishment, on its true and original principle, and to a certain extent. He was always of opinion, that, to be properly disciplined and officered as it ought to be, the militia should be confined as nearly as possible to its first establishment. As far, therefore, as the bill went towards reducing the militia to that standard, he thought it a desirable object, and it should have his approbation and concurrence. But the principal object of the bill was, or ought to be, to obtain as large a general force as possible. It did not, however, contain provisions that were likely to effectuate that. It seemed to be the opinion of ministers, that the best mode of recruiting was from an army of reserve. In that point, however, he differed from them, and he thought they ought to be convinced, by the arguments of experience, with what difficulties and expense that kind of force was obtained. The greatest difficulties had been thrown in the way of recruiting for general service by means of the ballot and high bounties. Those were now to be done away, and would operate in favour of recruiting. He understood, however, that persons entering into the new army of reserve, were to be allowed to enter afterwards for general service. It would, therefore, be necessary for them to know the amount of the bounties, in order to form an opinion, whether it will not be more for their interest to enter into the army of reserve first, by which they will secure to themselves a double bounty, and thereby put the public, or rather the parishes, to a double expense. One very great objection to the bill is, that it is a large and complicated machinery, put in motion with great difficulty, to do but little service. He thought no considerable number of men would be raised by this act, which professed to hold out inducements to parish officers, and to tempt them to overlook difficulties; but instead of an act for raising a great number of men, it will be to raise such a sum of money. If this be the case, his lordship said, it must finally prove inefficient, for the object is expressly said to be the raising an additional force, not of money, but of men. If it prove inefficient, then, he said, a necessary consequence must result from it, that it will be oppressive. As a tax, it would operate with great weight, and very unequally. It would fall on houses and land only, when, in point of fairness, it ought to be raised from the general revenues of the country. The legislature ought, on the contrary, to lay on all burdens with as fair and equal a hand as possible. He insisted that it would be impossible for the overseers to find the men; from which circumstance the measure could not fail to prove inefficient, and to become grievously oppressive. He objected to enacting such a complicated mass of machinery, and to put it in motion for the purpose of harassing church-wardens, overseers, deputy-lieutenants, their clerks, and all who are concerned in the business. And, after all, it must come at last into the hands of recruiting officers, which had much better be done in the first instance. It was, he believed, but this day eight weeks that a noble marquis, whom he did not then see in his place, had been induced to postpone his motion on the defence of the country; had not that motion been somehow or other got rid off, for what reason he did not know, their lordships would have no occasion to be then debating the present bill. He was sorry it had so happened; but, as a measure of defence, this was fraught with so many imperfections, and carried such broad blemishes in its very face, that he must express his disapprobation, and give it of course his decided opposition.

The Duke of *Montrose* said, the nature of this bill was such, as to convince him that it would raise a great number of men, who would, in all likelihood, be much alarmed at entering, in the first instance, for general service in the regular army. It had been objected to on the ground that it would ultimately prove inefficient. Whether it would have the effect of raising as many men as is to be wished for, he would not attempt to say; but he had, however, no doubt in his own mind, that it would raise a great many. He did hope to have seen several of the noble lords who oppose this bill, united in their endeavours to encourage, by every possible means, the raising of men; not only to defend their own country, but to carry the war into the heart of that of the enemy. He was sure the men, when once raised for the army of reserve, would easily be induced to enter for general service, and he made no doubt but that a great many of the volunteers would do the same. The inspectors, against whom so many objections had been made, are persons who are appointed to assist the deputy lieutenants, and not to controul them. It had, on all hands, been allowed, that it was absolutely necessary to increase our regular army, and it was only to be done by those means. If they were led on step by step, there would be more likelihood of getting a great number, than if it was proposed to them to enter for general service at once. He could not see how any noble lord could have any specific strong objection to the bill, He supposed rather that it was to the persons who brought it forward, than to the bill itself. If so, he would be desirous to meet that question, and would wish the house to reject the bill at once, if they have no longer a confidence in his majesty's ministers. He would rather their lordships would address his majesty to remove them, and should be much better pleased thus to see the opposition made in a more direct manner, than through the medium of this bill. For his own part, he thought it well calculated to answer all the purposes for which it is intended; and as such it should have his cordial support.

The Earl of *Caernarvon* said, the whole principle of the bill was of the most pernicious kind; while every part of it was characterised by its share of evil. He was willing to pass by that amphibious animal, created by the bill, the parish recruiting officer. The enormities of his situation were great, and would deserve to be noticed with particular severity, if they had been found in a bill of less atrocities than this. The bill pretended to be a bill for raising men. He should have great objection to it, if it could raise men in the way proposed. But it was a bill for no such purpose; intended for no such purpose. It was a bill to raise money by the worst of means, and under the most fallacious pretences. The fine on the parishes was the object of the bill; and while parliament was discussing the hopes or fear of raising, or not raising the men, the bill held on to its purpose, and in passing would become a parochial tax. But the bill professed to do almost every thing, except what it really did. Its friends, not much otherwise celebrated as the friends of a liberal system towards the people, vaunt of the abolishing the ballot by this bill. The ballot, however, is only in another shape to all but some persons privileged by this bill. These privileged persons were those who, perhaps, ought to be least so. They were all placemen and pensioners. He would appeal to the noble lord on the wool-sack; he would pay nothing for his honours and emoluments, whatever he did for his partrimonial estates. By this bill he would be relieved from the chance, at least, of paying 36 l. for a substitute; and if he paid any thing it would be for his lands. This was a fundamental objection to the bill; it levied a tax under false pretences, and levied that tax most partially, exempting persons most capable of bearing the burden, and, above all, those persons who fattened on the emoluments of the state. The bill, in every point of view, was unconstitutional. It was so, among others, in reducing the militia below its comparative weights with the regular force. For the militia, he had almost lost his first love; that force was of a nature he no longer cared for, in the degree he formerly did. By late acts, the landed qualifications of certain officers, were no longer necessary. He conceived the constitution of the militia to be destroyed. Thus much he said of the militia in a constitutional point of view. But as an existing force, of great and most important value, he objected to the bill for reducing it. This was in his mind, a serious evil in the bill. This was bad policy; but the principal objection was, the atrocious operation of the bill, its unconstitutional principle, and its monstrous effects.

Lord *Mulgrave* said, if any thing was wanting to convince him, that the opposition to this bill was not given to the principle of the bill, its operation, or its real character, but to the person who brought it in, it was the arguments he had heard that night, and especially those which had been urged by the noble earl who spoke last. The noble earl had not argued to the house, he had not used any of that reasoning which was proper for their lordships' understanding and feelings. He had addressed a low and vulgar argument to those out of doors. He had given a name, subject to popular hatred, to situations of the greatest eminence. He had used the vulgar terms of placemen and pensioners, speaking of the most exalted stations. The noble lord had not spoken with his usual good sense in this. He had forgotten that the persons he alluded to had earned their high stations by their merit; that they did not deserve those vulgar phrases of contempt the noble lord had applied to them.

The Earl of *Caernarvon* rose to speak to order. He said, he had not asserted that the noble persons alluded to had not won their honours and emoluments by their services. He meant merely to state—The noble earl was here interrupted by

The *Lord Chancellor*, who said, the noble earl proposed to speak to order. He must, therefore, shew in what the noble lord was disorderly.

The Earl of *Caernaervon* said he spoke to order, but he would speak to something more than order. He meant to deny what the noble lord had ascribed to him. He had never asserted that the noble lord on the woolsack had not earned his honours and emoluments. He had maintained this argument, that the bill favoured him and others in high offices of great emoluments, in exempting them from the burden imposed by the bill; and this was speaking to order in despight of cries from the opposite side, in shewing, that the noble lord had attributed to him what was utterly without foundation.

Lord *Mulgrave* then proceeded to observe, that he saw no ground on which the noble earl could be justified in calling this measure atrocious. But, says the noble earl, this bill will press severely on the landed interest. He granted that it would operate on landed property, and what measure could be brought forward that would not bear on the property of the country? As to the objection made to the penalty on account of its probable effect, the noble earl would do well to compare this measure with the balloting system, to which he did not seem so hostile, in order to draw a just reference of the advantages or disadvantages of the former. The balloting system obliged the men to serve personally or by substitute; but this bill enacts, that a quota shall be raised by the parish; or, if it fail to do so, shall be liable to a fine which is to be paid, in order to raise the men in the ordinary way of recruiting; by the last, the people had the alternative of paying in money, whereas by the first, or balloting system, the balloted man must serve personally, or provide a substitute. Could this be called oppressive? or was it not much less exceptionable than the mandatory principle of the army of reserve act?—He should call the attention of noble lords to the effect of this measure, from which they could perceive that the greatest practical advantages must result; 1, it would be obviously to destroy all competition by doing away the inducement to give high bounties; next, it would produce an augmentation of our disposable force; and, lastly, it would establish a nursery, or constant source for the keeping up our regular army. This would be still more obvious, by reflecting that personal contests for recruits was the principal cause of high bounties. The militia, which was now to be reduced, was accessory to this as well as the army of reserve, on the principle by which it was supplied. These disadvantages will be done away, in the first instance, which noble lords must acknowledge to be a thing most desirable. Another great advantage was, that raising men for rank would be wholly put an end to, from which this benefit accrued, that old experienced officers, who generally had not money to purchase, would not be kept down by monied young ones, who could purchase. He was surprised, therefore, that any noble lord in the house, or any liberal unprejudiced man out of it, could object seriously to a measure, which, on the face of it, contained so many greater advantages than the army of reserve, which name he did not know how to account for, unless it was taken from that formed by Buonaparté at Dijon. He had heard it said, in another place, which he could not properly name in that house, that the second battalions, which were to be attached under this bill, would answer the purpose or expectations of ministers. It was ingeniously urged by a certain gent. (Mr. Windham), that men would not go into first battalions, or transfer their service to this or that battalion, because an officer might owe them a grudge, or bet such a one did not like it. To such fanciful notions he should only reply, that the person who entertained them knew little or nothing of a British soldier. He was convinced that the patriotism and ardour of Englishmen would be found adequate to the preservation of their independence, and always dispose them to engage in the way best calculated to defeat and conquer their enemies. The noble lord concluded with regretting, that such a govt. was not formed when the opportunity was afforded, as might have been, but he did not think that a failure in that respect, which he lamented as much as any of their lordships, should be made the sole grounds of the opposition to this bill. If the objection was to the men and not to the measure, why was it not avowed? He had never heard one solid objection offered to the principle of the bill before their lordships, and would therefore give his vote in support of the 2d reading.

The Earl of *Moira* declared, he was resolved not to allude, in the slightest degree, to a subject connected with the late ministerial arrangements, which had nothing in his mind to do with the merits now before the house. Among all the noble lords who opposed the bill, he believed, that independent of all the considerations to which he now alluded, there was one general sentiment, that the measure proposed was one that fell very far short of what was expected under the present circumstances of the empire. It had been observed on the other side of the house, that as nothing but assertion had been urged against the bill, nothing but assertion need be employed in its defence. It did, however, occur to him, that in support of a bill of so very important and so interesting a description, those who defended it were bound to urge something at least of a plausible and reasonable defence. On the very face of the bill, it appeared that it was to be so very slow in its operation, that the measure could only be viewed as altogether inefficient and nugatory. In his opinion it did not at all seem likely that the bill would be the means of procuring any great addition to our regular disposable force, which was, on all hands, admitted to be the grand object of national interest. What we now wanted was, not a force for internal defence, for in this point of view our means of defence were formidable beyond all previous example. To talk of any danger therefore from the inadequacy of this species of protection, was altogether childish and ridiculous. He wished their lordships to consider what were the circumstances under which the war originated. It would be recollected, that it was not the mere question of Malta to which we were called on at that time to direct our attention. It was the systematic, uniform, and alarming ambition of France, which then attracted the attention of all orders of the community. The reduction of this power was consequently the grand object to which the prosecution of the war was to be directed. In attempting to effect this most desirable end, the first point was the augmentation of our regular disposable force. We wanted such a force as would enable us to avail ourselves of any opportunity of striking a blow, which might be turned to account in any probable change of the affairs of Europe. Till, however, we had made provision for this end, we had no right to expect the interference, far less the active co-operation of European powers. If we were in a state of reasonable preparation, then we might apply for their co operation with some prospect of success; but without this preparation, on what grounds could we call on powers to engage in a cause, which, though connected with our highest interests, seemed by ourselves to have been almost wholly overlooked. It was to the formation of a disposable force in the most speedy and effectual manner that the country looked, and it was because the bill did not hold out the prospect of providing this, that he felt it his duty to oppose it. The country were convinced that the spirit of oppression on the part of France was not to be tolerated, but was utterly inconsistent with the independence, or even the existence of all surrounding powers. If the bill, then, did not go to the length of providing a force applicable to this object, it was a bill which had no sort of application to the circumstances in which the country is placed.—A noble lord had expressed much dissatisfaction that the bill had been represented as oppressive. On this point he himself thought it incumbent on him to make a few observations. He had to declare, then, that the bill did not proceed on a fair calculation of the population of different districts in the empire. In one county of Scotland, in particular, there was at least one-half of the male population engaged either as militia-men, as persons serving in the army of reserve, or as volunteers. He wished to ask their lordships, in fairness, whether the provisions of the bill could apply, in common justice, to such a district? At this moment, however, according to the provisions of the bill, the county to which he had alluded, was liable to an equal proportion with other counties which had made no similar exertions for the public service. The noble lord, on this part of the subject, took occasion to compliment the volunteers of Scotland. The volunteers of Scotland, his lordship declared to be men, who did not act as volunteers merely to figure a parade, or to procure particular exemptions. They were actuated by a truly military spirit, they were men whom he would be proud to lead against any enemy, with a perfect confidence of success. A great deal had been said of the relief which the measure under consideration was calculated to afford. The excessive cruelty of the ballot was also a very plausible sort of argument. In his opinion, this measure was more oppressive than the bill for raising the army of reserve, though by that bill, every object was to be effected by the ballot. By the present bill, the men were to be procured by parochial exertions, and he was firmly convinced that this mode of levying recruits, would be attended with the utmost public inconvenience, or if this could not be obtained, would require a most oppressive tax. With regard to the reduction of the militia, which the bill had in view, he could not but think that this was a very inexpedient arrangement. If the militia were to be reduced, he wished to know why this reduction should not immediately take place, instead of waiting for the slow process which the bill went to provide? In this case a great accession of men well acquainted with the general habits of a military life would be obtained, even within the space of a single fortnight; whereas by the process which the bill established, it was impossible to expect its end to be accomplished at least under a year. The noble lord adverted to the mode of raising men for the army by enlisting them for limited service, so far as time is concerned. Every consideration of expediency, of policy, and necessity of adopting this mode of enlisting, instead of that mode of enlisting now prevalent, by which the greater part of a man's life was, to all intents and purposes, sacrificed. He maintained that, such was the generous spirit of Englishmen, such an obstacle only required to be removed, and the recruiting service would go on with every prospect of success. Englishmen were always ready to come forward at a great crisis, but when that crisis had passed away, the idea of enlisting for life operated as a drawback on the general ardour of the country. The idea of a man's selling himself for life was very discouraging to a person of the slightest reflexion, and till this obstacle was withdrawn, the recruiting service could never proceed with the spirit which it was the object of every man to encourage.—His lordship professed his conviction that the bill would be found totally inadequate to its professed object. The noble lord concluded by declaring that he felt it his duty, on a full and fair view of the whole subject, to oppose the bill.

Lord *Melville* contended, that the object of the bill was to give vigour to a principle, which would have the effect of converting a limited service into a general disposable force. He did not object to the principle of the army of reserve act, on the contrary, he approved of it; the present bill had been adopted on its model. It differed only by substituting another mode of raising men for the ballot. He maintained that it was a meaning, the principle of which was right and proper. Whether he referred to the general feeling of mankind, or to the universal practice adopted with respect to recruiting the army, it had been universally found that no means were so proper for raising men for general service as leading them to it by previously engaging them for service of a limited nature. Without adverting to the philosophical cause of this effect, it was sufficient to observe, that there was something which led men who became soldiers to desire to extend the sphere of their action. It could not be supposed that a common soldier would, merely for the sake of his pay, brave every danger, and encounter the various perils of the field of battle; yet numerous instances occurred of men in the ranks performing feats of valour, which could not be accounted for on any other principle than that of military enthusiasm, and a degree of ardour increased in proportion to the danger with which they had to contend. He was persuaded that the man who was once accustomed to be the companion of soldiers, was above all others likely to be tempted to enter into that regular kind of service, which would enable him to bear his share in those military exploits, and achievements which were reported to him by his comrades. The example of others generated a sentiment of heroism, which could not fail to operate on his mind. He repeated, that the circumstance of introducing men into a service of a limited nature, could not fail of inducing them to enter into one that was more extensive. Would any one say that the soldier recruited as he would be by this bill, would not go from limited service to general service? That the dispositions of men who were in the militia urged them to go into the regular army, was manifest by the insertion of a provision in the militia laws, to restrain them from so doing. The legislature was aware, that a desire of renown would naturally influence them to quit one service for the other.—So far with regard to the principle of the bill. With respect to its operation, if it should collect together a number of men for limited service, it would not be a nugatory bill, but would ultimately produce for the regular army a greater force than had ever been raised by any measure. It was now a twelvemonth since the army of reserve bill had been carried into effect, and out of 38,000 men, no less than 12,000 had entered into general service. The history of mankind was uniform in proving the theory and principle of this bill.—The noble lord who had just sat down had objected to the gradual reduction of the militia. But what was it he proposed? He had asked why a call had not been made upon the militia officers throughout the empire, who would have started up, and immediately have given to the general service all the assistance that was required. The only objection to this proposition was, that the house could have no security for its being carried into effect. Unless the noble lord could give a pledge that he would convey his sentiments to the militia officers, and that they would raise 84,000 men, little reliance was to be placed upon his assertion. If they were willing to produce such a force, clearly this bill would be of infinitely less importance than it present appeared to be. The noble lord was surrounded by militia officers, yet none of them seemed inclined to cheer or applaud him for the observation; they all sat in sullen silence, and he was afraid the sentiment of the noble lord did not extend beyond himself. He maintained, that to leave the recruiting of the army to the mode in which it had been carried on would produce competition, and on the other hand there was nothing in this bill that tended to interfere with the recruiting for general service; so far from it, it was encouraged by this bill. Why then deny to govt. the means of trying an experiment, which would enable it to collect a great number of men for limited service, under the idea that they would enlist for general service? He observed, that at no one period of the history of this country had the common mode of recruiting kept up the army. Upon all great and pressing occasions it had uniformly been found necessary to have recourse to some extraordinary mode of recruiting. The army, as it at present stood, he said, owed its existence to the supplementary militia. In the last war 46 battalions of new regiments were disbanded to fill up the old regiments. What was the effect? Not more than 7,000 men were produced. He was satisfied that the measure before the house would produce the men it professed to raise. He thought he could venture to predict, that the army would be, at the number which was considered necessary, and then he trusted to the ardour and enthusiasm of British minds, those great incentives to military glory. He had no doubt but that, in the way this bill proposed, there would not be the least difficulty in recruiting the first battalion from the second. If the bill was allowed to go on, he was persuaded it would be the means of securing the permanent strength of the country. He therefore trusted, that to such a measure he should not see any opposition.

The Duke of *Richmond* thought the bill before the house incompetent to the purpose for which it was prepared; which was to rescue the country from the most serious and pressing danger. We had no ordinary enemy to oppose, his fame had been established by a series of successes unknown in the history of modern times. He had an army of 400,000 men under his command, to be recruited from a population of 50 millions of people. The army of this country was comparatively insignificant, and the population did not exceed 12 millions. It was true that the volunteers deserved the thanks of the nation, but the most sanguine man could not expect they were competent to meet an army of Gallic veterans. The navy was, indeed, the hope and the security of the kingdom; but it was not to be expected, in the variety of seasons, but some opportunity might be afforded to a vigilant foe, and the safety of Britain might be endangered. Such views of the uncertainty of war should incline noble lords to resort to every expedient conducive to the national defence, but the present feeble measure could not be considered adequate to this weighty design.

The Earl of *Limerick* adverted to the

statement of the noble duke relative to the comparative population of France and this country, insisting that he had rated that of France too high, at fifty millions; and this country too low, at ten millions. The noble lord, it was true, had not spoken in praise of any of the moral qualities of the Emperor of the Gauls, but he had described him as one of the greatest generals the world had produced. The noble duke had thought proper to state, that the militia force of the country was insufficient to contend against an army of Gallic veterans, and that the volunteers were persons on whom, in the field of battle, little or no reliance could be placed. He censured the noble duke for adopting such a course of argument, and supported the bill.

The Duke of *Richmond* explained. He denied having paid a compliment to France at the expense of this country.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* said, it was unnecessary to state to the house the inordinate power of France, the consequent danger to this country, and the necessity of placing ourselves in a situation to meet the enemy on our own shores. Whoever considered the great extent of our coast, and the proximity of our capital to the sea, must be convinced it was necessary to have a great permanent force in addition to our present military establishment; 200,000 men he thought the least that would be requisite. He observed, that the ministers who had conducted the late war had raised a great defensive force in consequence of the acquisition of the Low Countries by France. The exigency of the case justified what they had done. In the present instance he was convinced this was a measure most desirable to the country, and one that would have the effect of increasing, to a very considerable extent, the disposable force of the country.

Lord *Hobart*, adverting to the observation which had been made by noble lords on the ministerial bench, that the opposition made to this measure proceeded more from an objection to the men by whom it was proposed, than to the proposition itself, stated, that upon whatever grounds the noble lord rested his assertion, or from whatever source he derived information to justify it, he could for himself most sincerely declare, that his opposition was founded entirely upon a fair and full consideration of the merits of the measure. He objected to it because it would go to render permanent the system of the army of reserve, without being effectual to its object. The army of reserve act had been confessedly grievous in its operation, but it had produced many men. This bill would be equally grievous, if not more so, without, in his opinion, producing any men whatever. The noble lord considered it altogether as a nugatory plan, and particularly condemned the idea of converting the respectable persons who generally filled the offices of overseers and church-wardens into recruiting serjeants. With respect to the conduct of the late administration upon military subjects, he could assure the noble lord who had alluded to it, that every part of it had been sanctioned by the opinion of the first military characters; by those to whose advice that noble lord himself would frequently have occasion to resort, and whose authority must always be respectable.

The Earl of *Suffolk* rose, he said, as a military man to express his decided disapprobation of this plan for raising men. The noble lord took occasion to state the regret he felt, in common with all the intelligent and independent parts of the country, that the public hopes and wishes had been so much disappointed in the administration that had been lately formed, and concluded with recommending parliament to reject this and every other plan, which should tend to confuse and complicate the means for the defence of the country, which, in his opinion, would be best provided for by a certain number of regular army, seconded by an armed population, who might be easily trained to as much military discipline as was necessary to render them fit for the purpose, in which they might and ought to be employed.

Lord *Grenville* began with deprecating the manner in which the discussion had been conducted by the noble lords who professed to support this measure; a measure which they contended was not resisted upon any ground of argument, but upon mere assertion, or rather, as they stated, from motives originating from party prejudice. In consequence of such declarations, he felt it his indispensable duty to state the reason which dictated the vote he meant to give; but before he did so, he must remark shortly upon the conduct of those noble lords who seemed so disposed upon this occasion to excite that animosity and personal contest. This was a conduct which he thought ought to be entirely excluded from this discussion; it was always injurious to free debate; it never assisted investigation, or the discovery of truth, and was peculiarly inappropriate at the present period: It was ill suited to the intentions and circumstances of the country. It was, he hoped, ill-suited to the disposition of the house, and he was sure it was in this as in every other instance, ill-suited to the temper of his own mind. To some of the persons of whom the present administration was composed it was impossible for him to entertain any personal objections. They were those with whom he had long lived in habits of the closest intimacy and the most sincere friendship, and among them were included the two noble lords (Melville and Mulgrave) who had spoken in the course of the debate. From them many things had fallen which he regretted to hear, and to which he should make no allusion. Such expressions should not, on this or on any other occasion, induce him to depart from that line of argument or conduct, which private friendship sanctioned, and his parliamentary duty suggested. A just attention to both he felt to be perfectly consistent; but, if any competition should arise between them, unquestionably the public good should ever predominate in his mind. Upon this subject, however, he did not think it fit or becoming that he or the noble lords with whom he had the honour to act, were to be told by anticipation, that they were actuated by personal motives; a charge which, he was convinced, was equally unfounded and ill-advised; not less so, indeed, than the assertion, that this measure was opposed by mere assertion. This assertion he was particularly surprised to hear, after all the solid objections that had been made to it, both in that and in the other house of parliament; but to this assertion he would only answer by calm reasoning; and from this resolution he would not be withdrawn by the wish of the noble lord on the other side, that the circumstances connected with the construction of the present administration should become the subject of public discussion. From that wish of his noble friend he most decidedly differed, for he did not think it could take place, as his noble friend himself seemed to apprehend, without giving much pain to the feelings of particular persons, without producing any degree of public advantage. For himself, however, although he regretted that any thing with respect to communications had with him on this subject should have been made public, he had no hesitation to say, that he could have no objection, as far as he was concerned, that every particular was made public. If they were, he was quite confident that the country would be found to agree with him in sentiment; that it was a matter deeply to be deplored; that such an administration as should include all the men of talents and importance which the senate could furnish; that an opportunity was lost of procuring the combination of great and good men for the public safety; that the highly raised hopes of the country were disappointed; and that that union and vigour which its situation peculiarly called for was neglected. This was a circumstance which afflicted him deeply; and the contrary course was that which he strongly recommended, and which he would have been heartily rejoiced to have witnessed.—From this subject the noble lord proceeded to animadvert upon the principle and tendency of the bill. The former he considered to be quite unconstitutional; while the latter, he thought, would be oppressive, and would have the effect of overstraining the cord which had already been too tightly pulled. This bill proposed, for the first time in this free country, to keep on foot a permanent regular army. It was meant, in a great degree, to supersede the militia, and, in short, the advantages belonging to that constitutional force. Whatever opinion might be generally entertained as to the object of the war, all seemed agreed as to the necessity which called for great exertion to augment our disposable force. Some supposed that this force might be useful very soon, and others at a later period; but none doubted that they should be ready as soon as possible. To provide the desired augmentation was the professed object of the measure before the house, but the question was, whether it was calculated to promote that end. In his opinion it was not, but that on the contrary it would be much better to seek that augmentation from the plain ordinary course of recruiting, than from such clumsy and operose machinery as this bill contained. The principle of this bill was, that the men to be raised under it, were to form a component part of the regular army, and to be commanded by regular officers; the whole to be on limited service. He was not one of those who thought there ought to be no force for limited service; but yet he went farther than most men in wishing to reduce that force. It ought, in his judgment, to be very small, and of course he must object to the extension of that species of force now recommended, a force which it was intended to amalgamate with the regular army, and this intention was one of the principal objections which he had to the bill; for on the contrary, he wished, that our militia, or any other limited force, should be different in conformation, in the character of the privates, officers, &c. from our regular army. That was the idea and object of our ancestors in framing the militia; an idea which was so wise, that he lamented to see any disposition to depart from it. The noble lord described the effects upon the description of the army, which must arise from the proposed connexion between the battalions of the new levies and those of the regular army, and particularly dwelt upon the consequences of a meeting in case of invasion, between the men who should refuse to enlist from the new levies into unlimited service, and those who should suffer the taunts and reproaches to which the former would be exposed, and the effect that such reproaches would have upon their military spirit, the perpetual disputes that were likely to arise, &c. After remarking on the other defects of this project, the noble lord said, he would conceive himself ill answered, if he should be told, that from experience it appeared, that a vast number had been obtained from a limited force of this kind for the use of the regular army. No argument, he contended, could be drawn from such experience in favour of this plan, for it could not be shewn that a still greater number of men would not have been had from the ordinary recruiting, had that recruiting been allowed to go on without any impediment. The probability, indeed, was, that not only the number who had enlisted from the army of reserve into the regular army would have volunteered if that army had never existed but also many men who were still looked up in that body, which it was now proposed to render a permanent establishment. The regular recruiting had, never since the commencement of the war, had its fair play, therefore it could not be assumed, that it would not have produced more men than any, or all, of the expedients that had been resorted to. Adverting to the opinion of a noble earl, as to enlisting men for a limited time, he expressed his surprise that a plan, which all seemed to approve, and which, if acted upon, would procure more men than a dozen such bills as this, should have been so long in contemplation. It was strange that as time had been found for framing so many complicated plans, that ministers could not find time enough to consider and determine upon the simple proposition which was understood to be under the consideration of the late and present ministers, both of whom appeared to deal with it (to use an observation applied to another occasion) as the states of Holland were in the habit of doing with such propositions as they wished to get rid of, they voted it *ad referendum.*—The declaration of the noble lord (Melville), with respect to the evils attending the practice of raising men for rank, gave him infinite satisfaction, because it induced a hope that ministers would not have recourse to such an expedient. Such a declaration, indeed, from such an authority, left no doubt that the report must have been unfounded, that this very plan of raising men is at this moment acting upon. He was quite confident it must be false, and he was sincerely glad to think so.—Among other objections to the bill, he pressed the inequality of its operation. It proposed to demand of every parish a quota, proportioned to its population, and yet the fine or commutation for such quota was to be proportioned to its property. Thus the manufacturing parishes and those already burthened with poor's rates would be most oppressively borne upon. In this instance this plan was much inferior to the balloting system, which operated equally upon all. From this view of the subject he thought this bill would operate as a severe tax, and exclusively upon agriculture, to the amount, in all probability, of not less than 2,000,000*l*.—As to the argument advanced in support of this measure, by an allusion to the conduct of the military governments of Europe, he confessed that the argument alarmed him, and that the very similitude of the measure to the practice of those governments, was his principal objection to it; for he was persuaded that it would, if adopted, have the tendency of converting ours into a military government. That was precisely the prospect which this measure held out, a prospect that no Englishman could contemplate without horror.—The noble lord, after commenting on the effects which this bill would have on the volunteers, from whom it would take away all the exemptions which had been granted them as an encouragement and a boon, concluded with exhorting ministers to recur to the ordinary course of recruiting as the most effectual and wisest way of supplying our regular army. Upon this point he observed, that the principle in mechanics was by the smallest power, and the least complication, to produce the greatest possible effect. This principle was not less applicable in politics than in mechanics, although it was an axiom which the govt. of this country had for some time back entirely lost sight of. They seemed to have caught a mania for the manufacturing of plans. They appeared to delight in the complex and novel, and to despise old habits and simplicity.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he was extremely anxious to state the true grounds on which the measure had been brought forward and was defended by his Majesty's govt. It was with regret, however, that he felt himself called upon to take notice of the preliminary remarks as to the construction of the present administration, with which the noble baron had set out. Upon that subject he could wish either to be silent or to say much. It might suffice, however, to observe, that the discussion of that matter could serve no good practical purpose, while it might be attended with many ill effects. Indeed, he thought that at such a critical moment it would be far better for all to consider impartially and disinterestedly how the country might be best defended; how it might best be carried through the present crisis, instead of agitating points which were so delicate, and which could not terminate in any conclusion advantageous to the community.—With respect to the measure before the house, the general principle of it had been fairly stated by the noble baron. It was a bill to raise a given, permanent defensive military force for the defence of this country. It was founded in some degree upon the principle of the army of reserve act, which he would boldly affirm was one of the most efficient military measures which parliament had ever at any time adopted. But with all the benefits with which the reserve act had been attended as a measure for raising a great number of men for defence in the first instance; and, secondarily, for general service, upon the urgency of a most pressing emergency; yet it was found that there were some of its provisions which, the pressure having subsided, it might be wise to modify. In regard to the ballot, to the severity of the fines on parishes, when the men were not found, and the bad effects of the high bounties on the recuiting of the regular army, there appeared room for modification, and in all these points the present measure was calculated to relieve the country from a considerable burden. The measure by suspending the operation of the reserve act, renewed the obstacle and competition of high bounties from the regular army, which, under the operation of the new law would not be impeded. Insomuch, indeed, was this the case, that it seemed to be the opinion of some that no men would be raised, thus acknowledging that competition would not act against the regular army. For his part, he believed that the bill would be effectual, and that by means of local influence employed in raising a defensive force would be attended with the best effects. In some respects the force raised under this measure would be preferable to a militia, because it would be applicable to the defence of every part of the empire at home, whereas it was necessary on emergencies, to have recourse to expedients not quite so consistent with the constitution of the militia, and which ought not to take place but in cases of necessity. With respect to the numbers of the militia, he conceived that, in all the circumstances of Europe, whether in peace or war, a militia force of 72,000 was not too much as a merely defensive force; but if part of the defensive force could be made of another description, the country gained in point of security. Such a force the present measure was calculated to afford. That it would contribute to furnish men for the regular army, little doubt could be entertained after the experience of the army of reserve act. As to the force being unconstitutional, he could not conceive on what ground such an apprehension could be formed. The whole of the force of this country was always under the control, and kept up with the consent of parliament. The code of laws for the management, the funds for the payment of every part of it, were renewed annually. This would be the case with the intended force, as well as with every other, and in no respect, in its constitution or elements, could it afford any alarm to the most vigilant and jealous guardians of the principles of the constitution.—With respect to what had been said of recruiting men for a limited period of service, he was one who was extremely desirous that that point should be fully and impartially considered. He did not think, however, that it ought to be decided incidentally. Indeed he could say, that his Majesty's ministers would investigate the point with the greatest impartiality, they would consult the opinions of the best military authorities, and submit to parliament the result of their enquiry, and the grounds on which it was formed. Upon the whole, he was satisfied that the present bill, without imposing any severe burden on the public, would attain its object in raising a large permanent defensive force, which would ultimately tend to the recruiting of the regular force; it would, in case of peace, relieve us from the embarrassments always felt for men on the renewal of a war, and in every view would promote the strength and security of the empire.—After a few words from Lord Grantly, the question was put, and a division took place, when there appeared,

For the bill, present 84, proxies 70 . . 154
Against it, present 50, proxies 19 . . 69

Majority 85

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 25.

[Minutes.]—Sir C. Bunbury brought up the report of the committee on the corn trade, which was agreed to, and was ordered that it be an instruction to the committee appointed to bring in a bill on a former report, to make provision in the said bill pursuant to the resolution now reported.—The Denmark mint bill was read a 3d time and passed.—The woollen manufacture suspension bill went through a committee, the report was received, and the bill ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—The East India prize goods bill was reported, and ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—Mr. Corry gave notice, that he would to-morrow move for papers relative to the balances in the hands of collectors in Ireland.—Lord A. Hamilton presented a petition from certain freemen in Glasgow, stating, that they conceived alarming alterations were about to be made in the corn laws of the kingdom; and praying that these might not be adopted. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Foster brought up a bill for laying additional duties on stamps in Ireland. Read a 1st time.—Mr. Huskisson brought up a bill to enable the commissioners of the treasury to issue exchequer bills; read a 1st time.—Mr. Johnstone moved that there be laid before the house the particulars of the account made up to the 1st of March 1804, by which the East India Company claims from govt. the sum of 4,018,000 l. Ordered.

[FOREIGN TROOPS ENLISTMENT BILL.]—The Secretary at War moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable his majesty to raise foreign corps, and indemnifying those who had taken foreigners into his majesty's service.

Mr. *Creevey* wished to know if there was to be a clause in the bill for the benefit of those whose religious persuasions were different from the religion of the church of England; and to exempt them from the penalties they might otherwise incur?

The *Secretary at War* said, it was intended that the bill should contain a clause to that effect; but it was to be confined solely to foreign corps.

Mr. *Francis* said, that, even in the present stage of this proceeding, he could not help remarking that it was one of a very unconstitutional nature; that, according to our laws and constitution, no foreign troops could be allowed to come into this country, or within 6 miles of the coast.—Leave granted.

[REVENUE OF IRELAND.]—Mr. *Foster* observed, that he had on a former day given notice of his intention to bring forward a regulation for the purpose of correcting many errors and abuses that prevailed in the revenue departments in Ireland; and the measure would be founded on a similar one, which was adopted some years ago in this country. His great object was, 1st, to have an accurate inquiry made into the state of those offices; and, when the result of the inquiry should be laid before the house, parliament would then be able to judge whether any, and what steps were necessary to be taken. He then moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for appointing commissioners to inquire into the amount of the fees, salaries, emoluments, and other gratuities received by officers employed in Ireland, to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same; and to report to the house their observations, and suggest such means as may occur to them towards the better collection of the revenue in Ireland."

Sir *John Newport* said, he felt himself impelled to rise and return his thanks to the rt. hon. gent. for bringing forward a measure of this importance, which would be of the most substantial benefit to Ireland; a benefit much greater than any that had ever been felt in this country; because the abuses were much greater in the one than the other. The rt. hon. gent. had on a former day drawn a melancholy picture of the finances and revenues of Ireland, and it was evident that that situation was occasioned, in a great measure, by the abuses which prevailed in the public boards in Ireland. The incidental expenses of these boards were enormous. In that of the post-office department, no less a sum than 5,000 l. was allowed for losses sustained in one of the mail coaches. Their law expenses were equally enormous. The bill of costs for law expenses in the post office department, during the last year, amounted to no less than 5,800 l. Those of the paving board were 2,000 l. and similar expences attended the board of commissioners for wide streets. The fees received by officers in all departments of the revenue, were also highly oppressive; those persons in subordinate situations were in the habit of exacting enormous and oppressive fees. These were abuses which called for an immediate investigation, and he was confident that such an investigation would be highly gratifying to the people of Ireland, who would chearfully pay large taxes, as soon as they saw the acts for imposing them accompanied with a fair and accurate inquiry into all the abuses which prevented the due collection of the public revenue. The great balances that remained in the hands of the collectors, were another circumstance which made an inquiry still more necessary. These had considerably increased during the last year. It appeared large sums of the public money were now due, by some who had been promoted from subordinate to higher offices, and that deceased collectors, in whose hands balances had remained unpaid, left large estates behind them. The law expenses were not only enormous in every department of the revenue; but the sums in which offenders had been convicted were remitted, and the public was thus deprived of the benefit arising from them. These were great evils, which required a speedy investigation and cure.

Mr. *Foster* said, he would not enter into any discussion on this subject until the bill passed through parliament, and the commissioners of inquiry should report their opinion to the house.

Mr. *Ormsby* said, the hon. bart. had stated many facts in a way that required explanation from him, in order to do away the impression they otherwise must make upon the house. The incidents and law expenses in the post-office department had been occasioned chiefly by the many mail robberies which were committed. The commissioners of wide streets must necessarily have had numerous proceedings at law before they could carry into effect the business for which they had been instituted; and surely no one could say, that 2,000l. in one year was too great a sum for the costs attending those proceedings; on the contrary, he considered it a very low sum. As to the commissioners of the revenue having remitted penalties, they had done no more than exercise the same powers which belonged to the commissioners in this country, who frequently used their discretion in extending indulgence to those who had been sufficiently punished already. He was sorry to hear the hon. bart. make the statements he did, which he must deprecate, because they were made at a time when they could not be answered.

Mr. *Francis* said, the hon. bart. appeared to him to have done no more than make a plain statement of facts; and he now wished to know, whether it was intended that there should be any correction of the abuses prevailing in Ireland, before the commissioners under the intended bill should make their report?

Mr. *Foster* said, he only meant that there should be no discussion, nor any regulation on the subject, until the commissioners should make their report. But, as to the immediate correction of abuses, all he could now say was, that he himself would answer for it, every exertion should be made, in the mean-time, to make the revenue officers in Ireland do their duty.

Mr. *Ormsby* said, he thought it necessary to remove a very erroneous impression that seemed to dwell on the minds of gentlemen, with regard to the balances in the hands of collectors. Such balances had existed since the year 1725, and he himself never knew them less than 90 000l.

Mr. *Maurice Fitzgerald* said, that as one of those employed in the superintendence of the revenue in Ireland, he thought it necessary to say a few words on the subject of the sums in the hands of collectors. There certainly was the sum of 600,000l. now outstanding; but the monies actually paid into the hands of collectors bore a very small proportion to that sum. The treasury of Ireland had used indefatigable exertions in endeavouring that no more money should be in the hands of collectors than was absolutely necessary. One cause of money remaining in their hands, was the difficulty of remitting it from distant parts of Ireland to the militia. But he could assure the house, that whenever the collectors appeared to have any disposition to keep money in their hands, the commissioners of the revenue took the most prompt and effectual means to get it from them.

Mr. *Corry* begged leave to trouble the house with a few observations on this subject, in addition to what he had stated on a former day. So far from there being 600,000l. in the hands of collectors, the house would be surprised to hear what that sum actually was. There was now a return of 551,000l. outstanding revenue, charged to the collectors at this time; but this sum was not in their hands; they had not yet received it. The house would see what the cause of this was from the fact which he was about to state. It was the custom for the surveyors of excise in Ireland, to go once a month and visit all persons subject to the excise duty; for instance, distillers and maltsters. They received returns from the gaugers or inferior excise officers, of the sums for which these were liable to pay, and they made a monthly return of them before they were paid; and the head collector made a return of them to the commissioners; and all these sums were charged to his account before ever they were collected in. The collector thus appears to have balances remaining in hand, when he has not received a shilling. The persons liable to the excise duty had generally a month's credit in paying the money. With maltsters and distillers this amounted to the sum of about 3 or 400,000l. The money, therefore, which was supposed, from the returns, to be in the collector's hands, was not paid. And he could assure the house, that of the 600,000l. said to be due to the Irish govt., not above 50,000l. was actually in the hands of collectors. He now spoke from the written documents which he examined; and from which it appeared, that this sum did, since Jan. last, fluctuate from 31,000l. to 49,000l. which sum it never exceeded; that was all the collectors now had in their hands; and why so much was remaining in their possession, he had already explained to the house. In order to satisfy the house on this subject, he now gave notice, that he would to-morrow move for certain returns, which would clearly shew that his statement was correct, and would put an end to all mistaken views on the subject.

Mr. *Foster* said, so far from having any objection to, he rather wished for, the production of the papers alluded to by the hon. gent. With respect to the balances remaining in hand, he would maintain, that the sum of 600,000l. was now due to govt.; that it ought to have been received by this time; and that govt. could have compelled the payment of it.

Mr. *Francis* said, that what he had heard from the several gentlemen who spoke on this subject, was sufficient to prove to him, that it was of considerable importance. He was glad to find that the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Corry) intended to move for certain papers; and, until these were produced, he should forbear to make any further observations on the business.

Mr. *M. Fitzgerald,* in explanation, said, that the Irish treasury was controled by the govt., with regard to the power it had of enforcing the collection of the revenue. And that 49,000l. was the highest sum in the hands of the collectors.—The motion was then put and carried.

[SCOTCH ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.]—The Secretary at War moved the order of the day for receiving the report of the bill for raising an additional force in Scotland.

Lord *A Hamilton* said, that in duty to the nation at large, and his constituents in particular, he must oppose the present bill. He particularly objected to the manner in which the men were to be raised, and afterwards disposed of. He wished to know how they were to be disposed of in time of peace; how they were to be retained in time of peace? and how they were liable to be called upon to serve again, should it be necessary? The bill, he considered as nugatory in its immediate object; and in its permanent object unconstitutional.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he was not prepared to give a precise answer to the noble lord's questions. All he would now say was, that whenever peace arrived, it would be the object of parliament to consider what provisions should be necessary to keep up this force during the continuance of peace, and to fix the times for calling it out.

Mr. *Kinnaird* declared his feeling of this measure to be, that of his having double the objection to it which he would to the other bill relating to England. He would allude to one point in which England and Scotland differed materially, and that was with respect to the militia. He certainly thought the militia had been increased to too great an extent in England; and therefore the reduction of it was no evil; but that was not the case in Scotland, where the militia was in point of discipline nearly equal to a regular force. In that country, more than any other, the younger sons of gentlemen were in the habit of getting into the army, and of seeing actual service. Many of these persons went into the militia, and the consequence was, that the militia of Scotland was better officered than that of any other country. In the absence, therefore, of regular troops, Scotland safely relied on the militia for defence; and by the aid of the spirit and the exertions of the distinguished commander in chief in that country, they were rendered so perfect in discipline, as to be inferior to no troops whatever. From these considerations it must be very unwise to reduce any of the militia in Scotland. Between this bill and the other, there was another material difference, and that was the machinery possessed by England for raising men, which was not in Scotland. Here the poor laws would be the means of getting men in every parish. In Scotland there were no poor laws, and therefore the heritors of parishes had not the same machinery to work with. But as these heritors were in general country gentlemen, the mode they would adopt would be to meet and assess themselves to raise a certain sum of money, and that would be given to the crimps for raising the men. This, therefore, would be a tax on the proprietors of land, or, in other words, a land-tax; which was directly contrary to the articles of the Union with Scotland—a violation of a solemn engagement, which he called upon the Irish members to oppose, lest a similar violation of the union between their country and this might take place.

Mr. *Robert Dundas* defended the bill, and observed, that so far from heritors subscribing money to employ crimps, he believed they would have influence enough among their tenants and neighbours to get the full complement of men required of the parishes. As to land-tax in Scotland, the same objection applied to the militia and army of reserve acts.

The *Secretary at War* observed, that the hon. gent. who complained of a land-tax in Scotland had declared, last year, that it was a breach of the union with Scotland to lay a duty on malt there. But would the hon. gent say, that a measure, which the exigency of the present moment rendered absolutely necessary, was now to be opposed, because it might contain something contrary to an act passed 100 years ago?—The report was then received, and the bill was ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.

[Counterfeit Dollars' Bill.]—On the 2d reading of the bill to prevent the counterfeiting of dollars,

Mr. *Princep* opposed the principle of the bill. He began by taking notice of the several issues made by the bank, of dollars, and their refusal afterwards to take many of them back. He then observed, that, for the first time, parliament was called upon to sanction a proceeding, which declared, that certain pieces of coin should not be counterfeited; and, he would ask, what security was there that these pieces of coin were not counterfeits? No coin should be suffered to circulate under the sanction of parliament, which did not come from the mint. This money was coined by an individual at Birmingham; who could tell to what an extent this money might not be coined there? or how many counterfeits might not be made? A coining machine was to be exported to Denmark; who could tell but in that country counterfeit money might not be coined and sent over here? He objected to those pieces, because they had the king's image on them; because they took away from his majesty's prerogative; and because there was no check as to the quantity which might be issued. He hoped that some regulation might be made to correct the silver specie of the country. The dollars were but a short time in circulation, when they were called in by the bank, and he was informed, that silver coin was now frequently brought here from France, and deposited in bags at the houses of different bankers, which might ultimately be detrimental to the public at large.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* observed, that those medals, as the hon. gent. styled them, or coins, were issued not as from the royal mint, but upon the credit of the bank of England, as silver promissory notes. It was not compulsory on the public to accept them if they did not chuse, any more than to accept the paper notes of the bank; but as both were an accommodation to the public, and would be equally accepted as such, the question was, whether it would not be politic to guard the public against fraud by the forgery of the dollars as well as on that of bank notes,

Sir *M. Bloxam* declared, that as far as his connexions led him to form any opinion on the subject, he had never heard of any such circumstance as money being brought from France to this country, and deposited in the hands of bankers. The bank directors were a body of men that merited the highest respect from every Englishman; they were men of the strictest integrity, and possessed of the highest sense of honour; their feeling towards the public at large was manifested in the support which they, at different times, gave to the credit and respectability of the nation, both in commercial and other transactions. They could not be fairly suspected of doing any thing which would be in the least detrimental to the interest of the public. As a banker, he must declare that he did not know of such a fact, nor did he suppose it probable that any banker was now purchasing dollars from the French.—The bill was then read a 2d time, and ordered to be referred to a committee to-morrow.

[Slave Trade.] —— Mr. *Wilberforce* moved the order of the day, for the further consideration of the report of the slave trade abolition bill, and then moved that counsel be called in upon the same.

Mr. *Dent* said, that since the union with Ireland, there were many members in that house who had never seen the evidence taken some years before at the bar of the house. This was a thing the members were entitled to, and therefore he wished the hon. member would put off the consideration of this business for a longer time.

Mr. *Wilberforce* shortly replied; after which the motion was agreed to, and counsel were called in. Mr. Pigot having been heard, Mr. Plomer was going to reply; when

Mr. *Fuller* rose, and proposed that the farther hearing of counsel should be postponed to afford the petitioners time to prepare.

Mr. *Pitt* objected, alleging that the case had been fully argued, that the house was already in possession of sufficient information upon the subject, and that there was no reason to expect that the further argument of counsel would throw any new light upon it. —The question being put, that the bill be engrossed, a division took place, when there appeared—Ayes 52—noes 9.—The bill was then ordered to be read a 3d time on Wednesday.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 26.

The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—It was ordered, on the motion of Lord Walsingham, that the claim to the Zouche Peerage be taken into farther consideration on Thursday by the committee of privileges.—The Additional Force bill, after a short conversation between the Earl of Radnor, Duke of Montrose, and the Earl of Camden, went through a committee, without any amendment; the report was received, and the bill ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 26.

At four o'clock, there being only 38 members present, the house adjourned to to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, June 27.

[MINUTES.]—The Additional Force bill for Scotland, the Irish Linen bill, and the Woollen Penalties Suspension bill were brought up from the Commons, and read a first time.—Tighe's Divorce bill was read a 3d time, and passed.

[CONDUCT OF JUDGE FOX.]—The Marquis of *Abercorn* rose and said, that, in bringing forward the petition against Mr. Justice Fox, he had expressed his hope, that the proceedings would have followed on the part of govt. He had waited a due time, to see that hope realized. He was happy to learn, that on the part of govt. every disposition existed to facilitate the true end of substantial justice in this affair. But, he was sorry to find, that all the trouble must devolve upon himself. He, however, would discharge his duty, since the important trust had devolved on him, of calling upon the house to afford that protection to the magistrates, the gentry, and the people of Ireland, which is enjoyed in this country. From that moment, he trusted, he should mingle no acrimony, no personal motives with that duty. He should consider Judge Fox as clothed with all the privileges of an accused person. He would ask nothing of their lordships, but to execute justice—and justice in mercy; and if it should appear that Judge Fox had forgotten to do that, if he had administered justice with the bitterness of private passions, he would find an example in their lordships, that justice is to be mildly and patiently, as well as impartially administered. He called upon their lordships, as well as those holding high offices in the govt. as others, to aid him in this great task. A noble and learned lord (Lord Carleton) had presented a petition from Judge Fox, and had grounded a motion in behalf of that judge, and had done so very properly. He begged the noble lord to attend to, and indeed to superintend all the future proceedings. He hoped the noble and learned lord would afford him all the aid of his talent and knowledge. He had no personal feelings or motives in this discharge of his duty. His personal share of the complaint against Judge Fox, he could have been glad to have left out of the future proceedings, but they made part of that judge's conduct in the discharge of his judicial functions. Nevertheless, they should be treated by him only as such. With respect to the time when the further proceedings might be expected, he wished to say a word or two. Many petitions he had received against Judge Fox. These were generally conceived in terms so unparliamentary, that they must be sent back to be altered in that respect. The persons complaining were many, and lay at a great distance. All this would necessarily consume time; but there was another cause would occasion delay. He had never spoken to Judge Fox in his life; but he understood that judge was not prepared to meet all the charges against him; and, on his part, wished for delay. He would accede to every wish of that judge consistently with the ends of justice. He did not, for the reasons he had assigned, think the business could be brought to an issue during this session.

The Earl of *Moira* said, that if the late govt. had forborne to bring forward any measure against Mr. Justice Fox, it was not to be concluded that they had neglected a grave accusation, in a matter of so much importance. It was rather to be presumed, that they had weighed the affair with the attention it deserved, and perhaps it would be no false presumption to conclude, from their silence, that the charges had not that foundation, which those who forwarded them to the govt. supposed. The charges brought forward by the noble marquis might also prove to be less weighty than they appear to be in the first statement, it being the nature of such things to be frequently erroneous. He was entirely unacquainted with any part of this matter of complaint against the learned judge, and was almost as much a stranger to that judge as the noble marquis stated himself to be. But he must consider the state in which the learned judge would stand, if the proceedings should rest here till the ensuing sessions. What has been urged against him, is before the public, with very high colouring. The noble marquis professes that Judge Fox shall have no grievance to complain of. Now he did think it a great grievance, that in all the interval between this and the next session of parliament, the learned judge shall not only have the charges of the petition resting upon him, but many others stated in the speech of the noble marquis. He therefore thought the noble marquis bound, at least, to define and reduce to a precise statement in petitions, all the complaints against the learned judge, to transmit him copies of these, to fix the time for final proceedings, and to describe the mode of the proceedings. With respect to the latter, he did not think their lordships could proceed to a final issue, in the course they were now taking. He would not press that farther; but he was sure it became the noble marquis now, during this session, to reduce to precise terms all the complaints against the learned judge.

Lord *Carleton* thought it would best suit with the dignity of their lordships' proceedings, on so very important and serious an occasion, if the heads of accusation were reduced into a precise and technical form. It would be but a pursuance of that candid and fair mode of proceeding, which usually obtained in all cases that were submitted to so great a tribunal as that composed by their lordships, that the person accused should have certain information of those facts it was intended to allege against him. The mere imputation of misconduct was a very great affliction to any man of feeling; but when it was thrown out against a person filling the dignified situation that the learned judge did, the punishment in that instance was aggravated in a tenfold degree. His lordship trusted that the learned judge would not be compelled to linger under this torture of his reputation, but that the noble marquis would, in the course of this session, bring forward the subject in such a way, as to afford him an opportunity of repelling the charges. He remarked, that when the noble marquis first brought forward the business, he had presented a petition, but in his speech had stated many allegations, which had no connection with that petition.—[His R. H. the Duke of Clarence repeatedly cried, hear! hear! in the course of the noble lord's speech.]

The Marquis of *Abercorn* assured their lordships, he had been informed that Mr. Justice Fox wished the proceedings to be delayed until next session. He was surprised that any thing like sarcasm had fallen from the noble earl and the learned lord who spoke last; and still more, that it should seem to be supported by an illustrious person, who certainly was not present when he first called the attention of their lordships to this business. He had not prejudged the question, but he would say, hypothetically, that if a judge should be proved to have imposed arbitrarily a fine of 500l. on one of his Majesty's subjects, that was a transaction which could not be justified.

The *Lord Chancellor* approved of the suggestions thrown out by the noble and learned viscount, of reducing the charges to a specific form. Much deliberation should precede so serious an act as that of bringing forward charges of accusation against any one; and when they were brought forward, they should be restricted and confined as much as possible to that precise and intelligible shape, that the person accused should, at the first blush, clearly comprehend the nature of the charge, and know to a certainty what that particular offence was against which he had to defend himself. It would be incumbent on their lordships, if this accusation was to be heard by them, to determine, as soon as possible, the mode in which it should be heard. When that great improvement in the constitution, the independence of the judges, took place, it was enacted that they should be removeable only on an address to his Majesty from either house of parliament. There was also another mode in which a judge who had misconducted himself in the exercise of his office may be proceeded against, and that was, by an impeachment brought by the Commons before that house. As this was the only instance since the Revolution in which charges had been brought forward against a person filling so sacred, important, and dignified a situation as that of one of the judges of the land, sworn to administer the laws with truth and impartiality, he thought their lordships could not be too cautious or circumspect in the observance of those forms which the example of this case would operate hereafter as precedents.

The Duke of *Clarence* coincided with the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, in the observations he had made. He thought it a very great grievance for any man, much less one of his Majesty's judges, to continue for a considerable time under the odium of accusations of which he may possibly be acquitted. He had known accusations of a most serious nature impending over a man for many years, and terminate at last in nothing.

Lord *Hawkesbury* declared, that he had the most perfect confidence in the uprightness of the motives by which the conduct of the noble marquis was governed. He was persuaded that his noble friend had not brought forward a single charge, which he was not convinced, in his own opinion, he had not the means of substantiating. It would be for their lordships, when they should be called on judicially to decide on these facts, to take the evidence into their consideration; but until they should be so called upon, it would be indecorous, or at least premature, to enter into any discussion of it. In the present stage of their proceedings, they should confine themselves merely to an arrangement of the mode in which they should proceed in the next session, before which time this subject most probably would not come before them. There were, in his opinion, but two modes; one was for the noble lord to rise in his place, and to state that he had charges of great moment to bring forward against one of the judges, which charges should be afterwards written down; and the second was, to have them presented to their lordships in the form of petitions. In both cases it would be proper, that the persons complained against should be furnished with copies of those charges.

The Marquis of *Abercorn* professed himself ready to pursue the plan pointed out by the noble sec. of state, and said he should be glad of the assistance of the noble and learned viscount (Lord Carleton), in preparing the charges, the subject of which he would be happy to submit to him.—Here the noble marquis was interrupted by the Bishop of St. Asaph, who called for the order of the day. The noble marquis said, he could not conceive why the learned prelate called him to order.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* observed, the noble marquis might, without the spirit of divination, have discovered why he called for the order of the day. A conversation had continued for a considerable time without any motion, and a conversation in that house without a motion, was a conversation about nothing.

The Duke of *Clarence* differed in opinion from the learned prelate. He thought this as important a conversation as ever occurred in that house. He regretted, however, that their lordships had got into a situation in which it was difficult to say where they were, and how they were to proceed.

The *Lord Chancellor* thanked the noble and learned prelate for putting him in mind of his duty. The conversation was, throughout the whole of it, irregular, and contrary to order; for there was no motion before the house, and the sooner they got rid of it, and returned to that point from whence they set out, the better.

[Additional Force Bill.]—Earl *Camden* moved the order of the day for the third reading of the Additional Force bill; which being read,

The Earl of *Suffolk* rose to oppose it, on the ground that it was not calculated to answer its purpose. He observed, that it would not raise men so speedily as they would be wanted; and that other means of defence were really necessary, besides raising men. The fortifications of the coast were not what, in his opinion, they ought to be. He adverted to the martello towers, which, he insisted, would be of the most essential service, if properly disposed along the coast; or there was another species of fortification, which was called block-house towers, that would be found of the greatest use. The expence of these would not be above 1000l. or 1,100l. each, which was a mere trifle in point of magnitude, when compared to one not nearly so useful or important, which had cost the country such immense sums. He alluded to the barracks, on which not less than 2,300,000l. and upwards had been lately expended in the most lavish way. In one place he had been informed, they paid as high as 5s. a day to men who only carried the hod with mortar; the consequence of which was, that instead of being a place of labour, it was merely a scene of dissipation and drunkenness, except on a Sunday, when they worked from morning till night, because they received double pay, 10s. a day; a circumstance which revolted all the moral and religious people in the neighbourhood. If it was not so late in the session, he should think it necessary to submit a motion on the subject to their lordships' consideration. His lordship was proceeding to observe on the fortifications at and near Dover, when he was called to order by

Lord *Mulgrave*, who said, that what the noble lord was adverting to had nothing to do with the bill then under consideration.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, the noble Earl was certainly out of order. He could not speak of such matters as were not applicable to the bill. As to the points to which the noble Earl alluded, he could not then take notice of them unless he moved for a committee, and then he hoped the noble Earl would give notice of such motion.

The Earl of *Suffolk* said, he thought he was strictly in order, in speaking to the points he did, as the present was a bill that concerned the defence of the country; and what he wished to touch upon did the same. He thought it of great importance that the real defence of the country should be seriously attended to; which he thought was not the case by the introduction of the present bill. As he could not, however, according to the opinion of noble lords, proceed regularly with the observations he was about to make, without moving for a committee, he should at present content himself with giving his positive negative to the bill,

Lord *De Dunstanville* said, that as he had not in any previous stage of the bill delivered his sentiments on it, he hoped to be indulged with a few observations now. He disapproved the bill, because he thought it was only an humble imitation of the army of reserve, professing to do a great deal more, but, in his opinion, it would really do less. It was to be put in force, and executed by men who were not by any means calculated for, or adapted to the office. The overseers of parishes were well known to be taken from three classes of men, farmers, tradesmen, and manufacturers, all of whom had business on their hands, more than they could well manage, and who would have no leisure to enter on their new offices of recruiting serjeants. The men would therefore not be raised, and the parishes of course burdened with fines, which, according to the principle of the bill, would fall most unequally and unjustly on the landed interest. He repeated, that it was not so efficient a bill as that for the army of reserve, and paid a high compliment to the late administration for the great force they had raised in so short a time, and for their unexampled adherence to the principles of economy.

Lord *Harrowby* defended the bill; as did the Lord Chancellor, who observed, that the bill would tend to throw the burdens more equally on persons than the army of reserve act had done; for, by that act, persons that possessed an income of 10,000l. per annum, paid no more than the lowest menial servant. He could not, therefore, agree with the noble lord, that it was a worse measure than the army of reserve act.—The bill was then read a 3d time and passed.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, June 27.

[Minutes.]—Sir E. Nepean brought up the Irish Additional Force bill. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow, and to be printed.—The house went into a committee on the insolvent Debtors' bill. The bill was gone through paragraph by paragraph, the blanks filled up, and on the house being resumed, the report ordered to be received to-morrow.—The Liverpool E. India Prize Goods bill was ordered to be read a 3d time.—A person from the Duchy of Lancaster office presented an office copy of the grant of the place of Prothonotary of the Common Pleas in the Duchy of Lancaster to the Hon. J. C. Villiers, a member of that house. Ordered to lie on the table. Mr. Rose then gave notice, that he should to-morrow submit a motion to the house on the subject of this paper.—The Woollen Manufacturers' Penalty Suspension bill was read a 3d time and passed.—Mr. Western brought up the bill for regulating the exportation and importation of corn, founded on the report of the corn committee; read a 1st time. On the question that the bill be read a 2d time, a short conversation took place between Mr. Patteson and Mr. Western, as to the most convenient mode of proceeding, when, at the suggestion of the Speaker, the bill was ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow, after which it is to be committed *pro forma* to have the blanks filled up, and then ordered to be printed.—The Scotch Additional Force bill was read a 3d time and passed.—The Secretary at War brought up the Foreign Troops bill, which was read a 1st time, and ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow.—Mr. Owen, from the E. India House, presented an account of the particulars of the account made up to the 1st of March, 1804, shewing the claim of the E. India Company on govt. for the sum of 4,018,000l. Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—The bill for authorizing the issue of Exchequer bills on the credit of the aids of 1804, was read a 2d time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee on Expiring Laws. The resolutions were read, and an order made for the house to go into a committee to-morrow.—Mr. Foster brought up the bill for raising certain additional Duties on Customs and Excise in Ireland, and for enforcing the payment of the Irish Revenues in English currency. Read a 1st time, and ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow.—The Irish Stamp Duty bill was read a 2d time, and ordered to be committed.—The Irish Corn Regulation bill was read a 3d time and passed.—Mr. Foster moved that the house do, to-morrow, resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the propriety of repealing so much of the 32d and 44th of his Majesty, as give the Lord-Lieut. of Ireland the power of prohibiting the use of oatmeal in distilling. Ordered.

[LORD KILWARDEN'S FAMILY.]—The house having resolved itself into a committee on his Majesty's message, relative to the family of the late Lord Kilwarden;

Mr. *Pitt* rose and said, that he hoped the proposition he had to submit, would meet the unanimous concurrence of the committee. He then moved the following resolution; "That an annuity of 1200l. be granted from the consolidated fund of Ireland, to the widow of the late Lord Kilwarden, Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench in Ireland, to be held by her during her life; and that after her death, the same to be settled in the following manner: viz. 800l. a year to the son, bearing the title of Lord Kilwarden, and 400l. a year to each of the two daughters of the late Lord Kilwarden, and that this said annuity do commence from the 23d of July, 1803." The resolution was agreed to, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.

[CALICO PRINTERS.]—Mr *Sheridan* rose, to call the attention of the house to a subject of considerable importance. He had before him a petition presented to the house some time since from a vast number of the journeymen calico printers, complaining of various grievances. This petition had been referred to the consideration of a committee, with orders to report their opinion thereon. The result was such as he was aware had not unfrequently occurred, but which, in his mind, and that of many of the best informed men in that house, namely, that the committee, after some examination of the case, thought proper to adjourn *sine die*, and thus evaded bringing up any report whatever. This was a sort of proceeding which ought at all times to alarm the jealousy of the house, for most unquestionably no committee could have the right of finally deciding upon any case thus referred to them for investigation. Their province was merely to lay before the house a *brief* of the case, and the evidence, with their opinion annexed, but it did not belong to them to assume to be the ultimate judge. The adjournment in the instance he alluded to was, he observed, the more to be regretted, as the petitioners, whose means were very small (the wages of not one of whom exceeded 30s. a week) had expended above 1000l. in consequence of their application to parliament, and had also exhausted a good deal of time. They had brought up a number of witnesses from the remotest parts of G. Britain, some of whom had been examined before the committee.—The hon. member added, that several of these poor journeymen had been, both during the last and the present session, attending upon the house in search of redress. Their case was one which he felt to be extremely hard. He begged it, however, to be understood, that he meant no reflection upon the gent. who composed the committee. They, he had no doubt, thought themselves right in withholding the discussion of this subject from the house; but in this he differed with them most decidedly.

Upon the nature of the dispute between the petitioners and their employers, he would not at present pronounce an opinion. He entertained a sanguine hope that it would, during the recess, be amicably adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties. He knew that such an adjustment was very practicable. If, however, it should not take place, and that his expectations should be disappointed, he pledged himself to bring the subject before the house in the shape of a motion for leave to bring in a bill to redress the grievances complained of by the petitioners.

Mr. *H. Lascelles* said, that he was one of the committee alluded to by the hon. gent. and that in his opinion, and that of his colleagues, the petitioners had not made out a case to sustain the allegations contained in their petition. They, therefore, adjourned for 3 months, meaning to bring up no report. The hon. member might, however, if he wished, have the minutes of the evidence laid before the house.

Mr. *Dent*, as one of the committee, corroborated the sentiments of the last speaker, and deprecated the claims of the petitioners.

Mr. *Sheridan* asked those hon. gent. why, if the petitioners had made no case, the committee to which they belonged did not report that to the house, and upon what ground that committee could assume to decide the question? The hon. member deprecated any discussion upon the merits of the petition alluded to, without having the report of the committee before the house. He had abstained from any opinion upon the subject, and he did think, that it would have been more becoming in the hon. gent. to have abstained from it also; all he now asked for the poor petitioners, in whose behalf he addressed the house, was this, that their case might not be prematurely gone into, and that the report of the committee might be brought up. This, he hoped, would not be deemed unreasonable on their part. They were opposed in this case by a number of very wealthy men, who derived that wealth from their labour, and many of those wealthy men were in town during the sittings of the committee, and regularly attended it. He hoped, however, that such an opposition, or its influence, would not preclude the petitioners from experiencing the liberality and justice of that house.—Mr. Dent rose, but the Speaker stating that there was no question before the house, the conversation dropped.

Mr. *Dent* afterwards moved, that the minutes of the evidence taken before the committee on the petition of the journeymen calico printers should be laid before the house. Ordered.

[PRIZE AGENCY BILL.]—Mr. *Jervis* moved, that the order of the day be now read for the second reading of the prize agency bill. The order being read, the hon. gent. rose, and expressed his regret, that from the proceeding upon this bill having been postponed so frequently from day to day, and from the many important objects for consideration which it involved, and the very advanced period of the session, it was almost impracticable now to carry it into adoption. He had, however, the strong assurance that it was in the contemplation of his Majesty's present ministers to bring forward early in the next session, another bill, having similar objects in view; for the present, therefore, he should move that this bill be read the 2d time this day 3 months.

Sir *Charles Pole* expressed extreme regret that the hon. member should withdraw the bill, even late as it was in the session, when he reflected how very enormous and oppressive the grievances were which that bill was calculated to remedy, and how loudly and urgently they called for parliamentary interference; and he thought, that whatever were the defects of the present bill, they might be easily remedied in a committee, rather than postpone till next session a measure so indispensably necessary to check a series of the most flagitious fraud and oppression, upon a gallant and meritorious set of men, the officers and seamen of our navy. He had in his hand documents to shew, that some of the most flagitious instances of such fraud and oppression practised by the prize courts and prize agents in the West Indies, as were scarcely credible without the clearest testimony. The document was sent to him from the West Indies by a gallant young friend now no more, the son of a worthy member of this house, Admiral Davers; and this account states, that upon the proceedings for the condemnation of 31 prizes, the produce of which was but 163,000l. the charges in the prize court amounted to 51,000l.; and beside this, the charges for agency amounted to 50,000l. more. His gallant young friend, Captain Davers, who wrote this account but a few hours before he expired, stated further, that he had been for a series of 8 years endeavouring to obtain justice and the payment of the prize money due to himself and his gallant ship's companies, but in vain. Was this, he would ask, to be tolerated towards that loyal and gallant class of men who composed the British navy; and whose bravery and endurance of every danger and hardship were so cheerfully and indefatigably exerted in the cause of the country? or was it a case that should admit of delay, or be preceded by any other object for parliamentary consideration? It was a question of public justice, and not of party, and therefore he saw the less pretence for postponing the adoption of the measure, and must sincerely regret it. The hon. bart. stated also another instance, where a frigate off Ireland had taken 12 fishing vessels belonging to the enemy, valued at 1200l. in recovering which, expences had been incurred to the amount of 570l. which was more than one half of the original sum. The complaints, he said, on this subject had not been taken up lightly, and therefore deserved a serious hearing. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had any serious intention of bringing in a bill of the same nature early next session, he had no objection that this bill should be now dropped. But unless something equally efficient should be substituted in its place, he would consider it his duty to oppose any delay.

Mr. *W. Dickenson* assured the house, that a measure of a similar tendency would be submitted early next session. A bill, he said, when wrong in its outset, was not so easily corrected afterwards. The bill which was afterwards to be brought forward, would be found better adapted to remedy the evils complained of.

Sir *W. Elford* disliked the present bill, because it was formed upon the illiberal and unjust principle of supposing all mankind thieves and robbers, and guarding against them as such. He would not deny, that in almost every class of society, individuals might be found, whose conduct and principles were disgraceful to the rank they filled; this might be the case with respect to the prize agents, and even with respect to commissioners of the Admiralty; but was it therefore to be contended, that all were equally bad, and equally obnoxious to suspicion and severity? Another principle for which he disliked the bill was, that it went directly to take away from four-fifths of the classes of men on board ships of war, the right of appointing their own agents, and this for a reason that was pretty obvious.

Mr. *Francis* observed, that every measure of regulation supposed abuse, and that abuses were supposed to exist was notorious. When the hon. gent. brought in the bill, he had been convinced of its propriety by his arguments; but he confessed that the arguments he had now used for its delay had not produced the same conviction on his mind.

Mr. *Jervis* explained his reason to have been a distinct assurance on the part of his Majesty's ministers, that a measure would be brought forward next session to meet the same object.

The *Advocate General* said, that there was no doubt whatever on the part of his Majesty's govt. that very flagitious frauds and grievances had existed in the West Indies, as stated by the hon. Admiral; but it was not to be concluded that, because the present bill was withdrawn, for the motives assigned by the hon. gent. in order to the introduction of another bill for similar purposes early in the next session, that govt. had taken no steps to check the mischiefs complained of: the truth was, that govt. had taken the most effectual means in its power, by lessening the number of prize courts, limiting the fees payable in prize courts, obliging the agents to pay into the offices of govt. the net proceeds of the prizes sold by them and thus taking out of their hands the temptation to protract proceedings which a possession of the money was apt to create. Of the result of those measures he hoped there would be speedy and satisfactory accounts; and with respect to the circumstance of the 12 fishing boats, stated by the hon. Admiral, it did happen, that a copy of that very document was some days since laid before the principal judge of the Admiralty Court for his consideration; and that learned judge, and not parliament, in the first instance, was the proper source whither to resort for redress, which, he was confident, that learned judge would be ready to grant, if just; but which, if he refused, there would then be time enough to appeal to parliamentary authority. He himself could, however, tell the hon. admiral, that the only fee charged in that court on condemnation of those boats, was 6 guineas each, and that the remainder of the expences were incurred at out-ports, and by expence of prize keepers, as well as by separate proceedings by different owners, which could not occur if those vessels had been one capture, and not different ones, at different times and places, under which circumstances the expences incurred were as great as if they had been 12 Indiamen.

Mr. *Burroughs* stated, that similar complaints existed with respect to prizes captured in the East Indies; remonstrances upon which subject he knew had been long since submitted to govt.; he wished therefore to ask, whether any instructions had been sent out on the subject?

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that from the complete annihilation of the enemy's commerce in the Indian seas, there could be little apprehension of inconvenience arising to our ships from any captures to be made there. This answer, however, he admitted, was nothing to the purpose; but he could assure the hon. member, that the ndia Company had the matter in contemplation, and though no instructions were yet sent out, they would speedily be forwarded.—After a few words from Mr. Dent, the motion was put and agreed to.

[SLAVE TRADE.]—The order of the day being read for the third reading of the bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade,

Sir *W. Young* rose and said, that he could not give a silent vote on this subject, as this would, in all probability, be the last opportunity he should ever have of delivering his sentiments on the subject. He should, however, avoid going into particulars, and confine himself to the general principle. It was not on the coast of Africa, but throughout the whole of the continent, that slavery existed; consequently it could not have arisen from the trade that was now proposed to be abolished. Abstract principles could not be narrowed to individual cases, they must extend to all; and it would be unjust in attending to the rights of one party, to violate the rights of another. If this bill were to pass, the trade would be carried on by other nations, and the miserable slaves would therefore be again exposed to all the miseries from which the wise and humane regulations under which the trade had been conducted by British merchants had relieved them. The hon. bart. argued, that the consequences of the measure would be the depopulation and desolation of West India estates. He endeavoured to prove, by referring to the various insurrections that had taken place within his own knowledge, that the newly imported negroes had not been the original movers, but that they had been instigated by the old domestic and confidential slaves. The hon. bart. concluded by stating, that the operation of the bill would cause a depreciation of West India property to the amount of millions beyond all compensation.

Mr. *Francis* animadverted on the desperate resource to which the adversaries of the bill were now driven, in supposing that they could push its advocates to an extreme conclusion from the principle upon which they rested their arguments. Those gent. argued, that the abolition of this odious traffic must necessarily lead to a proposition for emancipating the slaves in the colonies, but this by no means followed, for although the one was quite within the reach of our power to accomplish, the other might be found neither safe, prudent, nor practicable. Much had been said as to the propriety of consulting the legislatures of the different islands, as to the means of ameliorating the condition of the negroes, and the advantage likely to be derived from their cooperation; but as a specimen of what degree of hope could be entertained on that head, and the dispositions of these assemblies towards humanity and justice, the hon. member took occasion to read the following extract of a letter from Lord Seaforth to Lord Hobart, dated Barbadoes, March 18, 1802.—"Your lordship will observe, in the last day's proceedings of the assembly, that the majority of the house had taken considerable offence at a message of mine, recommending an act to be passed to make the murder of a slave felony. (At present, the fine for that crime is only 15l. currency, or 11l. 4s. sterling.) The treasurer proposed, and the Attorney General seconded a motion, to take the message into consideration. The question was put and carried in the negative. The message sent to the assembly was founded on orders and instructions from his Majesty, communicated by the sec. of state, and originally derived from addresses or resolutions of the House of Commons. The assembly refused even to take it into consideration. No answer to it appears to have been sent, but one of the members proposed, that a moderate and respectful answer might be prepared, but calculated to repel insult, and to evince that the house understood its interests, and asserted its rights."—The hon. member appealed to the candour of the house, whether any assistance in a benevolent work could be looked for from such men?

Mr. *Dickenson*, jun. thought, that infinite mischiefs would result from an attempt to legislate at this distance for a tropical climate, and people whose manners we were so little acquainted with. He stated, that Lord Balcarras was ready to prove at the bar, that the negroes did not distinguish between the abolition of the slave trade and their immediate emancipation. At the present time, there were 7000 French prisoners on the island, besides a great number in prison ships, many of whom used every exertion, and found opportunities to foment discontents in the minds of the negroes. He also thought it right to state, that there were a number of Moravian missionaries in the island, many of whom endeavoured to impress most forcibly this principle of the Scriptures, that all men were alike God's creatures, and that the last should be first, and the first last. In the island of Jamaica there were but 8000 European troops, and 10,000 militia, of which only one-eighth was white. In such a state of military force, with the example of St. Domingo so near, it was most dangerous to agitate the minds of the negroes. The principle of good intentions might be pleaded in excuse of those who were so active in promoting a measure likely to produce so much mischief; but good intentions were given as the ground of all the Roman Catholic persecutions; the bigots meant to save the souls of those they burnt, and to prevent their descendants from being parties.

Mr. *Barham* spoke in vindication of the missionaries. Not fewer than 10,000 negroes had been converted in the island of Antigua, and their tempers and dispositions had been thereby rendered so much better, that they were entitled to an increased value of 10l. It was not a fact, that the planters in Jamaica wished to supply the places of negroes who died in their service by importation, rather than by encouraging the population. He stated the claim for compensation which would be made by those who might become sufferers by the abolition. Where persons had purchased lands from the crown, and had been induced to pay a high price for them, it was surely reasonable that they should be compensated. The hon. gent. then proceeded to state several cases where it consisted with his knowledge that persons would be totally ruined. He had voted for the bill in its former stages, but he now thought, that unless some clause was introduced into it relative to indemnification, it would be prudent in him to retract. He thought, that many claims could be made out, which would not be difficult to settle. If all persons were permitted to surrender to the crown such lands as they had not means to cultivate, the whole cases might be met, and at the same time not a great proportion of lands so abandoned. Such lands might remain in the hands of the crown, and re-sold gradually as the population increased. He would therefore earnestly request, that a clause should be introduced, recognizing the principles of compensation, so that some other bill might be afterwards proposed to settle all existing claims.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he had uniformly admitted, that if the house should come to the resolution of abolishing the trade, he would be extremely anxious to afford every degree of compensation in all cases where a fair and proper claim could be made out. If it had been practicable for him to have laid his Majesty's recommendation on that subject before the house, nothing would have prevented him from doing so. He, however, thought it at present most expedient to discourage the introduction of a general, vague, and unlimited clause of compensation. He would resist the proposition, that all persons who had ever been engaged in the slave trade, were to be indemnified, according to their own vague calculations of how much their wealth might be supposed to be injured. He was happy to hear it said by an hon. gent. opposite, that the abolition could be effected without the danger of ruining individuals, and that, were proper measures to be adopted, compensation would not become very burdensome to the state. The magnitude of the compensation would never deter him from doing every thing in his power to accomplish the desirable end. Persons who have bargained for their property with the public, and who have not yet paid for it, would, he thought, be entitled either to restore their lands, or get compensation. If there should be found any grants of great antiquity, and where no steps had been taken to procure a settlement of those grants, it would, perhaps, be a just act of forbearance on the part of the crown to withhold compensation. The plan, however, would necessarily require some fair mode of valuation to be adopted, and to recognize, generally, the principle of it in the bill, would be to put the matter out of the hands of parliament without a proper investigation, which might be attended with dangerous consequences.

Mr. *Fuller* stated, that the increase of the negroes was encouraged by the masters, but was impeded by causes existing among the negroes, one of which was, that when pregnant females were exempted from labour by their masters, they carried heavy burdens for their own benefit: another cause was the unrestrained intercourse between the sexes. The affair alluded to in Barbadoes arose from a disagreement between the assembly and the govt. and an unwillingness in the assembly to allow themselves to be dictated to. The emancipation had destroyed St. Domingo. The principle of compensation was just and necessary. There would be a great falling off, particularly in the estates lately settled.

Mr. *Rose* said, that great good had been derived from the various discussions of the question, because the situation of the slaves had been considerably improved by the enquiries which had thereby been made into their actual situation. He was sorry to hear that the measure which had been suggested by one of his Majesty's ministers to the assembly of Barbadoes, had been so rejected as was stated by an hon. gent. opposite, because he saw no reason why the murder of a slave should not be punished with death in a similar manner as the murder of any other individual. He was afraid that the negroes in the West Indies would not discover the difference betwixt emancipation and abolition. Those who suffered by such measures would, no doubt, be entitled to ample indemnification, for we had no right whatever to be humane at the expence of others. He conceived that any proprietor of lands in the West Indies, who was at all affected by this bill, had a right to that indemnification, and that it ought not to be confined to those alone who had recently purchased the lands of the crown. Immediately after the restoration, Charles II. granted a charter to the African company, allowing them to send so the West Indies a certain number of negroes every year, and it was in consequence of that charter, that a colony was planted in Barbadoes. Various acts were soon after passed, recognizing the trade, which was acknowledged to be very advantageous. These had been ever since continued, and were indispensably necessary to the prosperity of the colonies in the West Indies. Under the faith, therefore of these laws, plantations had been settled, and lands had been purchased during a whole century, and it would be the height of injustice to deprive those persons of their property. However important the objection of the want of necessary provisions as to indemnification, might be, he had still others to urge which would lead him to oppose it. The natural expectation of the negroes would be, that their situation was to be ameliorated, and not be made worse, which would lead them to assimilate abolition to emancipation. He, indeed, believed, that the planters had used the slaves better of late, and that the reports as to cruelties, were perfectly unfounded. He was desired by a noble lord (Balcarras) to state, that it consisted with his knowledge, that the negroes in Jamaica were extremely alive as to what was going forward, and that they made no alteration in the meaning of the words abolition and emancipation. He feared, that if 3 or 400 negroes were to fly from their masters and get into the woods, the whole military force of the island would not be able to subdue them. It was therefore necessary the house should be cautious in what they did in that respect, for he believed, in his conscience, that if the act should now pass, there would not, in the space of 3 years, be a white person left alive in any of the islands. The bill, he said, went to effect an immediate abolition. He wished to know what was expected by the supporters of it, to become of the great numbers of negroes that would be on the coast, waiting to supply the next ships that were expected out for the purpose of carrying on the trade as usual. Many of these slaves were brought by the dealers from a great distance in the interior parts of Africa. Did the hon. gent. who supported this bill suppose that the slave dealers or merchants in that country would march these poor creatures back to the different places where they were born, or had been brought, and deliver them again to their parents or relatives? If that was not the case, he feared they would be murdered, as the easiest way of getting rid of them, when there was no longer any market or means of disposing of them. But it had been said, we had a colony there. He had read the account of Capt. Holloway, who had been sent out for the purpose of acquiring all the information he could on the subject; and from this account it ap-appeared, that the only convert made by the Sierra Leona company, was a man called Dally Morda, and he lived under the guns of the fort, and was a slave merchant; so that the company sent out to civilize the people, have furnished slave merchants for their own servants. The civil expences of the colony were 10,000l. a year, and the military 4000l. and the whole of the rest of the settlements together on that coast, were only 13,000l. annually.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* here called his right hon. friend to order, as speaking upon a subject of calculation and figures, which did not properly belong to this stage of the discussion.

Mr. *Rose* said, that with every deference to his right hon. friend, he conceived he was strictly in order. He waited, however, for the Speaker's judgment—The Speaker nodded, and Mr. Rose proceeded to state, that if we abolished this trade, it would be taken up by other nations. He had himself seen letters and papers, which shewed that large offers had been made by the Spaniards to the merchants of Liverpool, to furnish them with slaves. Some of these contracts were for 15,000, some for 8000, and other numbers. If the trade is abolished, it will be of great advantage to these traders of Liverpool, for they will then be able to carry for the Spaniards 600 slaves in the same ship, by which, according to our regulations, they could only carry 400. So much for the humanity of the measure! He deplored the question having been agitated; but as it had been so, he must give it as his sentiment that the abolition will be attended with great cruelties and massacres, and with effects similar to what had occurred in St. Domingo.

Mr. *H. Thornton* explained, that the failure of success on the part of the Sierra Leone company was no argument against the establishment. This failure, he said, arose from causes of an accidental nature, and not at all connected with the general principles on which the society was founded. He did sanguinely look forward to the influence of the bill, as laying the surest foundation for civilizing the inhabitants of Africa. Till the abominable trade which the bill went to extinguish was abolished, it was impossible for any exertions, however benevolent, wholly to succeed in accomplishing this most desirable object. He was convinced that it was a measure equally founded on the most enlarged views of policy, humanity, and justice; and, therefore, he hoped that the house would consult at once their duty and their honour by its immediate adoption.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, he denied that the bill was at all pregnant with the dangers some hon. gent. described; but, on the other hand, argued, that nothing but the immediate prohibition of the importation of fresh negroes, all most prone to insurrection, could give us a chance of retaining in peaceable possession our West India colonies. He exposed the argument drawn from the idea of the trade passing to other countries. There was every reason to expect that, at the expiration of 4 years, it would be absolutely prohibited in America. At all events, he maintained, that the idea of this taking place was no argument against our discontinuing a traffic at once inhuman, impolitic, and grossly unjust.

Mr. *Addington* sincerely believed, that the condition of the blacks would be rendered yet more lamentable by the operation of this bill. He was a warm advocate for the abolition of the slave trade; and had the motion been for the consideration of the most effectual means to abolish it, and not for the bill in its present form, it would have received his cordial support. It was well known that he had given notice of a proposition for this express purpose, but the political changes which immediately followed had prevented its introduction into that house. The negroes would not be able to distinguish between the abolition proposed, and the emancipation for which they ardently panted; and he feared the most alarming and fatal consequences from this measure.

Mr. *Wilberforce* could not avoid being surprised at a direct opposition from the right hon. gent. when, by a strange inconsistency, he professed himself friendly to the general object of the bill. He said, non meus est hic sermo; for the language of the right hon. gent. was considered as inimical to the abolition by those hon. gent. who were most hostile to it, and his speech, in consequence, had attracted from them every exterior mark of approbation. Since the proposal on this important subject had been made, 340,190 victims had been dragged from their native homes to West India bondage; of which 132,000 had been imported into Jamaica. He concluded with a general examination of the few new topics of argument which had been adduced, and trusted the bill to the honour and humanity of the house.

Mr. *Dent* contended, that whatever might be the efforts made to extend the population, that a farther purchase of negroes would be necessary for the cultivation of the plantations, as they were now circumstanced. Even the governor of Jamaica was known to have purchased 400 or more negroes at a time, to recruit his stock.—The house then divided on the third reading of the bill, when the numbers were, Ayes, 69, Noes, 33; Majority, 36. The bill was then read a third time, and the house adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, June 28.

[MINUTES.]—In a committee of privileges, their lordships resumed the farther hearing of counsel and evidence respecting the claim of Sir C. Bishop, bart. to the barony of Zouche. Having made some progress, the farther consideration of the case was adjourned until the first Tuesday in the next session of parliament.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—A few private and return bills were brought up from the Commons, and were severally read a first time.

[SLAVE TRADE.]—Mr. Wilberforce, attended by the Attorney General, and several other members, brought up the bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade for a limited time. The bill was read a first time, on the motion of Lord Walsingham.

Lord *Hawkesbury* wished to address a few words to their lordships, without meaning to occupy any considerable portion of their time. His sentiments respecting the measure proposed to be carried into effect by the bill which had been just introduced, were already known. He had opposed the principle of abolition when it was last brought forward, and all the reflections he had since been able to give the subject, tended only to confirm the opinions he then entertained. He did not rise to debate the bill in the present stage of it, but it was his intention, when the second reading should be moved, to move, that in place of the word "now," the words "this day three months" should be substituted. Considering the important nature of the bill, and the variety of interests that were likely to be affected by it, and that every individual likely to be aggrieved by it was entitled to be heard at their lordships' bar, he saw but little probability of their being able to make any considerable progress with the bill during the present session. Indeed, he thought the proposers and friends of the measure were not quite free from blame in bringing it forward so late in the session. He was aware that bills of the utmost importance had been often passed in the course of a few days, but then they were bills not involving such complicated interests as the present one. Their lordships could perceive, by referring to the printed votes of the other house, that the leave to bring in this bill had not been given until so late a day as the 30th of May, and they were now called upon, within 4 weeks, to proceed with it, in the hopes of having it passed in the present session. His lordship put it to the candour of noble lords, whether they would, under these circumstances, concur in pressing the bill forward. He was persuaded that they could not, consistent with that spirit of justice by which their proceedings were always governed, and particularly where the interests of a variety of persons were involved. His lordship concluded with moving, that the bill should be printed, and gave notice, that on the second reading he should move the amendment he proposed at the commencement of his speech.

Earl *Stanhope* was glad to find that the noble sec. of state had altered his intention, and that, instead of making the motion now that he mentioned, he had thought it advisable to defer it to the second reading of the bill. He professed himself a warm friend to the principle of the bill for the abolition of that horrid and impious traffic, equally subversive of the duties of religion and the rights of men. He saw no reason why the bill should not be passed this session. If the persons who were interested in the continuance of this system of fraud and depredation, which dishonoured the name of commerce, sought to perpetuate it, by presenting petitions, and tendering evidence at their lordships' bar, he, although he stood single, would think he but badly discharged his duty to his Creator, and to his country, if he did not resist the hearing of such evidence, and the receiving of such petitions. Where a transaction was innocent in its nature, the person who had an interest liable to be affected by any alteration in the circumstances of such transaction, had a right to be heard in defence of such interest. But if a person presented a petition for liberty to continue in the practice of a crime from which he derived emolument, he would not make a mockery of justice, by consenting to hear that man. When the proper period should arrive for debating the bill, and coming to a decision on it, he would be ready to support it both by vote and argument.

Lord *Harrowby* conceived, that his noble friend had been misunderstood by the noble Earl: he did not understand him to have said that he had come down with the intention of moving that the bill should be postponed for 3 months.. Such a proceeding would have been a surprize upon their lordships, which he knew his noble friend to be incapable of; but he understood him to have given notice, that such would be the nature of the amendment he should propose on the second reading of the bill. His lordship had been always friendly to the abolition, and he certainly should support it, whenever it was brought forward; but he was apprehensive it had been introduced too late in the session, to afford reasonable grounds of expectation that it could be passed before the rising of parliament. He thought some blame was imputable to those who introduced it, for having delayed it to so advanced a period of the session. He did not see how it could be pressed through the house, keeping in view that rigid impartiality which it was the duty and the practice of their lordships to observe, whenever the fortunes of individuals were concerned.

Lord *Grenville* would not now enter into a discussion of the bill, but take that opportunity of declaring, that he now was, and always had been, a decided friend to the abolition of the Slave trade. He would not trouble their Lordships with the reasons upon which he grounded the opinion which he had entertained for the last 10 or 12 years, of the impolicy, the injustice, and the criminality of that trade. With the immense mass of evidence laying on their lordships' table, and the manner in which that question had been sifted and scrutinized in all its bearings and relations, during the ten years it had been before parliament and the public, he could see no necessity for wasting their lordships' time, by receiving additional evidence at the bar. The gent. interested in this traffic, seemed to depend more upon the length than the strength of their case. Their object appeared to be to carry their point by fatiguing and wearing out the patience of their lordships. As he had no means of ascertaining when it was intended that parliament should rise, he could not say whether there was sufficient time to get through the bill in the present session. For himself, his mind had long been made up on the subject, and he was willing to come to vote on it as soon as possible. If the determination to hear evidence, should the house adopt that mode of proceeding, was supposed to proceed from any previous understanding, or presumed recognition of that right, he, for one, begged leave to protest against it.

Lord *Harrowby* was apprehensive that his noble friend did not fully comprehend what he had said. He did not mean to say that he was disposed to countenance the idea of procrastinating the important measure before the house. Although other noble lords may perhaps be inclined to hear counsel, and receive evidence on the part of persons interested, he had no occasion for the benefit of such lights, for his mind had long been convinced of the impolicy and the injustice of the trade, and he would vote for the abolition of it whenever it should be brought forward.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* considered any discussion of the principle of the bill as premature in the present stage of it. Whenever it should regularly come before their lordships, he would be prepared to argue in favour of the abolition. The question now was, whether the bill should be printed, and to that he did not conceive there could be any objection.

The Duke of *Clarence* would only trouble their lordships with a few words. Since a very early period of his life, when he was in another line of profession, which he knew not why he had no longer employment in, he had ocular demonstration of the state of slavery, as it was called, in the West Indies, and all that he had seen convinced him, that it not only was not deserving of the imputations that had been cast on it, but that the abolition of it would be productive of extreme danger and mischief.

Lord *Grenville* declared his intention of attending in his place, whenever the 2d reading of the bill should take place, and of troubling their lordships with his reasons for supporting it; but as Tuesday would be rather more convenient for him than Monday, and as it was desirable to have as full an attendance as possible, he trusted the noble Sec. of State would consent to fix the 2d reading for that day.—The bill was then ordered to be printed, and read a 2d time on Tuesday.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, June 28.

[Minutes.]—A new writ was ordered on the motion of Mr. S. Bourne, for the election of a burgess for the borough of Monmouth, in the room of Lord C. Somerset, who had accepted the place of Joint Paymaster of his Majesty's Forces.—Sir W. Geary presented a petition from certain proprietors of hop grounds in the county of Kent, against the late duty on hops. Ordered to lie on the table.—A message from the Lords informed the house that their lordships had agreed to the English Additional Force bill, without any amendment, and had passed a bill for dissolving the marriage of R. Tighe, Esq. in which they desired the concurrence of the house.—Mr. Rose moved the 3d reading of the Liverpool Prize Goods bill. Mr. Plummer attended as counsel for certain Merchants of the city of London, petitioners against the bill, and urged a number of arguments against passing the bill into a law. Mr. Rose briefly replied to the arguments of the learned gent. after he had withdrawn; and the bill was then read a 3d time, and passed without farther opposition.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed, with the permission of the house, to defer his notice of a motion relative to the Civil List and the stamp duties, which stood for to-morrow, in the committee of Supply to Monday next; and as he was on his legs, he availed himself of the opportunity of stating, that, as the greater part of the private business had been already gone through, he proposed to proceed with the public business in future, as soon after four o'clock as possible.—Mr. Corry moved, that there be laid before the house an account of the cash balances in the hands of the Collectors of Customs and Excise respectively in Ireland, on the 5th of Jan. 1804, together with the amount thereof remaining in their hands on the 14th of Jan. following, as certified by the Clerk of the Revenue to the Treasury of Ireland. Ordered.—Mr. Smith, from the Treasury in Ireland, afterwards presented the account at the bar, which was ordered to lie on the table; and on the motion of Mr. Corry, to be printed. Mr. Corry then gave notice, that he should, on Wednesday next submit a motion to the house on the subject of that paper.—Mr. Princep moved, that there be laid before the house, an Account of the annual estimated amount of costs and charges on, and the sale amount of the East India Company's Sales in England, from the 1st of March, 1799, to the 1st of March, 1804, distinguishing East India from China goods. Ordered.—The Foreign Troops' Enlistment bill, was read a 2d time, to be committed to-morrow.—The house went into a committee on the report of the committee on Expiring Laws. Report to be received to-morrow.—On the motion of Mr. Rose, a new writ was ordered for the election of a burgess in the room of the right hon. J. C. Villiers, who had accepted the place of Prothonotary of the Common Pleas, in the County Palatine of Lancaster.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee on his Majesty's message, for granting an annuity of 1200l. to Viscountess Kilwarden, &c. to commence from the 23d of July last. The resolutions were agreed to, and a bill ordered pursuant thereto.—Mr. W. Dickenson gave notice, that he should, on Monday next, move the additional navy estimates in the committee of supply.—The Irish Customs and Excise Duty bill was read a 2d time. To be committed to-morrow.—Mr. Foster moved for leave to bring in a bill to appoint commissioners to inquire into all fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments that are or have been received in the public offices in Ireland to be therein mentioned, to examine into the abuses existing therein, to report their opinion to the house, and the present mode of collecting, issuing, and accounting for the public monies in Ireland. Leave given.

[Conduct of Judge Fox.]—A petition

of William Armstrong, John Fausset, Noble Weir, James Frith, Patrick Dundas, Hugh Dundas, John Fiddis, William Graydon, George Sproul, John Cooke, George Moore, and James Moore, all of the county of Fermanagh, was presented to the house by Colonel Cole, and read; setting forth, "that the petitioners were sworn upon a petit jury at the last summer assizes held at Enniskillen, in and for the county of Fermanagh, to try three persons of the names of John Fletcher, Hugh Keys, and James Sharpe, for the murder of one Nicholas Morris; and that the principal witnesses produced on the part of the crown, to prove the said crime against the persons charged, were Cormick Maguire and James M'Nab, two persons whose characters were well known to the petitioners, and to most of the persons in their neighbourhood who usually compose the petit Jury; and that rewards had been offered by the government of the country, by proclamation, and by the gentlemen of the county, to an amount of nearly 800l. for prosecuting to conviction any of the persons concerned in the said murder; notwithstanding which, several months had elapsed before any information was given relative thereto by the said M'Nab and Maguire, or any person whatsoever; and that the said M'Nab and Maguire, induced by the said reward (as the petitioners think they have a right to presume), came forward, and made examinations against the persons aforesaid; and, on the said trial, on which the petitioners were the jury, proved that they were in a field at some distance from the place where the murder was committed, at the time when the same was perpetrated; and that when the persons who perpetrated the same were beating and battering with sticks and stones the said deceased Nicholas Morris, they, the said witnesses, had heard the deceased call upon the prisoners (who were so tried by the petitioners) by name, not to kill him, and that they heard other words pass from the deceased; but neither they, nor any witness for the crown, identified the prisoners as having been present, either from face or voice; and that it appeared to the petitioners, that none of the said prisoners had fled for or on account of the said murder; that they had been admitted to bail at the preceding assizes, and had surrendered in discharge of their bail, and each of the said prisoners gave most respectable testimony of their good moral and religious character; and that the petitioners considered themselves under the blessed constitution under which they live, and which they have armed to support and defend, as the judges not only of the matter of fact which they were sworn to try, but the credit of the witnesses produced to prove that fact; and that the hon. judge Fox, who presided on that trial, after recapitulating the evidence to them, charged them very strongly to find the prisoners guilty; and that when the petitioners had retired to their room, and came to weigh the evidence, and the credit of the witnesses, they were of opinion that the evidence was not entitled to such credit from them, nor was there such certainty in their account as to justify a verdict of guilty, and their taking away the lives of three men; and that the petitioners are ready to lay a note of the evidence before parliament, to justify their verdict, if they are permitted to do so; and that when the petitioners delivered their verdict, the said honourable judge expressed much dissatisfaction thereat; and that on the next morning, when the court was full, the said honourable judge Fox called on the clerk of the crown to furnish him with a list of the names of the petitioners, which having received, he caused the whole of the grand inquest of the county, then sworn, and sitting in their room on the public business, to be called into the court-house, when, in the face of the whole county, the said hon. judge Fox stigmatized the petitioners as men not worthy to be believed on their oaths, and as unfit ever again to act in the capacity of jurors, and cautioned the said grand jury and others never thereafter to hold communion or intercourse with them; that he ordered the clerk of the crown to deliver in a list of their names to every succeeding judge, as men unfit to be jurors, that they might prevent their serving as such thereafter; and that he ordered the high and under sheriff to deliver a list of the names to the succeeding sheriff, with a direction to hand them down from sheriff to sheriff, as branded with the infamy of a verdict, which was for ever to render them unworthy of credit, and ordered that their names should be publicly posted up as such in the grand jury room; and that the petitioners, though not men of large estates, are men of substance, and have heretofore enjoyed not only good, but they think they may

may add high characters for honesty and integrity among their neighbours, and in the county in general, an inheritance more dear to them to hand unsullied to their children, than any adventitious gift of fortune; and that, valuing their characters above all human enjoyments, they have felt debased in their own eyes, until they shall have had a public investigation of their conduct, and reparation for what they conceive to be the greatest of all possible injuries; and therefore praying the house to take the premises into their consideration, and permit the petitioners to prove the same at the bar of the house, and thereupon to afford such satisfaction to the petitioners, as the justice and merits of their case, and the conduct of the said judge to them, may entitle them, and as to the house shall seem meet."—Ordered to lie upon the table.

[COUNTERFEIT DOLLARS' BILL.]—Mr. *Sturges Bourne* moved, that the Counterfeit Dollars' bill be committed.

Mr. *Princep* rose to correct a mistake which had been made, with regard to what he had said on this subject on a former occasion. What he had said was, that a great quantity of French coin had circulated under this denomination; but he never meant to say, that the Bank encouraged this circulation: and this explanation would, he hoped, satisfy those who had been uneasy on the subject. These counterfeit dollars might fall into the bankers' hands while they were ignorant of it. The bill was then committed, and the report ordered to-morrow.

[INSOLVENT DEBTORS' BILL.]—Col *Bagwell* brought up the report of the committee on the bill for the relief of Insolvent Debtors. On the motion that the amendments be read a second time,

Mr. *Kerr* said, that considering the difference of the present time, and the period when 10l. was fixed as the lowest sum for which a person could be bailed, he thought it too small. There were many persons who lived in prisons in a state of luxury, when their creditors were in need of the very money they were squandering. Such individuals ought to be forced to surrender their property, or to make it appear in proof that they were possessed of none.—The amendments were then read, and the bill ordered to be engrossed, and read a third time to-morrow.

[CORN TRADE BILL.]—Mr. *Western* moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Corn Export and Import Regulation bill. The hon. gent. assured the house, that it was his intention to move the commitment of this bill this day, in order to have the blanks filled preparatory to its being printed, and that the recommitment was to be fixed for Monday next.

Mr. *Jefferies* observed, that it was improper to urge forward a matter of this importance with too great haste; he also objected to the principle of the bill.

The *Speaker* observed, that the bill might be ready for being delivered to the members on Saturday.

Mr. *Jefferies* contended, that still the time between Saturday and Monday was too limited for the consideration of a bill of this importance.

Mr. *Patteson* hoped the report would be put off till Monday se'nnight, and declared that he thought it of so much importance, that he would divide the house upon it.—When the house was about to divide on this question,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* proposed that the report should be received on Tuesday, which might accommodate all parties. There would probably, on Monday, be so much business, that on that day there would scarcely be sufficient time to discuss it. This was agreed to, and the report was ordered to be received on Tuesday next.

[EXCHEQUER BILLS.]—The house went into a committee on the Exchequer Bills' bill.

Mr. *Johnstone* desired to know what quantity of Exchequer bills it was the intention of govt. to issue by virtue of this bill. The amount of Exchequer bills already in the market, was so great, that they were at a discount; and he submitted whether it would be prudent, under such circumstances, to enhance this evil by a further issue until the number already in the market should be diminished.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* could not inform the hon. gent. of the precise amount that it might be necessary to issue, but proposed to issue from time to time Exchequer bills to the full amount of the estimated produce of the war taxes. It was impossible at this moment to say, how far the immediate returns from the taxes would be adequate to any demands that might arise, or to ascertain what might be the pressure of the demands; and on the result of these two considerations would necessarily depend the amount of the bills to be issued. It would, however, be satisfactory to the hon. gent. to know that these bills would not be like the Exchequer bills which were kept in the market from year to year, but would be issued on the credit of a fund which must, sooner or later, produce the means of discharging them. The hon. gent. must also have been aware, that the discount on Exchequer bills, to which he had adverted, was considerably reduced.—The bill then passed through the committee, and on the house being resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[Irish Stamp Duty Bill.]—The house resolved itself into a committee on the Irish Stamp Duty bill.

Col. *Hutchinson* rose to object to that part of the bill which related to the stamp on the registry of freeholds. He said, that when the right hon. gent. first brought forward this bill, he had declared he would collect the sentiments of the gentlemen of Ireland as to this particular tax, and if they should be against it, he would give it up. He, for his own part, must now beg leave to say, that he strongly objected to it, as being highly unconstitutional, in as much as it affected the right of the electors, and of that portion of them, too, who had scarcely any thing else to shew that they had a place in the community. That it was without any precedent, there being in this country no such tax, nor hitherto even in Ireland, any thing of the kind thought of. The 26th of the King only required that freeholders in this country should shew the existence of their freeholds, and does not bear out the right hon. gent. in this tax. He was the more desirous to urge these objections at present, because the right hon. gent. was about to lay on new taxes to the amount of 1,200,000l., a system which he highly approved, and to the success of which he was sure no one was more alive than himself. Whilst he was, however, desirous that the rich, and those who could bear their proportion, should contribute to these taxes, he should be sorry to see them extended to the poor and lowly, who had always too many hardships and difficulties to contend with. He hoped, therefore, the right hon. gent. would agree to wave this tax.

Mr. *Harman* made some short objections to the tax on the same ground.

Mr. *Foster* denied the tax was unconstitutional. If there was any impolicy in Ireland relative to the freeholders, it was in requiring them to be registered. By the act of Geo. I. freeholders are precluded from voting, unless their freehold was proved by affidavits, and on these affidavits he proposed to lay the present tax. On the ground of its being unconstitutional, he would therefore not yield to any man living; but if it was put on the ground of bearing hard on the lower ranks of the people, he was willing to attend to the sentiments of gent. on that head; and, as a great number of gent. wished to have the tax postponed, he was willing to comply with their desire. He had, at the same time, a favour to beg of them, which was, that they would use their exertions against the use of private stills. He had in his eye an hon. gent. from the west of Ireland, who, he believed, knew how very necessary this was, and he hoped and trusted he for one would oblige him in acceding to this request. He then said he should for the present withdraw the tax in question.

Mr. *Martin* (of Galway) assured the right hon. gent. he would do all in his power to prevent a practice, of the evils of which he was so well convinced. He had for 2 or 3 years past been in correspondence with the revenue board on this subject, and had submitted to them a plan which he doubted not would bring in 100,000l. at an expence amounting to not much more than 2 or 3000l.—The house was then resumed, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, June 29.

[Minutes.]—The Additional Force bill, the Irish Public Accounts' bill, the Solicitor's Indemnity bill, the Aylesbury Election bill, and 54 private bills, received the royal assent by commission. The commissioners were, the Lord Chancellor, Earl of Camden, and Lord Walsingham.—The bill for authorizing the sale of East India Prize Goods at Liverpool, and one private bill, were brought from the commons, and read a first time.—The bill for suspending the operation of certain acts relative to Woollen Manufactures, was read a third time, and passed.—On the motion of Lord Walsingham, the second reading of the Slave Trade bill was ordered for to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, June 29.

[Minutes.]—The Speaker, with several members, attended in the House of Peers; and on their return, the Speaker informed the house, that the royal assent had been given, by commission, to the Additional Force bill, the Irish Public Accounts' bill, the Linen Duty Exemption bill, the Aylesbury Election bill, the Caledonian Canal bill, and several private bills.—Mr. Alderman Combe presented a petition in behalf of those debtors who are confined on account of offences committed against the revenue. Ordered to lie on the table.—The Insolvent Debtors' bill was read a third time and passed.—The Cotton Manufacturers' bill was ordered to be committed on Tuesday.—A message from the Lords informed the house, that their lordships had agreed to the Woollen Manufacturers' Penalty bill.—The Dollar bill was reported, and ordered to be read a third time on Monday.—Mr. Huskisson moved, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before the house a further account of the sums of money issued by his Majesty's orders, pursuant to addresses of that house, and which had not been made good by parliament.—On the motion of Mr. Rose, it was ordered that the house do, on Monday, resolve itself into a committee on the Free Ports Acts of the 27th of the King.—The Exchequer Bills Issue bill, and the Irish Stamp Duties' bill, were reported, and ordered to be read a third time to-morrow.

[Sierra Leona Company.]—Mr. *Dent* said, he wished to ask a noble lord, whom he then saw in his place, whether he meant to bring forward any motion on the subject of the report of the committee, to whom the petition from the Sierra Leona Company had been referred, and upon which he had made some observations on a former day?

Lord *Henry Petty* replied, that it never had been, nor was it now, his intention to move any thing upon the subject. There were others, from whom such a motion would originate with much more propriety than from him, and he wished they might bring it forward. He understood that a right hon. gent. (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), who was not present, intended to move something upon it.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, it was the intention of his right hon. friend to bring forward a motion on the subject in the committee of supply.

[Irish Affairs.]—Mr. *James Fitzgerald* rose and observed, that several documents which he had moved for, respecting the public affairs of Ireland, had not yet been laid before the house, and consequently he should be precluded, by the very advanced period of the session, from submitting to the house any observations which, upon a perusal of those documents, should appear necessary. He must, therefore, postpone his objects until an early period in the next session, when, if they should not be otherwise taken up in the interim, he should certainly call to them the attention of parliament. The objects to which he alluded, he would now shortly explain. The first was one which he held it of high importance to follow up, namely, to ascertain the exact extent of the population of Ireland. The next was a subject long in contemplation, namely, that of equalizing the interest of money between G. Britain and Ireland. The next was a general assimilation of the laws in Ireland, to those of G. Britain, as far as the circumstances of the country would admit. Feeling the importance of these several objects, he could certainly wish them to be taken up by his Majesty's ministers. But if not taken up by them in an early period of the next session, he should feel it his duty to bring them forward even under every disadvantage of his own inability.

[Irish Bank Notes Bill.]—Mr. *Foster* rose for leave to bring in a bill for permitting the circulation of notes, by registered bankers in Ireland, for sums under 20s. for a time to be limited, and to restrain the circulation of such notes by persons not registered bankers, after a certain period. The house, he presumed, would have no objection to his explaining the objects of the bill. In Ireland, for a considerable time past, it had been customary with many persons in trade in the provincial towns there, for the want of silver coinage, to issue what were called silver notes, that is, notes payable to bearer on demand, for sums under 1l. In a short time after the practice commenced, it became very general, and so far from being confined to registered ban kers, was practised by every low trader, and by men of no property, guided by no principle but that of their own avarice; and so current did those notes become, and to such an enormous extent were they issued, that it was to be apprehended, in case of any sudden or general demand for payment, a general bankruptcy must ensue amongst those men, and those who had given their property for such notes, be losers of three-fourths. It was well known that a large supply of dollars were now on their way to Ireland, which were to pass at a currency above their intrinsic value. Still they would be not only a very great convenience to the country of themselves, but be the means, almost immediately on their appearance, to bring into circulation a vast quantity of good silver coin, which there was every reason to believe was now hoarded in many parts of the country. The object of this bill then was, to confine henceforth the issue of notes for sums under 20s. to the registered bankers only, and to allow all other persons, having such notes in circulation till the 1st of Jan. to call them in; but to prohibit the re-issue of all notes so paid off. The registered bankers to be allowed to issue notes for as small sums in silver as they thought fit, there being no great cause to apprehend any great excess in the issue of notes under 5s. as all were liable to one stamp duty. By these means there would be time for the gradual payment of the outstanding notes of persons not registered bankers in 6 months, without risking the evils to be apprehended from a sudden demand; and tha public would have in future the security of persons of known property and credit, for the solvency of such notes. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in the bill.

Sir G. *Hill* thought the benefits to result from this bill would be in some measure done away, if a privilege of issuing small notes under 6s. was granted to some and denied to others. He thought it would be better that permission to issue these small notes should not be restricted to registered bankers in Ireland, but be also given to others.

Mr. *Foster* said, he had no particular partiality to one sort of provision in the bill more than another; he only meant that those who issued notes, as coming from their banks, should be regularly registered as bankers, according to law. And it was in the power of every man, who had capital and credit to entitle him to become a banker, to be registered. The bill would have the effect of preventing the circulation of notes that were not stamped.

Col. *Vereker* said, the small notes circulated in Ireland were a very great nuisance; but that did not arise from the circulation of them by registered bankers, but by those who employed and paid workmen in them, such as farmers, millers, &c.

Mr. J. *Fitzgerald* wished that the circulation of silver notes might be restrained, for if they were not, he was afraid the new 6s. pieces would go out of circulation.

Mr. *Martin* (of Galway) said, the right hon. gent. would do a great service to Ireland, if he would prevent the issue of what were called silver notes, by persons not possessing sufficient property or credit.—Leave was given to bring in the bill.

[IRISH ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.]—On the motion for the second reading of this bill,

Mr. *Elliott* rose to ask the right hon. sec. for Ireland a question. An act had, within the last few weeks, passed this house, for enabling his Majesty to increase the militia of Ireland by 10,000 men. Now the act similar to the present bill, which had just passed into law for England and Scotland, had for its object to reduce the militia. What he wished to know then was, whether it was the intention of govt. to suspend altogether the power given to his Majesty by the former bill, as he could hardly suppose an intention so absurd as that of carrying into operation at the same time two bills diametrically opposite in their effects?

Sir *Evan Nepean* answered, that for the present there certainly was no intention of acting under the former bill. It was impossible, however, to foresee what necessity might arise for it.

Sir J. *Stewart* wished to postpone the committal of the bill to a late day in the ensuing week, as there had not been time since the bill was printed to give it due consideration.

Mr. *Odell* thought there was pressing necessity to expedite the bill, as many persons were at this moment labouring under great anxiety, as liable to be drawn for the army of reserve.

Mr. J. *Latouche* was for deferring the second reading at least till Monday next.

—After some farther explanations, the bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday next.

[Irish Customs and Excise Bill.]—The house having gone into a committee on this bill, pursuant to the order of the day,

Mr. *Foster* explained some alterations which he wished to make in it, the most material was, in the duties on wine, which he proposed to reduce, so that 6d. on a bottle would be a sufficient additional charge upon the consumer.

Mr. *J. Fitzgerald* approved of the reduction of the intended new duties upon wines, but he had hoped that the right hon. gent. would have given some explanation of the reasons which made it necessary to extend, so considerably, the scale of taxation for that country. As he understood it, Ireland was now charged with 11½ millions annually, when her revenue was but 3 millions.

Mr. *Foster* said, the revenue of Ireland was not quite 3 millions, and the interest of its debt was 2½ millions. The expences altogether were 9 millions, which was allowing 6 millions both for its quota to the expences of the empire, and 3 millions for its own separate expences; it was because the revenues of Ireland were so notoriously inadequate to the expences, that he thought it right to raise as large a sum of money as he could by taxes which should not be severely felt.

Mr. *Hawthorn* objected to the duty on tea, and thought it would have a direct tendency to encourage smuggling. He thought, at least, that, as a proposition for the duty was not made until after the India sales had closed, and the Irish agents had made their purchases, wholly inapprehensive of such a duty, that at least the duty should not operate for a very considerable time.

Mr. *Foster* answered, that the duty would fall on the consumer, and not on the tea-dealer, and that the tea-dealer would not wait for imposing the increased price, until the duty should actually come into operation, but lay it on the article the very moment that the first account of the proposed duty reached him. He therefore wished to put the money into the public treasury, and not into the pocket of the tea-dealer, which would be the case if the operation of the duty was postponed to a distant day.

Col. *Hutchinson* objected to the duty on foreign salt imported into Ireland. He observed, that the provision trade of Ireland was rapidly declining, and this duty would have the effect of making it worse, and of creating an alarm among the trade; because, he was sure, it would add to the price of salt, of which so large a quantity was used in curing meat. Besides, this increase of price would operate as a hardship on the poor Irish cottager, whose situation called for the compassionate attention of every man.

Mr. *Foster* said, the thing itself was no great object, and he was ready to coincide with the wishes of those gent., who thought that foreign salt ought to be exempted. He would not press any thing that might even be supposed to have an effect on the provision trade; and for the encouragement of that trade, as well as of the merchants in general, he would introduce a provision to allow the warehousing of salt imported into Ireland.—The bill having gone through the committee, the ort was ordered to be received to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, June 30.

[Minutes.]—The Earl of Balcarras presented a petition from certain planters and others interested in the British W. India colonies, against the Slave Trade Abolition bill, and praying that the same may not pass into a law; also a petition from E. P. Lyon, Esq. agent for the island of Jamaica, to the same purport. These petitions being read, they were severally ordered to lie on the table.—The royal assent was given by commission to the Woollen Manufacturers' bill, and the Great Tottham Inclosure bill.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages, among these, the Irish Corn Exportation bill was read a 3d time and passed.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, June 30.

[Minutes.]—The Exchequer Bills bill was read a 3d time, and passed.—On the motion for the 3d reading of the Irish Stamp Duties bill, Mr. Corry stated, that it was his intention, had the hon. mover and framer of the bill been present, to have proposed a short clause by way of rider to the bill, for regulating the mode of keeping the Irish Stamp Duty accounts. Mr. Sturgess Bourne expressed his readiness to postpone the 3d reading of the bill to Monday, in order to accommodate the right hon. gent. Mr. Corry declined accepting of this indulgence, and stated, that he believed the object he had in view could be obtained by an order of the house. The bill was then read a 3d time and passed.—Mr. Huskisson presented an Account of the estimated Charge on his Majesty's Civil List Revenue for the quarters ending 5th April and 5th July, 1804. He also presented an Account of the money advanced from the Civil List for public services, not made good by parliament, and an Account of the Sum wanted to defray the Expences of employing Convicts at home. Ordered to lie on the table.—The Irish Customs and Excise bill was reported, and ordered to be read a 3d time on Monday.—Mr. Alexander brought up a bill, granting an Annuity to the family of the late Lord Kilwarden. Read a 1st time, and ordered to be read a 2d time on Monday.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 2.

[MINUTES.]—The bills on the table were forwarded in their respective stages. —The Scotch Additional Force bill, the East India Prize Goods, the Irish Linen Manufactures, and the Denmark Mint bills, severally passed through committees of the whole house without amendment; after which the reports of the same were received.—The Irish Stamp Duties' bill, and the Exchequer Bills' bill were brought up from the Commons, and read a 1st time.—The Insolvent Debtors' bill was presented, and read a 1st time.

[SLAVE TRADE.]—The *Duke of Clarence* presented two petitions against the slave trade abolition bill. The first from certain inhabitants of the town of Liverpool, whose names were thereunto subscribed; and the second, from certain merchants and mortgagees, interested in the British West India colonies, praying that the bill may not pass into a law, and that they have leave to be heard by their counsel against the same. His R. H. observed it was probable a variety of petitions would be presented against the bill. Their lordships would recollect the notice given by a noble sec. of state then absent, of his intention to move for postponing the consideration of the bill until the next session of parliament, and with reference to that notice, he should not now trouble their lordships with any motion relative to the prayer of the petitioners; but should it happen that the bill be read a 2d time this session, he then should feel it his duty to move their lordships that the petitioners, pursuant to their prayer, should have leave to be heard by their counsel against the measure.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 2.

[MINUTES.]—A new writ was ordered for the election of a burgess for Buckingham, in the room of the right hon. T. Grenville, who since his election had accepted the Stewardship of his Majesty's Chiltern Hundreds; also another for the borough of Aylesbury, in the room of John Bent, Esq. whose election had been declared void.—Mr. W. Pole obtained leave to bring in a bill for vesting in Trustees, certain lands near Chatham, for the better securing his Majesty's docks, ships, and stores, at Chatham; also certain lands on Warley Common, for the convenience of his Majesty's ordnance stores.—Mr. Huskisson moved, that there be laid before the house, an Account of the gross produce of the Stamp Duties for the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1804, distinguishing as far as possible, the different classes and the amount of the duties attached to each. Ordered.—A person from the Stamp Office, presented the same at the bar, when on the motion of Mr. Huskisson, it was referred to the committee of ways and means.—Mr. Johnston, from the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, presented an account of the particulars of the Treasury Incidents in Ireland for the year 1803, of the sums advanced for the Barrack department, the Ordnance accounts, and several other public accounts. Ordered to lie on the table.—Sir J. Sinclair, as the report of the committee respecting the comparative value of English and Scotch barley and malt had been some time before the house, gave notice, that he should on Wednesday next bring forward a motion on the subject.

[COUNTERFEIT DOLLARS' BILL.]—Mr. *Sturges Bourne* moved the order of the day for the 2d reading of the counterfeit dollars' bill.

Mr. *Francis.*—Sir; I cannot help agreeing in many of the observations made some days ago by an hon. gent. on the other side, (Mr. Princep) on the subject of this bill. The right or privilege of coining money in this country, and I believe in every monarchy, is a royalty inseparable from the crown. To counterfeit the king's coin is treason. To fix the stamp or impression, is the king's unquestionable prerogative, in order that the value of the coin may be known on inspection. The king's effigy, so guarded from imitation, is a security to his subjects for the standard and the weight of the money issued for their use by the royal mint, and no other. The denomination, or the value for which the coin is to pass current, is in the breast of the king; and, if any unusual pieces are coined, that value must be ascertained by proclamation. Now, Sir, what are these dollars? They are coined at Birmingham; and they bear the impression of the king's head. Does that stamp furnish any security to persons, who receive them, that they really possess that intrinsic value at which they are circulated? I desire to know whether they are considered as a sign or a deposit? If they are nothing but a token, receivable by the Bank at 5s. a piece of copper or of paper would do as well. If they profess to be of that intrinsic value, they assert a falsehood. We know that they are not worth more than 4s. 6d. They, who are tempted to receive them by the king's stamp and the beauty of the piece, are liable to lose the difference either by a false coinage, of baser metal, even at Birmingham, or by these very dollars being mutilated or defaced, otherwise than by what the Bank, in their advertisement, call the fair effect of use in the course of circulation. Now, who is to judge between these different causes of depreciation? The Bank alone, who will gain 6d. by every dollar, which they can find a pretence for refusing, as they have done many of those lately issued with a stamp or Tower mark, which they said was forged. Who but themselves can tell whether it is so or not? The pernicious tendency of all these temporary expedients to serve a turn, is to place ignorance and carelessness at the mercy of skill and cunning. These dollars may be counterfeited. The penalty held out by this bill will not prevent it. We have laws enough against this sort of forgery; yet coiners and clippers are as numerous as ever. I wish to know, why Spanish dollars might not be issued by the Bank, if such a relief to circulation be really wanted, to any body who wishes to receive them, at their market price, or intrinsic value, suppose 4s. 6d. without any obligation to take them again. No such condition would be wanted. I remember a time when the gold coin of Portugal was as current and as well received here as guineas, and even more in circulation; and that too, by the mere force of their intrinsic value. It is said that nobody is compelled to take these new Birmingham dollars. What then? you tempt the ignorant, you offer to relieve the necessitous, and you expose them all to be defrauded; that is, you bait the hook, and then you say, that nobody need swallow it. On the whole, Sir, I am against this bill; but if it must pass, I hope that care will be taken to prevent the Bank from calling in these dollars when they please. Otherwise, by giving only a short notice, they might contrive to leave a great part of them in the hands of any body who happened to be possessed of them at any given moment.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* defended the bill as one to which the arguments of the hon. gent. did not in any respect apply. This bill did not go to give new powers to any individuals, but only to protect and give greater security to the property of a company which had issued certain tokens upon its own credit. These were not issued as bearing the character or impression of the current coin of the realm; but given as securities from that company alone. The only question then was, whether it was not better to issue them in money, in order to prevent those forgeries and counterfeits which must take place to a great extent, if they were issued in paper? The hon. gent. might as well object to a bill brought in to prevent the forgery of bank notes; and that on the ground of such notes being made in a particular shape. There was no compulsion on the public, as to taking the dollars in question; they were found to be the most convenient circulating medium at this time; and the shape of the dollars now issued, was the best calculated to prevent frauds upon the public. With respect to fixing a time for calling them in, the bill was wholly silent on that point, nor did he see what necessity there was for such a provision. As to what the hon. gent. said, relative to an advertisement coming from the Bank, there certainly was a mistake on that subject, for no such practice had prevailed as that of the Bank refusing to take, after a certain period, dollars previously issued by them.

Lord *Folkestone.*—Sir; I wish to say a few words on this bill, before it is read a 3d time, and not the less so on account of the speech we have just heard; which may indeed have been an answer to the hon. gent. whom it professed to answer, but which was certainly no answer to the objections which I feel to this measure. Sir, this bill may be viewed in two lights; 1st, as preventing the counterfeiting of dollars, which is its professed object; and 2d, which is not its object, but which will be equally its effect; viz. the authorizing of the issuing these dollars in their present circumstances by a legislative act. Now, I assert that, if it be fit to authorize or permit these dollars to be so issued, it is necessarily fit to prevent the counterfeiting of them; but I conceive, that it is by no means fit to do this. These dollars are to be considered either as tokens or as coin. If they are to be considered as tokens, then I object to the bill on these grounds. I object to its being brought forward as a government measure; and supported by the weight and authority which it acquires from that circumstance; I object too, to the king's image being impressed upon the dollars. It is a private commercial transaction of the Bank, with which the king and the govt. have nothing to do. If these dollars are to be looked upon as coin, other objections still weightier lie against this measure. As in the former supposition, I object to the govt. having any concern with it, in this case, I object to the interference of the Bank. What have the Bank to do with coining money? Why is the coin to be issued from the Bank? The act of coining money, and issuing coin is every where esteemed and reserved as the special act of the sovereign. It is one of the most important attributes of sovereignty; and why we are to bestow it on the Bank, is what I wish to enquire. There is another circumstance of grave consideration in this business. If these dollars are to be esteemed coin, I should be glad to know according to what standard their value is fixed at 5s.? The real value of the dollar in sterling money is 4s. 6d. why are they to be issued for 5s.? I know their current value in the market is now 5s., but that is not their sterling value. To issue them, therefore, at that rate, is no less a fraud on the public, then if one-ninth of the silver in the shilling was taken away, and the remaining 10¾d. coined into the shape of a shilling, and issued as such. There is a third point, which it is worth while to consider, and that is this, what security we have that the dollars thus issued contain the same quantity of silver which they purport to do? At the mint there are proper officers to examine and ascertain this fact with respect to the coin there issued. Whose business is it to examine these dollars? How are we to be sure that there has been no clipping or no rubbing in their second coinage at Birmingham? On these grounds then, Sir, I object to this measure; I wish to know in the first place what character these dollars are to bear—whether they are to be esteemed tokens or coin? In both cases, there are great objections to the measure; but most of all is it objectionable, that they should have this sort of mixed character, and that it should not be known precisely in what light they are to be viewed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* declared, that there never had been entertained the smallest idea of considering these dollars as current coin. They were only another mode of issuing notes for small sums, and, therefore, any arguments, founded on the notion that they were to be issued as current coin, were wholly inapplicable. The legislature in passing the present bill, which did not contain any provision sanctioning or even permitting the issue, would do nothing more than as it was found for the public convenience to issue these dollars into circulation, make the counterfeiting them a crime, which it was not as the law then stood. Whether the quantity to be issued should not exceed a certain proportion to the silver coin in circulation, was a question certainly not undeserving of attention, but the difficulties attending any efficient arrangement for the adjustment of the silver coinage were too well known to make it necessary for him to touch upon that subject then. In the issue of the dollars, the Bank entered into an engagement to take them back at the same rate at which they issued them; and in fixing the day in a former instance, they had only a view to get them in as soon as possible. If it were desirable for the public convenience to issue dollars under these circumstances, he trusted the house would not be satisfied to leave the Bank exposed to the danger of their being counterfeited.

Mr. *Windham* said, he could not object to any provision that went to prevent the commission of crimes, and the great public inconvenience arising from counterfeits. But what he complained of in the measure in question was, that two operations, distinct in their nature, were not kept distinct in their appearance. This was the very ground that his noble friend (Lord Folkestone) had insisted upon. It was proposed that, to supply the deficiency of smaller currency, dollars should be issued by the Bank. To this there was not, as far as he knew, any objection. But why give to those dollars an air and character which did not belong to them, and which must infallibly make it supposed by three-fourths of those who were to receive them, that they had an authority which they had not, and were issued in some sort upon the footing of other coin, and under the sanction of the sovereign? What can be the use, or rather what can be the propriety, of such a deception? An ambiguity of this sort ought not to be suffered to rest on the transaction, whether considered with a view to the high privilege in question, namely, that of coining, a privilege which was the immediate badge and pledge of sovereignty, or in the view of fairness towards the subject, who should not be made to receive any thing in payment, under a false impression of the authority by which it was issued. If these dollars are tokens merely, why affix to them the image of the sovereign? If they are coin, why subjoin the arms of the Bank? Is it fit that in a matter of this sort any thing should be left, or rather purposely put, in this kind of doubtful and equivocal state? There can be neither dignity nor fairness in such a proceeding. Is it said that the arms of the Bank being placed upon them, sufficiently shew that they are not coin. But of what use, then, is the King's head? If the Bank arms shew that the pieces are not coin, the King's head seems equally to shew that they are not merely tokens. The combination of the two must produce ambiguity, even if it is not intended to do so; and if ambiguity can be avoided, why suffer it to be incurred? It cannot be said here, that the Bank do this of their own authority; that as the pieces in question cannot be said to be a counterfeit of the coin of the country; as there is no danger, for instance, of a dollar, whatever be the characters inscribed upon it, being mistaken for a 7s. piece, or for any other of the current coin of the kingdom; and as the representation of coin is not complete, so as to bring the act within any of the laws against coining, that therefore the house has no right, nor is it called upon, to interfere. The house is interfering at this very moment, so as to give to the Bank a security which it could not otherwise have; and therefore, before they grant this security, they may stipulate, that the Bank should not annex to their issues any character which may tend, by possibility even, to confound them with the current coin of the kingdom. It is as little possible to say that there is not danger of such confusion. The image of the sovereign, stamped upon a piece of metal having all the ordinary characters, and being used for all the ordinary purposes of coin, and possessing an intrinsic value nearly equal to that for which it passes, conveys an idea of something so very like a piece of money, that it seems in vain to hope that the mistake will not be made; and to such a mistake ought the house to contribute? He would not press the matter further, but conclude by expressing his perfect concurrence in the objections of his noble friend.

Mr. *H. Thornton* was ready to admit that the remarks made by the right hon. gent. who spoke last, and others, were not unfounded; but they did not apply to this bill. It certainly was not desirable that any company of men should do that which was the prerogative of the crown. With respect to these silver tokens of the Bank, he must say they were issued at that amount which ought to be the value of silver in England. On the same principle, these tokens in Ireland were to pass at the rate of 6s. in order to accommodate them to the state of the exchange in that country. He certainly objected to the principle of public bodies having the privilege to do acts that properly belonged to the sovereign. But this objection would be done away, when it was considered that the present was only a temporary expedient.

Mr. *Dent* said, the measure in question only went to give ease and facility to the circulating medium of the country at large, and of London in particular, which were much indebted to those who had brought it forward.

Mr. *Princep* contended, there was in this measure the strongest temptation to counterfeit, without even adulterating the silver. The standard value of a dollar was 4s. 6d. What was there then to prevent men from getting new dollars, and giving them the shape of those issued by the Bank, and then gaining 6d. on each of them?

Mr. *Johnstone* contended, that govt. was now enabling the banks of England and Ireland to commit a fraud; for they would pay their debts in a coin whose real was less than its nominal value.

Mr. *Pitt* answered, that the Bank was liable to take back these dollars, and give for them the sum at which they were issued.—The bill was then read a third time and passed.

[CONDUCT OF JUDGE FOX.]—A petition of Gerard Irvine, Esq. of Rochfield, in the county of Fermanagh, the late high sheriff of that county, was presented to the house by Col. Cole, and read: setting forth, "that the day previous to the commission day of the last summer assizes for the said county, the petitioner, anxious to pay all the respect in his power to the judges of assize, and the bearers of the commission of his beloved sovereign, sent a person to the county of Cavan to wait on the judges in his name, and learn from them the hour he should meet them at the bounds of the county; and that the hon. Mr. Justice Fox having named an hour for that purpose, the petitioner resolved to be at the proper place before the time appointed, with such attendants as usual, and dressed as well as became the petitioner's fortune, and with which the judges on the spring circuit had not found any fault; and that the petitioner resides near the extremity of the county most distant from where the judges were to enter it, and was therefore obliged to set out from his own house the day before the day on which the judges were to enter the same, and to sleep at a small and indifferent inn in the village of Newtown Butler, which can only afford accommodation for 2 or 3 persons, and that very indifferent, on earthen floors, from which circumstances the petitioner could not expect the gent. of the county to submit to such accommodation, merely to be in his posse to receive the judges; and that, in compliance with the petitioner's request, a number of gent. of the county did meet the judges some miles from the county town, on the day of their arrival; and that the petitioner would have been at the bounds of the county at least half an hour before the time appointed by Mr. Justice Fox, but he, having come at an earlier hour than he had appointed, had advanced into the petitioner's bailiwick about 2 miles before the petitioner and his attendants came up; and that the petitioner, on meeting the judges, went up, with his hat off, to apologize, and mention the cause of his not being at the bounds of the county when they arrived, when the hon Justice Fox, in the most insulting manner, without noticing the petitioner, ordered his postilion to drive on; and that, on going into the court house (though the judge was in his riding dress, in boots, &c.), after the petitioner going to his carriage to wait on him, on his coming out he rushed by the petitioner in a most violent manner, ordering the petitioner, in the most insulting language, to take off his hat; and that although the petitioner had paid him every respect as aforesaid, and he and his brother judge had honoured the petitioner with their company at dinner on the preceding day, the said hon. Judge Fox, in his charge to the grand jury, delivered in the face of the county, used the most gross and degrading language to the petitioner, such as had never before been addressed to him (the petitioner then acting as high sheriff), for not having come to meet him on his entering the bounds of the county, and charged the petitioner, in the grossest manner, with farming out to hire his bailiwick, which the petitioner never did, and concluded by imposing on the petitioner a fine of 500l. for not meeting him as aforesaid; and that the petitioner humbly conceives, that although his not being at the bounds of the county to meet the judge on his entrance was an omission, it was owing to the judge being so much earlier than the time he had appointed, which may appear by the affidavit of Mr. G. Bell, the person the petitioner sent to the county of Cavan (in place of his sub-sheriff, who was then indisposed, and is since dead) to wait on the judges in his name and receive their commands, and particularly to know the hour at which the petitioner should be in waiting for them: these circumstances considered, the petitioner trusts it was not such a crime as to merit opprobrious censure, and so heavy a fine; and that the petitioner feels degraded and abused in the eyes of his country, so long as the injury he has stated remains unredressed; and that the petitioner can verify on oath the truth of the foregoing petition; and therefore praying the house to afford the petitioner such redress as to justice may seem meet."—Ordered, that the said petition do lie upon the table.

[IRISH CUSTOMS AND EXCISE BILL.]—Mr. *Foster* moved the order of the day for the 3d reading of the Irish Customs and Excise bill. On the question being put,

The Hon. *C. H. Hutchinson* rose. He said he could not suffer this opportunity to pass, without making a few observations on the situation of that part of the empire to which the operation of this bill was to be confined. The right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Foster) had stated the national debt of Ireland to have been 25,000,000l. in 1800; 53,000,000 in 1803; and that the revenues of that country were rapidly declining. He had stated, that since Jan. last, a defalcation had taken place in the revenue to the amount of 300,000l. and yet with its manufactures annihilated, except its staple, the linen manufacture, with its provision trade diminished, and its resources exhausted, that country had added 9,500,000l. to its debt this year, while G. Britain, during the same period, enjoying a commerce commensurate with the limits of the habitable world, with manufactures in a state of the highest prosperity, and wealth and resources inexhaustible, had added but a sum little exceeding 12,000,000l. It was unnecessary to accompany such a statement with any observations on the financial difficulties that must be the fate of Ireland; difficulties which one would be almost afraid to look in the face. The right hon. gent. had proposed to support the sinking revenue of Ireland, by raising an additional revenue to the amount of 1,253,000l.; and here he took occasion to return his thanks to that right hon. gent. for having given up the increase of the duty on foreign salt, and the proposed stamp duty on the registering of freeholds. But that right hon. gent. must agree with him, that the taxes now proposed would be heavily felt in a country circumstanced as Ireland. The right hon. gent. had appealed to the members for Ireland to look the difficulties in the face, and to make common cause in their efforts to promote the collection of the revenue. No man more cordially wished for that unanimity than he did, because he was confident that the want of union had been the cause of all the lamentable miseries and distractions that had befallen that country. He was sanguine enough to hope, that if ever that blessed day should arrive, when the members for Ireland would be unanimous in recommending measures best calculated to promote the permanent interests of their country, they would have the hearty concurrence of the members for this part of the empire. And here he begged to enter his solemn protest against the principle, from whatever quarter it may have been derived, that Irish members ought not to interfere on questions exclusively confined to G. Britain, nor vice versa. Such a principle was in direct contradiction to the spirit of the Union, which transferred the care of the interests of all parts of the united empire, to the enlightened wisdom and impartial justice of our imperial legislature. The right hon. gent. had proposed two arrangements for supporting the sinking resources of the country: he had appealed to the gent. of Ireland to assist in promoting the effectual collection of the revenue, and to the minister of the empire, to give effect to a system of economy. These, however, were not of themselves sufficient to save the country, and he should look upon himself as deficient in duty, if he neglected to remind the house, that something more was necessary to save that country from the ruin, which, by the statement of the right hon. gent. and by the papers on the table, appeared to be impending over it. No man lamented more than he did the circumstances of exclusion under which the present administration was formed; yet whatever loss he must suppose the public service to have sustained thereby, when he looked at the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), when he recollected the experience he had had for 20 years in the govt. of Ireland, when he called to mind the circumstances, feelings and sentiments under which he had retired from office, and when he perceived him returning to power, convinced as he must be, that Ireland had been miserably governed, and that nothing had since occurred to change those sentiments and feelings, though he lamented the principles of exclusion on which his administration was formed, he could not but omen favourably to the cause of his country, from the return of that right hon. gent. to power. He hoped and trusted the right hon. gent. would bear the matter in his mind, that he would take it with him to his closet during the recess, and employ on it his gigantic faculties, that he should not be misled by weakness, bigotry, or wickedness. He could not avoid adverting to these circumstances at a moment when they were going to impose nearly one-half in addition to the actual amount of the revenue in Ireland. The hon. gent. then adverted to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and the bill for establishing martial law, the policy of which measures, or of repealing them in the present instance, he did not mean to enter into; and after bearing honourable testimony to the manner in which the govt. of Lord Hardwicke had been administered, concluded with a declaration of his wish to rivet the attention of the right hon. gent. (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) to the state of Ireland, and that the security depended not upon fortifications or blockading squadrons, but upon the affections and loyalty of the people.—The bill was then proceeded with, and after some progress had been made, the farther proceeding was put off to to-morrow.

[Egyptian Antiquities.]—Mr. *Rose* brought up a petition from the trustees of the British Museum, praying the aid of the sum of 16,000l. to enable them to make an addition to the British Museum, in order to secure those valuable monuments from the effects of the weather. The hon. member stated, that the application had the sanction of the crown, and that the object of the petitioners was to provide suitable apartments for the preservation of invaluable monuments of antiquity, which had been acquired by the valour, intrepidity, and skill of our troops in an expedition seldom equalled in the annals of any country, and which were now under a shed exposed to the injuries of the weather.

Sir *J. Sinclair* thought the sum a considerable one, and wished to know whether it was intended to submit the petition to the consideration of a committee, or to vote the sum in the committee of supply, without further investigation?

Mr. *Rose* replied, that he did not propose to vote more than half the sum this session. All that could be done during the recess, would be to lay the foundation, and no money would be laid out but what was absolutely necessary.

Mr. *Francis* wished to have stated to the house the nature of the monuments which required a sum of 16,000l. to provide them with a shelter from the weather.

Mr. *Windham*, before such a vote passed, thought it highly incumbent on the house to be apprised of the manner in which the money was to be applied, and also to know that it was to be committed to proper hands. For the mere erection of sheds to cover these curiosities 16,000l. was a very large sum.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that it was not merely for the reception of these curiosities that the application was made to the house. The grant, if obtained, would be employed in the general improvement and extension of the Museum, so as to render it more adequate to the reception of new curiosities similar to those adverted to, or to such others as accidental circumstances, or individual liberality might from time to time afford.

Mr. *Sheridan* was by no means disposed to oppose the petition, but thought, that if such a liberal grant were afforded, the public ought in return to have greater facility of access to the curiosities which the museum contained.

Mr. *W. Smith* was friendly to the general object of the petition, as it had been explained by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He considered it rather discreditable to the national character, that so much had for a century past been done for other national objects, while so little had been done for the encouragement of the arts. In affording the grant proposed, the house would only be doing what they ought long ago to have done.

Mr. *Bankes* thought the plan and estimate ought to be laid before the house.—After a few words from Sir W. Young and Dr. Laurence,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, to satisfy all parties, moved that the plan and estimate of the proposed improvements should be laid on the table; after which a committee might be appointed to examine the propriety of granting the sums required. Ordered.

[Civil List].—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the order of the day for the house to go into a committee of supply, and that the reports of the Civil List of the last, and likewise of the present session, and the several accounts relative thereto, together with the additional estimates for the navy, the Sierra Leone company, the African company, and the Veterinary College estimates, be referred thereto.—The house having accordingly resolved itself into a committee, the right hon. gent. observed, that as the state of his Majesty's civil list had been so fully before the house in the report both of the last and present session, it would not be necessary for him to detain the committee, by dwelling at any length upon the subject to which he proposed to call its attention. The reports shewed that a considerable exceeding had taken place in several articles in the year 1802, beyond the estimates of 1787. This exceeding, it appeared, had taken place only in articles of three descriptions: 1st, in the 3d class, which comprehended the salaries and establishments of foreign ministers; next, in the 4th class, comprehending the expences of the household; and lastly, in that class of expenditure, ranked under the head of occasional payments. Many of the items of increase under this head, arose from the additional expences of foreign service, from objects of internal police, from the augmented expences of the two houses of parliament, from secret foreign services, and the additional expence in messengers, in consequence of the renewal of hostilities. The house, on the grounds stated in the report of 1802, had voted a sum to discharge the arrears then due on his Majesty's civil list, and that they had voted that sum, and it had appeared to be their opinion that some further arragement should be made to provide against the accumulation of debt on it in future, no measure had been since taken to equalize the revenue to the expenditure. Two years and a half had since elapsed, and the debt which he had then to propose to make a provision for, amounted to 590,000l. Gent, would perceive that the debt on the civil list was last year 250,000l. and that the accession of it since had been only in a proportion conformable to the gradual excess of the expenditure over the former estimates. The right hon. gent. therefore, hoped, that on the ground on which the house had granted the money in 1802, to discharge the debt affecting the civil list, there would be no objection to vote, in the present instance, the sum necessary to liquidate the debt that had since accumulated. With respect to the future state of the civil list, all the committees that had reported on the subject had agreed, that there were many charges that ought to be transferred to the estimates annually voted by the house, most of them new in their nature, or carried to an extent not foreseen in the former estimates. Many of those arose from the war, from the internal circumstances and situation of the country, from increased law expences, from the additional expence of stationary for parliament, from the arrangement for the improvement of both houses, and from the multiplication of private bills, none of which ought properly to be charged on the civil list. It would also afford a further inducement to relieve the civil list from such charges, that they might vary with circumstances, and some of them even be diminished on the recurrence of peace. Many too would increase from the effect of that increase in the objects of legislation, arising out of the growing prosperity of the country. These charges came all under the head of occasional payments, but it was not his intention to propose to transfer them all to be annually voted, but such a proportion of them as would amount to the sum of 135,000l, on the scale on which they were estimated for the present year, and which would be subject to some diminution on the return of peace. In addition to the expences of printing for the Court of Exchequer, for the houses of parliament, to a provision for the officers of parliament, to law charges, and certain allowances to sheriffs, they would also include a provision for the French refugees, clergy, and laity. The other heads were of a political nature. In the estimates of 1787, no allowance had been made for foreign secret services. A sum was usually voted by parliament, under the head of secret service money, which was usually insufficient, and the deficiency was made up out of the civil list, but in future, he proposed that the whole estimated expence should be laid before the house in order to its being provided for by parliament. The extraordinary allowances to foreign ministers, and the extra contingencies in the office of sec. of state in war could not have made any part of a peace estimate. The whole of the sums for civil and political purposes, from which he proposed to relieve the civil list, would be as he before stated, 135,000l. This he did not think proper to vote at present, he mentioned it only by way of explanation, of what he meant to submit to the house on a future day. The other proposal that he had to make was a grant of a positive addition to the civil list. The addition, he trusted, would appear to gent. moderate, when it was considered that the necessity of making it arose chiefly from the increase under the head of tradesmen's bills, in the different departments of his Majesty's household, in that of the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Steward, the Master of the Horse, and the Master of the Robes. No gent. who reflected on the very considerable rise that had taken place in the price of every article of domestic accommodation, could be surprised that his Majesty had not confined his expences under that head, within limits that had been marked out so long since. An increase of 40, 50, or 60l. per cent. had taken place in such articles since 1787. The expences under this head, chargeable on the civil list, amounted in 1802 to 218,000l. and he was convinced, that a positive addition of 60,000l. to meet the increase in the different articles, would appear moderate, especially when it was considered that these were articles that most intimately contributed to the comforts of every branch of the royal family. It would also be a satisfaction to the house to be assured, that they who had the superintendance of the disbursements, were studious in avoiding any unnecessary expence. These formed the chief addition to the civil list, for it was apparent, that the other charges under the head of occasional payments, grew out of the political circumstances of the country. In the article of pensions, there was a diminution rather than an increase, being this year 10,000l. less than in 1802. If he were to propose an increase in proportion to the depreciation in the value of money, and to correspond with the progressive increase of other establishments, it would not by any means be unreasonable. But, however desirable it might be to furnish his Majesty with the means of exercising his benevolence on a scale befitting a great nation, he, in consideration of the pressure of the circumstances of the times, proposed that the estimate under the head of pensions, should be taken at 92,000l. as it was in 1802. The only other item in which there was any real excess, was in certain allowances to the foreign ministers, and this would not exceed 8000l. There was another instance in which there would be an apparent increase. When his Majesty's civil list had been settled, the sum of 58,000l. was granted to her Majesty to cover all the expences of the royal family, and it was thought right now that parliament should enable his Majesty to grant the sum of 4000l. annually from the civil list, the allowance to her Majesty being altogether insufficient. This would create a charge of 20,000l. upon the civil list. The whole amount then of the charges to be voted annually, would be 135,000l. The estimated charges on the civil list, amounted to 975,000l.; the revenue of the civil list, did not quite amount to 900,000l.; it appeared, however, that certain fees which had been added to the civil list, raised it to 921,000l.; which left a deficit of 64,000l. The right hon. gent., therefore, proposed to vote a positive addition of 60,000l. to the civil list, and trusted that the grounds he had stated would be so satisfactory to the committee, that they would feel no repugnance to adopt his propositions. He concluded by moving, that it be the opinion of the committee, that the sum of 591,842l. 3s. 10½d. be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the arrears of the civil list.—On the question being put,

Mr. *Bankes* said, that in delivering his sentiments on the present question, he did not mean to cast the smallest reflection, either on the present administration or the last; but it became the house to look with an eye of extreme jealousy in times like the present, whenever they were called upon for a grant of the public money. Two years ago, he had understood it to be the intention of the then administration, to fix the expenditure at a certain sum, and they had professed a determination to prevent a similar accumulation in future. He was, however, sorry to observe, they had neglected and disregarded punctuality in the payments of the different classes. For 16 years previous to the year 1802, the average of the civil list debt was not more than 80,400l. annually, but for the two last years that average had trebled. The cause of this increase he particularly wished to have explained. The sums under the head of special service for the last two years, struck him as rather extraordinary. The 40,000l. for foreign ministers, he thought, should be specifically accounted for. He did not like this way of lumping it. It might lead men to conjecture that it was made a cloak for the application of the public money to improper purposes. At the same time that he expressed a wish that the house and the public should be satisfied upon this point, he begged it to be understood that, far from desiring to abridge the allowance to our ambassadors, he entertained a hope that such allowances would be augmented, so as to consult the rank and suitable accommodation of our diplomatic agents. Under the head of the Lord Chamberlain's office, and particularly with respect to the Board of Works, he observed a considerable increase beyond former years. For the augmentation of the allowance of presents, &c. to foreign ministers within the last year, he could not conceive a reason. He meant that kind of allowance granted for executing conventions, treaties, &c. as there were none such that he recollected. Yet this sum materially exceeded the expenditure for a similar purpose in the year previous to the last war, when so many conventions and treaties with foreign powers were concluded. The excess might, perhaps, have proceeded from presents to the Barbary States, but of this he wished to be informed. In the compensation to persons for loss of offices, there was an advance of 10,000l. which made up for the 10,000l. reduction of the pension list, which had been noticed by his right hon. friend, and therefore there was no saving to the public. The additional expence in the offices of the three secretaries of state, which was not less than 77,000l. appeared to him particularly to require explanation. One of those offices was no doubt new, and he did not mean to contend that it was unnecessary in war, but upon the return of peace, whenever it should arrive, he hoped it would be done away. The hon. member stated his approbation of the proposal of his right hon. friend, to transfer to another fund those charges which did not properly belong to the civil list. There was another item in the report on the table upon which the hon. member confessed that he could not touch without pain, but his sense of duty would not suffer him to overlook it. This was an advance of 16,000l. to the Duke of Clarence, which was to be paid by instalments, and of which 7000l. were still due. If the salary of that illustrious personage, or of any other branch of the royal family, were found inadequate to provide for the comforts which belonged to the station they occupied, he would be as ready as any man to consent to any increase that might be necessary; but he disliked the principle of such occasional advances as that to which he alluded. It was a complete deviation from the spirit and letter of Mr. Burke's bill. It tended to disorganize the whole system of the civil list. It would serve to place the princes of the blood in a kind of dependence on the first lord of the treasury, who might, if this practice were tolerated, advance any sum he pleased in this clandestine manner, without the consent of parliament, to any person he chose to accommodate, whether that person belonged to the royal family or not. For it was hard to say to what an extent the principle might be carried. It had, indeed, in one instance been extended to a military officer (Major-Gen. Gardiner), to whom above 2000l. had been advanced, with the stipulation of repayment at the rate of 300l. a-year, not a guinea of which had been yet received. How came it, that the performance of such an engagement was not inforced by those who had the means of doing so, by deducting from the salaries they had to pay? The next point to which the hon. member called the attention of the house, was the deficiency in the fees of officers in the treasury, which amounted to 15,000l. a sum equal to the whole salary of the higher officers in that department. How such a deficiency grew up, he wished to learn. Upon the whole, indeed, of the items to which he had alluded, he was anxious for explanation, perhaps that explanation might remove his doubts. To the time at which this proposition was submitted, he could not help saying, that he had much objection. At such a crisis as the present, when the country had such burdens to bear, and such difficulties to encounter, he did not think it was decorous or fitting to make this application on the part of the crown. As it was determined to make it, however it was incumbent on his Majesty's ministers to couple with it some measure to prevent the farther accumulation of debt in this department. He had heard it said, that such a general measure was impracticable; but this assertion was not borne out by the experience of many years immediately succeeding the enactment of Mr. Burke's bill. It was evident, that either some means must be adopted of keeping the expences of this department within the revenue assigned, or a necessity would perpetually recur of resorting to parliament in the way then before the house. The hon. member admitted that, if a permanent addition to the revenue of the civil list were deemed necessary, the arrangement could not be put on a better footing than that proposed by his right hon. friend. He exhorted the treasury, with whom the control rested, to keep all the govt. offices within the rules of economy, and not permit extravagance of any kind. Among the other explanations required by the hon. gent. he requested to be informed of the amount of the 4½ per cent. duties which were applicable to the purposes of the civil list, and also of the other resources which were applicable in aid of that fund?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* began by complimenting the fair and and parliamentary manner in which his hon. friend had stated his opinions. The principal point upon which his hon. friend seemed to hesitate as to the propriety of concurring in the proposition before the house was this, that the time of war was not that which ought to have been selected for an application of this nature; but in answer to this objection he would say, that it was become necessary to do one of two things; either to refuse to the throne an adequate allowance, or to break in upon the establishment of royalty; and he did not believe that there was a man who, in any circumstances, would, merely for a saving of 50 or 60,000l. consent to an abridgment of that dignity which formed a necessary part of the monarchy, and therefore formed a necessary part of our constitution. This, however, must be done, or else we must go on suffering the debt of the civil list to accumulate in time of war, and thus lay the necessity of making good the payment of it in time of peace; but he would submit it to the judgment of the house and the public, whether it was not better, even amidst the pressure of war, at once to provide for the discharge of this arrear, and also to guard, as much as possible, against the recurrence of such debts, than to adopt either of the alternatives he had referred to? To state the dilemma in which his hon. friend's objection would place the house, was, he was satisfied, quite enough to ensure their assent to the proposition he had the honour to submit, a proposition which had for its object the support of that increased expence of the crown, which arose not from any disposition to prodigality or extravagance, but from that enhancement in all the necessary articles of life which had taken place since the revenue of the civil list was last fixed, and of which every individual in private life must be sensible. The arrangement he proposed had no view to any advance in the quantum of magnificence, or the indulgencies which should belong to the Royal Family, as the only intention was to enable that illustrious family to maintain the rank which, according to the grant of 1786, it was admitted they ought to hold. As the only effect of the proposed addition would be to equalize their revenue to the change of circumstances which had taken place, he was confident that there was not one of the constituents of that house, who would not consider that economy extremely misplaced, which should, under such circumstances, call upon his Majesty's family to retrench their necessary expences, or refuse assent to the proposition in debate, particularly when it was recollected, that the civil list was but a commutation which his Majesty had accepted on his accession to the throne, for a large hereditary revenue. When it was considered how long his Majesty had, happily for this country, occupied the throne, for a period longer almost than any sovereign to be found in our history; when the growth of the revenue, which he had surrendered in exchange, was taken into consideration, he was sure it would be admitted, that a call upon parliament for an advance of 60,000l. a year in his revenue, and the transfer to another fund of claims which do not at all belong to the civil list, according to its original constitution, furnished no fair ground of objection; for he begged it to be distinctly understood by that house and the public, that that branch of the hereditary revenue which had been enjoyed by his Majesty's predecessors, and in lieu of which he had thought proper to accept the civil list, had so far advanced, that it now amounted to nearly 1,500,000l. a year. From this, therefore, it appeared, that the addition of 60,000l. to 900,000l. a year, left a considerable balance in favour of the public. He would put it to the candour of the house and the country, whether any proposal could stand upon fairer grounds, whether any thing could be imagined more self-evident, and less liable to mistake? As to another point in the speech of his hon. friend, which recommended the proposition of some measure of general regulation upon a principle analogous to that upon which Mr. Burke's bill was founded, he always thought that such a measure was impracticable, and in this opinion he was confirmed, from a consideration of the nature, and a knowledge of the effects of Mr. Burke's system, which was found to be quite inapplicable.—Here the right hon. gent. took occasion to state the excess in the expence of the civil list had by no means proceeded, as his hon. friend professed to think, from an improper inattention to Mr. Burke's bill, but from finding that a change of circumstances had rendered a close attention to that measure impracticable. He hoped that his conduct for some years after the enactment of that bill was such as to shew, that if it had failed of its object, that failure was not to be attributed to the want of a sincere desire upon his part, and that of his colleagues in office, to carry it into complete execution. To the mode of classing the creditors of the civil list in the act alluded to, the govt. with which he had the honour of being connected, had always adhered. No preference was ever given to any but the royal family, the judges, and the foreign ministers, and upon all the other classes the debt was suffered to fall in equal proportion. The right hon. gent. however, dwelt upon the consequences which would result from a rigid adherence to the letter of this act, particularly in regard to the extinction of a debt which should be suffered to go a certain number of quarters in arrear. This strictly acted upon would, he apprehended, expose the royal family themselves to have their salaries stopped. The measure altogether was not reducible to practice, nor did he think any thing of a similar nature would be effectual. All he thought advisable or necessary was, that in case the civil list should at any future time be in debt, and he could not pretend to provide against such an event, parliament should be immediately apprized of the existence of such a debt. For this purpose, he would have no objection to introduce a clause into the act, which was meant to be grounded upon the resolution of the committee. Such a clause, enjoining, that whenever the civil list should contract a debt of a specified amount, or whenever it should be a certain time in arrear, the fact should be laid before parliament. This appeared to him to be the most simple mode of proceeding, and the only plan that occurred to him as necessary. After the circumstance of the debt should be laid before parliament, then it would become a subject for consideration what course to follow. Further particulars might be called for, and the fullest investigation might take place, if it should appear to be necessary. As to the explanation required by his hon. friend respecting the aid derived to the civil list from the 4½ per cent. duties, and other funds, he could state to his hon. friend and the house, that this aid was insignificant indeed. Adverting to the advances made to the Duke of Clarence and Gen. Gardiner, the right hon. gent. presumed that it would be found the stipulated instalments were deducted from their salaries. He did not mean to state it positively, as he had made no inquiry on the subject.—With respect to the principle of occasionally advancing money to persons connected with the civil list, where the cause appeared to be pressing, and not otherwise, he differed widely from the opinion of his hon. friend. Such advances, he admitted, should be made only upon extraordinary occasions; but in point of fact, the advances alluded to by his hon. friend were not of such amount, as much to alarm the jealousy of the house upon this subject. As to the allusions of his hon. friend to the several items of the accounts on the table, he must say, that he was not prepared to satisfy him; but he was at liberty to move for any document he thought necessary to the full explanation of the points he referred to. With many or most of the points adverted to by his hon. friend, he had no immediate concern, but yet he had no doubt that they could all be satisfactorily accounted for. He wished the hon. gent. the house, and the country, clearly to comprehend every part of the statement, and that every light should be thrown upon it. He had no other desire than that it should be probed to the bottom, in order that it should be seen, that the application he had the honour to submit, was the result of a real unavoidable necessity, and in no part of the expenditure had govt. ceased to exercise a proper and vigilant control. Feeling a just solicitude for the credit of his Majesty's govt. it was his anxious wish, that every means should be taken to satisfy the country of the truth of the facts he had stated. There were many parts of the household, in which the estimate was lower than was formerly fixed, particularly in the Board of Works. In that department an increased expenditure had been incurred within the two last years, which was not likely to recur again. It arose from the fitting up of apartments for the accommodation of some of the branches of his Majesty's family. In this department, and also in many others, he had felt it his duty to draw up a reduced estimate. He hoped it would not be found too late, and that in his endeavour to prevent unnecessary expence, he should not expose himself to the charge of laying a delusive statement before the house, or of contributing to reduce the just claims of any description of persons.

Mr. *Addington* agreed, that the most proper mode of answering the observations of the hon. gent. on the other side (Mr. Bankes), was to produce the documents explaining the particulars of the expenditure. No part of the 40,000l. charged under the head of extra extraordinaries, was expended for secret service; it was expended for an object which was not already sufficiently provided for according to its importance; he meant our diplomatic service, a line in which it was essential to encourage men of talents, rank, and fortune to engage. The insufficiency of the present establishment was the cause of this arrear being incurred. As to the two sums of 10,000l. and 11,000l. for the special service of the colonies in the years 1803-4, according to the provisions of Mr. Burke's bill, the particulars of this expenditure was kept in a book which was laid before the house, by an address to his Majesty, as often as it was thought proper to examine it, and referred to a committee. This book had been laid on the table, in consequence of such an address, in 1802; and it was now open to any gent. who wished to have it produced, by adopting the same course. In the mean time he could assure gent. the expences were of the usual nature. He did suppose that the right hon. gent. so frequently alluded to, when this subject was under consideration, was aware of the impossibility of strictly executing h s own act. He had a right to conclude so, because the right hon. gent. was in the house when a motion was made, in a year or two after the passing of the act, for a sum in aid of the civil list, and he did not oppose the grant. The right hon. gent. s object certainly was, that the bill should operate as a control, by compelling the explanation of every thing to parliament, and it had so operated. As to the accommodation given to a branch of the royal family and Gen. Gardiner, under an engagement that it should be repaid, though he was not a party to it, he knew it to be extremely proper. He believed, that, considering all circumstances, the addition of 60,000l. would be found extremely moderate. The proposition of the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer would accomplish what he himself had intended, inasmuch as it would cause an account of every arrear, and an estimate of every contingent expence of the civil list to be laid before parliament, and none could be incurred without the knowledge of the house. The advance to the branch of the royal family would be no charge to the public, only 7000l. of it remained now unsatisfied. The only great question for the house was, whether the dignity and comfort of the British crown were to be provided for in a manner suitable to the rank of the nation; not in any wanton manner, for there was no excess of splendour in the British crown. The household expenditure for tradesmen's bills was most essentially connected with the comfort of the sovereign and his family. The mode now proposed to be adopted on this head was the same that he had ventured to recommend with respect to the other branches of the royal family; and he believed that, in considering the expence under this head, the only matter of surprize would be, that there was so much splendour at so little charge. On comparing the sums granted in aid of the civil list, with the produce of the hereditary revenue given up by the King, if there could be a matter of account between the sovereign and his people, the people were gainers. The application now made was an appeal to more than the generosity of the house, and he was sure the house would have no difficulty in acceding to it. The right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer acted wisely in not laying down any limitation. The best mode was to submit every occasional necessity to the control of parliament. Having made the motion for referring this matter to a committee, and holding himself responsible for the charge, he thought it his duty to make this explanation, and to declare his readiness to support the measure.

Dr. *Laurence* declared, that nothing was more alien from the intentions of his revered friend (Mr. Burke), than to cut off by any precise rule any part of the becoming splendor of the British crown: his object was to secure the cognizance and control of every arrear and excess of the civil list to parliament. He approved of the present plan, but he could not subscribe to one reason given by some for the propriety of aiding the civil list. If by the commutation of the hereditary revenue for a fixed sum the public were gainers, it should be recollected that his Majesty had a fair option, and had made his choice. The advantage of the exchange ought not, therefore, to be continually stated as a ground of just remuneration. He agreed in the propriety of encouraging, by respectable provisions, the entrance of men of talent, fortune, rank, and character, into the diplomatic corps. The services of such men were particularly necessary to us in that line, in the present circumstances; and it was because we were so unfortunate as not to have such men, that we had so little influence with the continental powers.

Sir *Francis Burdett.*—I rise, Sir, in obedience to the duty I owe the public and myself, to offer to the consideration of the house those reasons which render it impossible for me to take that view of the important subject before us which the right hon. gent. the Chancellor of the Exchequer has done, or to adopt those sentiments, which, I regret to say, seem to be acquiesced in by the majority of those who hear me.—It must be conceded to me, that the present period is peculiarly inauspicious to the discussion of a subject of this kind. These are times, Sir, of such extraordinary pressure, and of such individual difficulty and general distress, that every demand upon the public purse requires to be anxiously looked to and investigated with the utmost vigilance and circumspection. I feel it, I say, impossible to agree to the arguments advanced by the right hon. gent. because I know that the necessities of the times are great and urgent; that the price of every necessary article of life is high beyond example; and that the pressure is felt not only among the lower and the middling classes of society, but even among the highest ranks of the state. I cannot agree with the right hon. gent. in his inference, that the pressure of the times attaching to the higher orders, is a reason why we ought to impose still greater burdens on the people, in order to relieve those who feel them in a lesser proportion. I never can approve of this mode of reasoning. As the present period is one when every man feels his comforts diminished, and those enjoyments he has been long used to abridged, by the weight of taxes which his utmost exertion can scarcely sustain, I should certainly say, that whoever administers the govt. of the country ought to economise the public resources, and put up with some of those inconveniencies which the mass of the people suffer. Comparatively light indeed must those evils fall on persons in that rank of life.—I do not mean to say that any part of the royal family ought to be inconvenienced by the pressure of the times; but I do consider, that the money granted by the liberality of parliament for the expences of the civil list is ample enough to relieve every branch of that family, if due attention be paid to the expenditure of the money so granted. What I complain of is, that there appears to me to be a scandalous waste of the public money; and the minister of govt. himself confesses, that with respect to the extraordinaries of the civil list, he has acted contrary to law, but that it was impossible to do otherwise. Better and more constitutional I think it would have been to have had the law restraining the excess of the civil list repealed, than to have acted in open defiance of its letter, and in violation of its principle. It is with the deepest concern I observe, that a debt which is always paying off, should be thus continually increasing; but I am persuaded it never will be otherwise if this house allow ministers to go on just as they think proper, and without subjecting them to that necessary control which can alone keep them within the limits of economy. While ministers retain the power of wantonly and arbitrarily disposing of the public money with impunity, it is not to be expected in men of their character, that profusion will be checked by considerations arising from the public distress.—I observe with infinite regret, that no inconsiderable proportion of the revenue of the country is expended in pensions, and the profits of sinecure places. On adverting to the list of those who derive emolument from such sources, I find it does not present the name of a single person who can allege any legitimate claim founded upon the performance of any public service. We ought to see rewards of this kind bestowed on men who have performed meritorious services for their country; but whenever such instances have occurred, they have uniformly been brought before this house for the purpose of making them the objects of particular remuneration out of the public fund, independently of the civil list. I should think that the bounty of the crown would be better applied in rewarding real merit, and thereby saving an extraordinary expence to the public.—It has been the practice, when men have bravely exerted themselves in their country's cause, to come to parliament for the reward they have merited. I do not think that upon such occasions, this house has been so generous as it ought to have been. Knowing as I do what lucrative places some hold who have done nothing to deserve them, I must own that I feel no slight degree of indignation at seeing such men as Lord Nelson, who has achieved immortal honour, and Lord Hutchinson, the conqueror of Egypt, recompensed with only 2000l. a year. I observe with resentment, such a man as Sir Sidney Smith, to whom the country is so much indebted, rewarded so inadequately as he has been, at least in comparison with those persons who are basking in the sunshine of ministerial patronage.—When the people of England are called on for daily sacrifices; when they are told by ministers that the sacrifices they have made are nothing to those which they must submit to; when the country is engaged in a war, of the end of which no man can form a conjecture; when the people are oppressed with taxes and exactions which they are unable to bear; and when the privations they endure exceed what the most despondent could ever have imagined, surely it is a little hard to hear it said, that the burden of taxation is a reason why those who so sorely feel it should have it aggravated, for the purpose of relieving those who, from their situations, must feel less of the public distress and calamity than any other description of persons in the country.—I for one can never give my consent to vote one farthing for the relief of the debts of the civil list, which ought never to have been contracted. But my most serious objection to the vote proposed, refers to the unconstitutional application of the public money. I advert to the sums advanced to the princes of the blood without the consent of parliament. I do not think it decent or becoming that the princes of England should be dependant on the minister of the day. If they wanted relief, they ought to have made application to the house of commons, and not condescend to receive bounties from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I recollect, however, and the reflection gives me pain, that whenever they have applied to this house in a constitutional way, for that relief to which they were entitled, their claims have been rejected. This has been particularly evinced in the applications of that illustrious member of the family who enjoys, as he deserves, the particular affection and confidence of the people; and is therefore, perhaps, an object of jealousy to some. But whenever these princes have appealed to ministers privately, that assistance has been unconstitutionally granted which ought only to have flowed from parliament. It is a subject of regret and surprise, that what parliament has refused, should be bestowed by ministerial influence. I cannot make up my mind to grant any of the public money for the purpose proposed this night; I consider this but a preliminary step to the imposition of a permanent burden on the country, and calculated to prevent ministers from being answerable for the application of the funds intrusted to their management.—The report on the table states, that for the unforeseen expences of the civil list, there should be a vote of credit. I think, that at a crisis like the present, when it is necessary to consult the minds of all men, when it is important that the people should think that those who govern them have an interest in their welfare, it is too much to tell them that, on account of the taxes they pay already, they ought to pay more. It may be, that when the country is prosperous, and flourishing, the executive govt. is entitled to participate in its advantages; but I cannot suppose the converse of this proposition holds good; and that when misfortunes and difficulties are brought upon the country, those who are the authors of them, should be the only persons exempted from their effects. The idea would be absurd and dangerous to countenance, that govt. should plead the public calamity they produce, as a reason for the augmentation of their own salaries. The right hon. proposer of this motion has pompously boasted upon this, as upon other occasions, of the advantages resulting to this country from the conduct of the present reign; but with respect to this boast, I would only call upon any candid man to determine, from a fair comparison of the situation of this country at present, and that in which it was placed upon the King's accession to the throne. At the former period, the whole of the public debt did not exceed 105,000,000l., and the taxes amounted to nearly 23 millions; at present, the debt is little short of 600 millions, and the taxes exceed 60 millions. Surely, no man will venture to assert, that our commerce has kept pace with this accumulation of our burdens. How has this enormous sum been expended? What has the country gained to compensate for such expenditure? Nothing, but what has been purloined from the unhappy natives of India, with a few islands, the benefit of which to this country is very doubtful. What have we lost? We have been deprived of the immense and growing country of America, the population of which, being the descendants of Englishmen, and far removed from the taint of modern corruption, would not endure to be slaves. Within the period I have referred to, the expence of the civil list alone has amounted to at least 50 millions; that is little less than half the public debt at his Majesty's accession. To what purposes has this immense sum been applied? Certainly not to the purpose of magnificence, as the right hon. gent. has truly stated, for of that the people have seen nothing. If in magnificence, there would perhaps be less reason to complain; if in the patronage of the arts, or the encouragement of institutions of public benefit, some return would have been made to the country for the salary allowed, and one would have been able to account for the cause of these frequent applications to parliament to discharge the arrears of the civil list. Upon this part of the subject I should dwell more at length if I were not unwilling to trespass on the attention of the house, and if I were not satisfied that the other facts I have it in my power to adduce respecting the present reign, must be in the recollection of this house and the country.—I have given my opinion, because I thought the house seemed disinclined to take up the subject in the point of view in which it has struck me. I repeat, that feeling the pressure of the times, and the misapplication of the public money, I am averse to every thing that has a tendency to increase our difficulties. I am however far from wishing to make a general declamation against every species of taxation.—I am of opinion, on the contrary, that taxation, properly applied, may be as beneficial as the moisture absorbed by the sun from the earth, which, falling again in rains and dews, fertilizes the soil. But how different that taxation, which is extorted from the industry of the people, and applied only to corrupt their morals and undermine their freedom! Such is the system which has been the ruin of other countries, and is likely to be the ruin of this, if the constitutional interposition of parliament does not prevent it. Convinced then that the proposition of this night is ill timed, dangerous, and contrary to the best principles of our free govt., I shall not hesitate in giving it my most decided negative.

Sir *J. Newport* was of opinion, that all those estimates should be separated from the civil list, that did not belong immediately to the dignity and splendor of the crown. He could not agree with the hon. bart. that the monarch ought not to be supported in periods particularly where extraordinary expenditure was necessary. He would appeal to the French, if they had not found their situation worse, and their expences increased, notwithstanding the resistance they had made to their old govt. He did not wish, he said, to see the comforts and conveniencies of their sovereign abridged in any degree, nor that dignity which ought to accompany his rank, in any way diminished. No private gent. he thought, could give an exact statement of his probable expences for any one year, was it then to be wondered at, if every item of expenditure belonging to the civil list, could not be accurately foreseen?

Mr. *Fuller* supported the motion. He thought the gain by the hereditary revenue, placed the public on the safe side.—The resolution was agreed to.

[Additional Navy Estimates].—Mr. *W. Dickinson*, in rising to move for a grant of 310,000l. for additional expences in the naval department, did not think it necessary to trouble the committee at length. He would merely state, that 150,000l. of this sum was for three ships, vessels from 40 to 60 guns; the rest was for sloops, gun-vessels, and mortars, thought necessary for the present service by the admiralty board, and purchased or contracted for since the 15th of May.

Mr. *Johnstone* wished to know, whether a further sum for the maintenance of seamen would not be required. In March there were 89,000 seamen, and 12,000 marines, in the service. If the due proportion of the marines was filled up, the whole would be 115,000. There were then 104,000 seamen and marines; the manning of this additional service would require a still greater number; he wished to know whether there was to be an additional vote?

Mr. *Dickinson* said, that no considerable addition of numbers would be necessary so as to require a vote?—Several other resolutions were then moved, to which the house agreed, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[STAMP DUTIES.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, that the house do resolve itself into a committee of ways and means. The house having gone into the committee, the right hon. gent. called their attention to the subject of the Duties on Stamps. It would be recollected, he observed, that in the early part of the session, a right hon. gent. (Mr. Addington) had taken credit for the sum of between 7 and 800,000l. for paying off the charges on the loan. This he had proposed to do, by creating an additional duty on stamps. Though the manner in which that proposal was stated to the house might have appeared feasible to that right hon. gent. in theory, he was well assured it could never be accomplished. It had been found difficult to class the several duties, and therefore the right hon. gent.'s plan could not be brought forward, nor was it likely that the sum proposed to be raised, could be raised by the rate of duties which he had stated to the house. What he should therefore propose for the consideration of the committee, would be a considerable increase of the present stamp duties. In the increased duties would be comprehended all law proceedings, civil and ecclesiastical, bills of exchange, notes, transfer of property, money bonds, &c. These were the most material.—As the debate had been procrastinated to a late hour, he would not detain the committee, but deliver in the schedule, which contained an ample statement of the various items; which schedule might be printed, and gent. would then have an opportunity of viewing and considering the whole, and upon the bringing up of the report, the discussion might take place.

Mr. *Addington* observed, that the right hon. gent. must be aware that what he had originally proposed, embraced 3 objects; 1st, an augmentation of the duties; next, a classification of those duties; and 3dly, the necessity of subjecting the persons liable to pay those duties to a tax *ad valorem.* These objects, he was of opinion, were desirable to be attained, and with respect to the first, he was happy to find, that the amount had produced nearly enough to cover the charges on the loan. As to the possibility of classing the rates of duties, he was of opinion no considerable difficulty would arise; but, however, on that he did not mean to insist. He trusted, the right hon. gent. would turn his attention to the *ad valorem* duty, which he was satisfied would be productive of much benefit to the revenue.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* was apprehensive the plan of the right hon. gent. would be attended with difficulty; he was, however, desirous of considering whether or not it could be carried into effect. He was not aware how it was possible to affix the precise rates of taxation, so as to meet the ideas of the right hon. gent., and ultimately benefit the revenue.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* thought that one of the greatest evils under which this country laboured was, that of the law being rendered almost inaccessible to the lower classes of society, by the expences which attended law suits on account of stamps.—The resolution was then read and agreed to, *pro forma*, and the house being resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 3.

[MINUTES.]—The bill for regulating the Corn Trade between G. Britain and Ireland, the Highland Road and Bridges bill, and two private bills, received the royal assent, by commission. The commissioners present were, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Camden, and Lord Walsingham.—The bill to punish the counterfeiting of Bank of England dollars; and also of the Irish money in preparation, called Tokens, the Irish Customs and Excise Duties bill, and one private bill, were brought from the Commons, and read a first time.

[COUNTERFEIT DOLLARS' BILL.]—On the motion that the Counterfeit Dollars' bill be printed,

Lord *Grenville* rose, and stated, that at this late period of the session, it was not his intention to provoke a serious discussion of the bill before their lordships, as important in his opinion as any that had lately been submitted to their consideration. His object in rising was to make his verbal protest against the principle of the measure, on the grounds that it was unconstitutional, impolitic, and pregnant with what he must call gross fraud and deception. It was objectionable in a legal view in no less than two points. He much doubted whether his Majesty could delegate his privilege of impressing money to any individual subject in his dominion, and he was also inclined to doubt his Majesty's authority to authorize any of his subjects to issue money so impressed. He would not at present go into a full examination of those two considerations, but reserve the discussion of them until next session, when he should think it his duty to bring the subject before their lordships in that general and enlarged shape which the importance of the great interests it involved so amply entitled it to. The only part of the question on which he would shortly trespass on their lordships' attention this evening, was that which related to the impolicy of the measure. To all those who had the smallest acquaintance with the science of political economy, there was no truth more evident than this, that the practice which was sometimes recurred to by governments, of issuing debased coin, or in other other words, of coin bearing a higher denomination than it was intrinsically worth, was one most injurious and unproductive in the experiment; unproductive, because it produced no advantages to the govt.; and injurious, because it was invariably detrimental to the interests of the country where it was issued. The measure which the bill before their lordships went to authorize, he must consider as partaking of all those mischiefs and inconveniencies. What was the professed object of it? It was neither more nor less, than this, to authorize the bank to make that pass current for 5s. which in reality was only worth 4s. 6d. or perhaps less. What would be the consequence to the person who received this debased coin? Why, it would operate to his disadvantage in a ratio of 10 per cent. if he were under the necessity of receiving four of those dollars or tokens, as they were called, which were only worth 18s. in payment of a pound sterling. His lordship considered the measure which the present bill went to sanction as one arising out of that most impolitic and unjustifiable step, the restriction upon the Bank of England from making payments in specie. Their lordships had a strong proof before them, that it was no less true in politics than in morals, that one act of injustice invariably led to the commission of another. Had the restriction upon the Bank never taken place, most probably their lordships would not have been called upon to give their sanction to the measure before them; which, in his opinion, was pregnant with impolicy, injustice, and fraud. It was also in contemplation, he understood, to extend the mischief to Ireland, and to make those tokens pass even for a greater value there. If the persons who promoted this measure had been guided by any equitable principles of policy in their plan, surely they would not have sent the greater evil into that part of the empire which was the most impoverished and the least secure. He would say nothing farther on the subject at present, but repeat that it was his intention to propose a full discussion of the general principle of the measure in the course of the ensuing session.

Lord *Hawkesbury* did not think, that what had fallen from the noble baron, called upon him to take up much of their lordships' time. The observations which he had thrown out were certainly not called for by the stage in which the bill now before the house was. Much convenience had resulted to the public from the issue of those dollars, and he thought that, while they were allowed to form a great proportion of our circulating medium, they should be protected by law against the dishonesty of those who might be tempted to counterfeit them. He wished the noble baron to bear in mind, that those bank dollars were not a legal tender, and there was no necessity imposed upon any person to receive them. It was entirely in the discretion of individuals to accept them in payment, and he saw not what the injustice or fraud was of accommodating the public with that from which they had derived much benefit.

Lord *Grenville* never meant to ground any part of his argument against the bill, upon the idea that it was intended to make these bank tokens a legal tender. He never could conceive that any rational govt. would have given its sanction to so extraordinary a principle, as that a debased coin should be received in payment at more than its intrinsic value.—The bill was then ordered to be printed.

[CONDUCT OF JUDGE FOX.]—The Marquis of *Abercorn* presented a petition against the hon. Justice Fox, from Gerard Irwin, Esq. high sheriff of the county of Fermanagh; also a petition from the petty jury of the said county, at the last autumn assizes; and moved that they do lie on the table. and that a copy of each be sent to Judge Fox.

The *Lord Chancellor* having left the woolsack, observed, that the petitions were addressed to the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the "Commons" in parliament assembled. This was quite novel, and he could not, for his part, consent to receive petitions so informal.

The Marquis of *Abercorn* said, he had, in compliance with the advice of a learned and noble lord on a former day, hastened to place these petitions on the table, in order to reduce the charges against Judge Fox to a precise form. With respect to the informality, he had consulted legal and parliamentary authority, and was assured that it was not material. A petition had, in fact, been presented to the other house, addressed in the same manner, that is, to both houses, and a pen had been put through the superfluous words. For his part, he would never alter a word of any petition sent to him. He had resolved to keep his hands clean throughout the whole transaction. It was for their lordships to determine, whether they would receive the petitions, or reject them.

The Duke of *Norfolk* said, that forms were often nearly allied to the substance. He thought them important in the present case, and moved, "that the petitions be referred to a committee of precedents," to inquire if, notwithstanding the informality, they could be received.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* said, the superfluous words were evidently inserted through the ignorance of the parties; they intended the petitions to be presented to the House of Peers. He should therefore have made no scruple of putting a pen through the superfluous words, as fulfilling the intention of the petitioners.

The Marquis of *Abercorn* said, it was for the house to dispose of the petitions; he was no more concerned in them than any of their lordships; he would in no case, however, alter a petition; and he only begged their lordships to remember, that no delay had occurred on his part. He had used his utmost diligence to put the matter into that state, which seemed to be required of him by the sense of the House.

Earl *Stanhope* said, the noble marquis had done well not to alter the petitions. He could not agree with the noble Earl opposite to him (the Earl of Rosslyn); the petitions were addressed to "the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons;" the noble lord might therefore have put the pen through the first part of the address, and presented the petitions to the other house, on the principle of that advice.

Lord *Grenville* thought forms, in this case, of the highest importance, since these were proceedings that might originate a criminal process, in which the law and constitution demand the utmost precision of forms; and this criminal process against a judge, one of the most important certainly that could be imagined. He therefore supported the motion for referring the petitions to a committee of precedents, who should be instructed to report them.—The motion was then put and agreed to.

[SLAVE TRADE.]—Lord *Hawkesbury* having moved the order of the day for the 2d reading of the Slave Trade Abolition bill, said that it was his intention, pursuant to the notice he had given on a former evening, to move, that instead of the word "now," the words "this day 3 months," should be inserted. His lordship briefly recapitulated the arguments which he had urged on the first reading of the bill, the principal of which was, that the measure had been introduced at too late a period of the session, to allow any reasonable hope that it could be passed before the rising of parliament. There were so many interests likely to be affected by the abolition, that their lordships could not, consistently with that deliberation they bestowed on every measure of similar importance, give the subject that measured discussion it was entitled to. He would not take up their lordships' time at present, but move "that it be read a 2d time this day 3 months."

The Duke of *Norfolk* supported the motion of the noble sec. of state, on the grounds that the bill was brought forward at too advanced a period of the session. If govt. were serious in their intentions of abolishing that trade, he wished they had given some decided proofs of it, by proposing the measure themselves, and giving to it all the support that official power and situation placed in their hands. He did not approve of seeing the weight of so important a measure thrown on the shoulders of an individual member of the legislature, however respectable he might be.

Earl *Stanhope* could not refrain from expressing his astonishment at what had fallen from the two noble lords. He could not agree with them, that there existed the least necessity for postponing this measure, important from so many considerations, until the next session. He saw nothing to prevent their lordships from coming to an immediate decision on the question. He would not allow men to come to their lordships' bar, and ask to be permitted to continue in the commission of crime. Suppose a set of men, who were in the practice of forging coin on the coasts of Denmark and Norway, and that a bill were brought in to prevent the introduction of such forged specie, would their lordships suffer such a set of rascals to come to their bar, and petition either to be allowed to continue such nefarious practices, or to obtain an indemnity for the loss of that emolument which they drew from it? The slave trade was even worse than that, inasmuch as murder was more heinous than robbery. What was the slave trade? It was the going and seizing, or purchasing from those who had seized, a parcel of unhappy beings, over whom neither God nor nature gave us any control. His lordship, from some information he had received since he came down to the house, would not trouble their lordships with dividing the house; but he trusted that the supporters of the bill would redouble their efforts against the time parliament should meet again, and that they would finally succeed in abolishing a traffic, the real object of which was to enable the slave merchants of Liverpool and other places to gormandize more turtle, to swallow more venison, and to drink more claret. His lordship would say no more at that time; he had discharged his conscience, and whenever the subject should be again brought forward, it should have his zealous and hearty support.

Lord *Grenville* opposed the amendment. The preamble of the bill, as sent up by the House of Commons, he observed, set out with stating, that the slave trade was contrary to the principles of justice and humanity, and ought no longer to be continued. It was therefore, the duty of every noble lord, whose mind was convinced as to that fact, to declare his sentiments, and to resist the noble lord's amendment; for if that fact was true, there was no consideration which could be urged, no proofs which could be adduced, as to what property might be injured, or what lucrative commerce might be destroyed by this bill, that ought to weigh with the house one moment, or induce the legislature to defer, for a single day, the abolition of this trade. Of the number of those who felt themselves perfectly convinced of the wickedness, the injustice, the inhumanity, and impolicy of this trade, he professed himself to be one; and, therefore, upon that ground alone, which should always direct the policy of a wise and upright nation, he would oppose the farther delay of this bill, under any pretence that farther consideration or proof were necessary, after the mass of information upon this subject already laid on their lordship's table, and the full consideration the subject had already so repeatedly received. But if even farther consideration or proofs were necessary, why postpone it till the next session of parliament? or what was to impede their lordships from going as fully as necessary into those proofs and considerations during the remaining period of the present session? Many subjects of great importance were daily coming forward for their lordships' consideration, and had been recently discussed with the utmost solemnity, and most ample deliberation; and if their lordships proposed to go through the business now on their table, with the other subjects now in deliberation elsewhere, and on their way for their lordships' discussion, there was no reason to apprehend the present session would terminate without allowing ample time and opportunity for the fullest discussion necessary upon the bill now before the house. But suppose even that, instead of sitting till the middle of July, it might be necessary for their lordships to protract their sittings until the middle of August for this purpose, would their lordships think this an argument to induce them to prefer the pleasures of an earlier recess, to the humane purpose of putting a period, 6 months sooner, to the horrors perpetrated on the coast of Africa? In all events, by going into the consideration of this subject now, their lordships would be the better prepared not to deliberate, but to decide early in the next session, and thereby do themselves the honour, as a house of British legislature, of taking the lead of Europe in putting a period to this abominable traffic; but he was extremely sorry to conclude, from the manner in which the noble sec. of state delivered his sentiments for the necessity of delay, that if the amendment was adopted, the discussion would be eventually postponed, not merely to the end of 6 months, but to the end of the next, and probably the two following sessions of parliament.

The Earl of *Westmoreland*, in contemplating the present state of this question, expressed great satisfaction as a member of that house, and great admiration from a general view of the constitution. As a peer of the realm, he took pride in the consideration that the people at large, the merchants interested in the slave trade, and the colonist, would see that, though not represented in that house, yet that their interests were as much attended to as if they were. In looking at the constitution, he could not but admire the wisdom of our ancestors, who had divided the deliberative power into two parts, and encompassed each with such forms as necessarily led to the correction of any hasty and ill-advised measure passed in either house. Adverting to the immediate question, he thought it was in vain to enter upon a subject of such great import, and under such circumstances, when it was manifest no decision could be come to. He concluded by giving his decided support to the proposition of the noble sec.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* thought farther delay of this measure wholly unnecessary, and trusted it would not be felt by a British house of parliament necessary to discuss, at any great length, whether a traffic so utterly subversive of justice and humanity, a traffic, as had been well stated by a noble Earl (Stanhope) in human tears and groans, in human flesh and blood, and carried on under every criminal aggravation of cruelty, of chains, of murder, should any longer continue to disgrace and degrade the character of the British nation. Did the house want farther proof to decide its opinion, whether or not permission was to be given to a set of criminals to persevere in the perpetration of murders, of robberies, and other atrocious crimes, because the trade was a lucrative one? Evidence was before brought to their lordships' bar, to prove infinitely more than enough in support of the abolition of this traffic; and from the specimens he had witnessed of the testimony given on that occasion in favour of the trade, he was not much inclined to attach implicit credit to the evidence, even upon oath, of men interested in promoting and continuing this abominable traffic; especially when such evidence was directly contradicted by that of the log books of the carrying ships, though not upon oath. In fact, the conviction of the slave trade on his mind was taken from the sworn testimony of those who were adduced in its defence. He wanted no proof whether the West India planters were more or less cruel to their slaves, or whether they considered them as men or brutes. The proofs that were already abundant, as well in the testimony before the house, as in the writings of African travellers, shewed the situation of the Africans in their own country, their progress in civilization, and their state of happiness in every part of the country uncontaminated by the slave trade; and the proofs of the tortures inflicted upon them in the middle passage, were evidence of the foretaste of the kind of bliss they were to enjoy in the new paradise to which they were passing in the West Indian islands. It was very possible he might be called an enthusiast, or a prejudiced bigot, for the opinions he now spoke, by those who were more in the habit of reconciling moral evils under the head of state policy; but in spite of the opinion of such statesmen, he had in his favour the maxim of the greatest statesman in the wickedest of all the republics named in history (always excepting the transcendent wickedness of the French republic), namely, the republic of Athens: to it was, "that the greatest source of ruin nations, was the want of will to do simple justice." This he held to be precisely the description of that policy in which the slave trade was supported; and he feared, if the consideration of the subject was now to be postponed till the next session of parliament it would, in effect, be an adjournment of the question, ad Græcas Kalendas.

Lord *Mulgrave* said, that he was formerly an advocate for the trade; but from the recent events which had taken place in the West Indies, and particularly in the island of St. Domingo, his opinion was so staggered upon the subject, that he was by no means prepared to make up his mind at this moment, whether the trade should be continued or not, or whether this bill went far enough, or should not go a great way farther, and effect an immediate and total emancipation of the West India slaves, which, from what had fallen from a noble earl early in the debate, he understood to be the object with the friends of this bill. He thought, however, that cool deliberation, and the farther hearing of evidence, was indispensable, and therefore he voted for the amendment.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* said, that he had been much misconceived, if it was thought that he had any view to farther consequences than the abolition of the slave trade. He took the opportunity of declaring, that in his opinion that event would gradually produce all the amelioration in the state and condition of African slaves that was practicable, or indeed desirable, and that he looked to no farther consequences whatever.

Lord *Harrowby* expressed his satisfaction at the explanation given by the right rev. prelate: with respect to the subject immediately before the house, he deprecated a hasty decision, since however friendly might be his sentiments towards the measure, he was decidedly of opinion that there was not now time to enter into that investigation which the importance of the subject demanded. Nor could he conceive that any advantage could be gained by hearing a small part of the evidence or arguments which might be adduced in behalf of the petitioners against the bill, when it was evident that the session would close before they could obtain any final result. For these reasons he should certainly vote for the proposed delay.

Earl *St. Vincent* expressed himself also in favour of delay. To pass such a measure as the present hastily, might, he said, eventually lead to consequences equally dreadful with those which had taken place in St. Domingo, and even to the extirpation of every white in the West India islands.

The *Lord Chancellor* spoke in support of the amendment, and thought it quite impossible for the house to refuse its ear to the petition of British subjects, upon a matter where the utter ruin of their property was at stake. He did not recollect having ever given a vote on this subject. Evidence, it was said, was in abundance on their lordships' table. He had never looked into this evidence, and from its voluminous size and external appearance, he did not think the remaining period of the session would allow him time for the perusal. The many important interests and rights, both public and private, involved in this subject, demanded of the wisdom of the house to proceed with the most mature deliberation; public and private justice, as well as national policy, required it. The ruin which the sudden adoption of a measure like this would not fail to shed upon the condition and property of so many individuals, called for the exercise of humanity and justice towards them, as well as towards any other class of the persons within the purview of this bill. It might be a very snug thing for a Chancellor, seated on the woolsack, a right rev. prelate, seated there in virtue of a wealthy diocese, or a noble earl with a great estate, to sit and indulge their benevolence and humanity, in voting for a bill of this kind, for the relief of one description of persons; but all he would ask of right rev. and noble lords, was, to exercise their benevolence and humanity upon universal, not partial principles, and not to indulge their zeal for promoting the comforts of one set of men at the expence and total ruin to other classes, equally entitled to consideration and to justice.

The Duke of *Clarence* expressed himself decidedly in favour of the motion for delay. He adverted pointedly to the injustice of attempting to pass a bill of this nature, without hearing at their bar those who had petitioned the house against it, and whose property was so deeply affected by it. Property to the amount of 100 millions was embarked in our West India colonies, which returned annually 18 millions to this country, producing to the revenue 4 millions a year. Was all this to be hazarded without deliberation, and without hearing those who were so materially concerned? He read the titles of two acts of parliament passed expressly for the encouragement of this trade, which he considered as an additional and a very cogent reason why their lordships should hear, with attention, those who had thus embarked in a trade on the faith of parliament. He did not consider as any reason for their not now coming to a decision upon the subject, that, as had been stated, some of those noble lords who supported the abolition were not present, since it was certainly the duty of every peer to be in his place. He had heard a great number of tales of cruelty exercised towards the slaves by the West India planters, but he was acquainted with many gent. of that description of the highest respectability, whom he did not believe capable of committing or sanctioning any such acts of cruelty, and whom, if he did, he should be ashamed to associate with. He concluded by declaring his intention strenuously to support the motion of the noble sec. of state for postponing the bill.—The question was then put on Lord Hawkesbury's amendment, which was carried without a division. The bill is consequently lost for the present session.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 3.

[MINUTES.]—The Speaker informed the house, that the royal assent was notified by commission, in the House of Lords, to the Corn Regulation bill, and to several private bills.—The Irish Customs and Excise bill was read a 3d time and passed.—An Account was presented from the chief sec. for Ireland of the particulars of the compensations made by the Borough commissioners. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. H. W. Poole brought in the Chatham, &c. Lands bill. Read a 1st time, and ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow.—Mr. Corry moved for the Accomptant General of Ireland's abstract of the Irish Revenue, for the week ending Jan. 5, 1804. Ordered.—On the motion that the amendments to the London Clergy bill be read a 2d time, Alderman Combe moved to postpone them for 3 months; in which he was supported by Sir J. W. Anderson, and opposed by the Attorney General and Mr. Serjeant Best. The motion was negatived, and the bill, with the amendments, ordered to be engrossed.

[BRITISH MUSEUM.]—The plan approved of by the trustees for the British Museum, for erecting a building to cover the trophies brought from Egypt, was laid on the table.—Mr. *Rose* then adverting to some observations of an hon. member (Mr. Sheridan), respecting the accommodation which the public met with at the British Museum, took upon him to say, that the trustees had adopted a variety of regulations, by which every possible degree of accommodation would be afforded by those who were desirous of visiting that interesting establishment. It was now provided, that 75 persons might be admitted per day 3 times a week, and that even those who applied in the morning might be admitted in the course of the same day. Regulations were also adopted for admitting private parties 3 times a week; and orders had likewise been issued for an easy and regular access to the reading room. In short, it would appear from the paper, which he should now take the liberty to move for, that the museum promised to furnish the means of being both useful, instructive, and adequate to the gratification of the public curiosity.—The right hon. gent. then moved, "that there be laid before the house a copy of the regulations adopted by the trustees for admission to the museum, and likewise to the reading room."—The paper was immediately brought in, ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.

[FOREIGN TROOPS ENLISTMENT BILL,].—The Secretary at War moved, that the house resolve itself into a committee on the Foreign Troops Enlistment bill.

Mr. *Francis* declared, that he felt it to be an imperious duty upon him to call the attention of the house for a few minutes to the principle upon which the bill was framed, to the manner in which it was brought forward, and to other circumstances connected with that measure. The bare running over of the clauses in the committee could not possibly attract that serious attention which such an important measure required. He trusted that it would not be looked upon with indifference by the house, but that it would meet with such ample discussion as every constitutional question of such magnitude deserved. To look at the principles maintained by our ancestors, and for which they shed their blood, it will not for a moment be supposed that a British senate can silently, or almost without investigation, authorise a body of 10,000 foreign troops to be received into their country. The manner in which these troops were introduced, was particularly deserving of the attention of the house. Many of these troops were already enlisted and regimented by order of the King, for the better defence and greater security of the country. If there existed any necessity for the adoption of such a measure, he had not the least objection to a bill of indemnity being passed for what has already taken place. The introduction of these foreign troops, however, has not been attended with such parliamentary forms and notices as would have attracted the attention of the legislature more generally to the measure. It does not appear that it was resolved on originally by the privy council. The bill says, that his Majesty has thought fit to employ such a description of troops; but it is not expressed in the usual form, "by and with the advice and consent of his privy council." There not being any such authority vested in the crown by the constitution of this country, and he being well convinced that it was not either the interest or the wish of his Majesty to do any thing which might be taken as a precedent hereafter, and which might, perhaps, on a future occasion, in the hands of wicked ministers, be dangerous to the liberties of the people. It then became the duty of the house, in his opinion, to inquire who it was that advised the adoption of such a measure, in so extraordinary a manner. The regular parliamentary and constitutional mode of acting, he thought, would have been for a message to have been brought to that house from the crown upon the subject, and notice to be then given, or a day fixed for the consideration of such message. This opinion might, perhaps, be erroneous; but certainly some notice ought to have been given of such an intention by some of his Majesty's ministers. That would have attracted the attention of the house, and there would, most probably, have been some regular discussion on the propriety of such a measure. It is not sufficient to say that an estimate has been already given in; that provides for only 5250 men, the bill allows 10,000. These men may also be of the Roman Catholic religion. He had no jealousy about religious opinions; on the contrary, he declared that any religion with which we are acquainted will, by its tenets, make any man who is sincere in the faith, be a better member of society in consequence of his entertaining such principles. This sincerity, however, is not always to be met with, and it might perhaps be dangerous to the liberties of a free people to admit a great body of men of a different persuasion from themselves into their country, when they would have the power of persecuting others. No doubt it might be advanced in argument, that we had a sufficient force to cope with them at any point to which they might be directed; but why employ these foreign Roman Catholics when we had such a number of other Roman Catholics, natives of this country, who were willing to employ their fortunes, and hazard their lives in its defence? When the services of these noblemen and gentlemen are positively refused to be accepted of, why should we have recourse to the employment of foreigners of the same persuasion? Why not send these troops to India for the defence of our possessions there? Why should we not wish to keep our own regular troops at home in preference to the disgraceful idea of employing foreign troops for our home defence? He understood that some of our troops were either already gone, or were now under orders for embarkation to the East; and he appealed to the honourable, to the spirited and patriotic feeling of any gent. present, if he did not think that it was better to trust the defence of England to the hands of Englishmen alone?

The *Secretary at War* said, that as to the hon. gent.'s first objection, the estimates, they had been brought forward 6 months ago by his right hon. friend, the then Sec. at War, and the reason why they were not mentioned particularly, was, that such mention would totally have defeated the purpose, for the men, had it been known, would have been prevented from leaving Hanover. As to the 2d objection, religion; it was to be recollected, these were foreign troops, and if you mean to have foreign officers, you must take them of such religious persuasions as they may have been educated in. The hon. gent. would prefer, it seemed, the sending these foreign troops to India; but they were only enlisted during the war; and if peace should speedily arrive, the idea would not be quite so pleasing, that, after the expence of sending them out to India, they might almost immediately insist on being dismissed and sent home again; a circumstance which must be detrimental to our army in India. He hoped, therefore, that as this was only a measure of providing for a certain number of brave men who were subjects of the same sovereign, who had been forced to leave their own country, and who were desirous to fight in defence of this against the atrocious tyranny which overspread theirs; he hoped the hon. gent. would withdraw his objection, and that the bill might proceed in its course.

Colonel *Hutchinson* declared his readiness to make any exertion, or submit to almost any sacrifice for the defence of the country; but he could not consider the present measure either wise or politic. Foreigners might be very successfully employed abroad for the assistance of our own troops, in curbing the insolence of the enemy. But he never could agree in the opinion that they would be equally serviceable at home. He was well convinced that a handful of natives would, in the day of battle, if ever it should arrive, prove more effective in the defence of these islands, than thousands of any foreign force.—After a few words from Col. Calcraft, the Speaker left the chair, the house, in a committee, went through the bill, and the report was ordered to be received tomorrow.

[CIVIL LIST.]—Mr. *Alexander* brought up the report of the committee of supply relative to the civil list. On the question for the 2d reading of the resolutions,

Mr. *Johnstone* rose to oppose it. He said, the public were, in his opinion, highly indebted to the hon. gent. (Mr. Addington) for having laid the papers before the house, relative to this subject. There were many parts of these accounts which he could not at all approve, but as to some of them, the house was in such a dilemma that they could not refuse their assent. It seemed the judges of the land and foreign ministers were in arrear, and though he could not refuse his assent to such things being provided for, the house, he thought, should take some precautionary measure that such an application might not occur again. He could by no means agree, in the inferences drawn from the arguments used with respect to the hereditary revenues which were always brought forward to insinuate that the public was only paying a debt, when it was called on for such large sums. On the contrary, he thought his Majesty had been fully compensated for the hereditary revenues. With respect to the article of pensions, he should have no objection to the 82,000l. a-year, if that was all; but there were others, which amount to 200,000l. and that, he thought, was fully sufficient for pensions given as private remunerations; all the great public pensions being provided out of the consolidated fund. He observed, that in class 7, there had been a saving of 20,000l. and, in another part, there was another saving of 180,000l. which, he thought, with due oeconomy, the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, possessed of such talents as his were, might have made to answer any of the present exigencies, without coming to parliament for this very extraordinary addition to the civil list revenue. He was ready to agree that a larger and more liberal provision should be made for those who were employed in diplomatic missions. Indeed the education of such persons should be wholly directed to qualify them for such appointments. Those who were sent to represent his Majesty and the dignity of the country, should be men of talent and of character, and not persons who were sent abroad merely because they could not live at home.—He had also to complain, that a measure of such magnitude and importance should be brought on at so late a period of the session; the more urgent demands might in the interim be paid; but, in his opinion, the more mature and final consideration of the measure should be deferred till the beginning of next session.

Mr. *Rose* contended, that all the sums were most accurately accounted for, and that the deficit could not be made good by the savings, which by no means amounted to what the hon. gent. seemed to expect. Neither should it be complained that the measure was brought forward at a late period of the session. The articles had already been under the consideration of two committees, and the report had been on the table for near 3 months.

Col. *Calcraft* said, the fact was shortly this, the house was going now to add 60,000l. a year to the civil list, more than what was fixed as the expenditure 18 years ago. When it was recollected how great a change had taken place in the circumstances of the times, and in the price of every article of life, this addition appeared to him to be necessary, otherwise debts must accumulate, and the application for similar aids must be continually repeated.

Mr. *Addington* said, the hon. gent. (Mr. Johnstone) had complained of want of notice; he begged the house to recollect, that he gave notice of his intention to bring the business forward on the 7th of May, and the circumstances which prevented it were too well known for him to trouble the house with them at that moment.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, it was altogether unnecessary for him to shew that it was impossible for him to bring this measure forward sooner. That must be obvious to every one. He should, however, have been highly inexcuseable if he had not brought it forward during the present session. He insisted that, notwithstanding all that had been said with regard to the sum, nothing can or ought to be considered as an addition to the civil list, but the 60,000l.—The resolutions were then read and agreed to, and bills ordered to be brought in thereon. It was ordered that it be an instruction to the gent. appointed to bring in the bill, on the 2d resolusion, to provide for laying an account of the state of the civil list, under certain circumstances, before parliament.

[CORN TRADE BILL.]—Mr. *Western* moved the order of the day, for taking into further consideration the report on the corn trade bill; which being read, he moved that the said report be recommitted.

Mr. *Patteson* desired to know if it was to be recommitted to a committee above stairs?

Mr. *Western* said, he meant it to be recommitted directly to a committee of the whole house.

Mr. *Jeffery* said, he believed every day would bring forth fresh objections; and that after all, the country would be highly dissatisfied with this bill. He was no way desirous the price should be kept so low as at present; but would have the house take care how they made prices too high. If they would bring the prices to 56 or 58s. he would have no objection.

Mr. *Foster* said, that the argument just urged by the hon. gent. would apply in a committee, and no where so well.

Mr. *Morris* said, that as he could not bring himself to agree with the committee on the subject of this bill, he hoped he should be indulged with a few observations before the Speaker should leave the chair. His objection principally went to making any alteration whatever in the prices fixed in 1791. If this objection had been founded on any more abstract theories, he should have his doubts as to the propriety of it; but he had the authority of the committee itself against the measure, He was convinced, he said, that the corn trade required no other encouragement from parliament than the protection of the laws to the capital of those concerned in it. If, under that table of exports and imports, there has been a fair price to the farmer, it would be wrong to alter it. and, therefore, he found himself obliged to oppose the present measure.

Mr. *H. Lascelles* observed, that the object of both those who were in favour of the bill, and those who were againt it, was the same; and that object was to set the price of corn on a proper and productive footing. Those who were in favour of the bill, wished to prevent that fluctuation of price, which arose in consequence of this country being every year an importing country, instead of being able to export in ordinary years, so as to have but a small deficiency in years of scarcity. He then stated the prices at which corn was prohibited to be exported in the reign of Cha. II. when its price was much the same as the present price, whereas corn, like all other things, ought to vary in its export price, according to the variations of money at different periods of time. He concluded by expressing his approbation of the bill.—The house then went into a committee of the whole house, Mr. H. Lascelles in the chair.

Mr. *Patteson*, in adverting to the prices, as fixed by the report, observed, that the Irish gent. must of course, wish this bill to pass, because Ireland will be able to send wheat to England, at 48s. when it cannot be sent by foreign countries at less than 63s. which is an advantage of 15s. a quarter, and of 2s. 6d. besides, if they send their wheat through us to foreign countries.

Mr. *Foster* said, the advantage of Ireland sending corn to this country, and this country to Ireland, would be equal, by making them apply to each other in preference to sending their money to foreign countries. So far the hon. gent. was right in his observation as to Ireland. He must, however, think the Irish a strange kind of being indeed, to suppose, that when they would have a right to export directly to foreign markets, they should be so much in love with the half crown advantage, he spoke of, as to ship their corn to England, to have it unloaded, and sent through the country, in order to ship it again for a foreign port. He was, however, very glad to acknowledge that the present bill would tend very much to the advantage of Ireland, and he hoped that every member of the house would equally rejoice with himself, in applying parliamentary provisions, that should equally benefit every part of the united empire.—Several amendments were then proposed by Mr. Ryder, Mr.

Elliston, and Mr. Banks, after which Mr. Foster moved that the chairman should report progress, and ask leave to sit again. This motion was agreed to; and the house being resumed, the chairman reported accordingly, and obtained leave to sit again to-morrow.

[Irish Additional Force Bill.]—Sir *Evan Nepean* moved, that the house resolve itself into a committee upon this bill.

Mr. *James Stewart* proposed that it should first be printed as amended, in order that the members might have time to consider it.

Sir *Evan Nepean* thought that such a measure would only tend to produce delay.

Mr. *Foster* said, he was convinced that the hon. gent. had no improper motive, and, as he also thought that the bill required many amendments, the best plan would be for the house first to go into a committee, in which the amendments might be read, and afterwards printed along with the Bill.—On the question being put,

Sir *John Newport* said, he had objections to the bill, which none of the amendments that had been made to it tended to do away. There was a neglect in omitting some provisions as to the supplementary militia; and he disapproved of the manner of levying the penalties by grand juries, which was totally foreign to their original constitution. It was a tax which bore heavily upon the peasantry, and totally freed non-residents from contributing their proportion towards the service of the state.

Mr. *Foster* said, that no alteration could be made on that proposed mode of taxation, without altering the common law of the country. It was avowedly the same plan which had been adopted as to every other taxation throughout the kingdom.—The house went into a committee. The report was brought up, ordered to be taken into further consideration on Thursday next, and the bill to be printed as amended.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 4.

[Minutes.]—The report of the committee of precedents to which the petitions against Mr. Justice Fox were yesterday remitted, was received, declaring that the petitions laboured under a fundamental informality, and could not be entertained by the house. The Marquis of Abercorn thereupon applied for, and obtained leave to withdraw the same.—Evidence was heard in Mr. Lingham's Divorce bill, for the purpose of proving Mrs. Lingham's place of residence. Not being able, however, to make out their object, another witness was ordered to attend on the same point to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 4.

[Minutes.]—Mr. Francis moved, that there be laid before the house an account of the sum of 1,500,666l. received by govt. from the E. I. Company, with the interest on it to the 1st of March, 1804, which was accordingly ordered.—Col. Stanley presented the minutes taken by the committee on the petition of the Calico Printers, which, on the motion of that hon. gent., were ordered to lie on the table and be printed.—The house went into a committee on Lady Kilwarden's Annuity bill, the report of which was ordered to be received to-morrow.—The Secretary at War moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to permit the Quarter-Master-General of his Majesty's Forces to send and receive letters and packets free of postage. Granted.—In a committee of the whole house on the acts relating to the Irish distilleries, Mr. Foster submitted to the committee the propriety of confirming the act of the 32d of his Majesty, for preventing the importation of malt into Ireland, and of repealing the act prohibiting the distillation from oats and oatmeal. A bill was ordered accordingly, which on the house resuming was brought up, read a first time, and ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow. The report of the Jamaica Free Port bill was received, and ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—Mr. Foster brought in a bill to allow the circulation of small Bank Notes in Ireland for a limited time, and under certain regulations, which was ordered to be printed, and to be read a 2d time on Friday next.—On the motion of Mr. Foster, leave was given to bring in a bill for better regulating the collection of the revenue in Ireland, and preventing frauds therein.

[Cotton Manufacturers Bill.]—On the Order of the day being read for the house to resolve itself into a committee on the Cotton Manufacturers bill,

Colonel *Stanley* rose to oppose it. He

said, he considered it not only vexatious to the parties who were the objects of it, but it held out no advantages beyond those contained in the old laws of the 1st of Anne, and the 20th of George II. Instead of putting an end to disputes between masters and manufacturers, it would lay the foundation for fresh ones. The bill, besides, was wholly unnecessary; and to shew that it was, he would just state, that when he first had the honour of a seat in parliament, the quantity of cotton consumed by manufacturers in a year amounted to 13 millions of pounds weight; and the quantity now consumed was 56 millions of pounds weight. This was a decisive proof that the trade had prospered under the old laws; and that there was no necessity for new ones.

Mr. *Rose* went into a detail of the circumstances that gave rise to the bill of 1800, relating to this subject. That bill had either been defective in its provisions, or its regulations had not been put in practice. A petition the year following had been presented to the house from the journeymen, praying that the regulations adopted by the bill might be put in force, and last year they had come forward also with another petition of a similar nature. The committee to which this petition had been referred, had come to a resolution that a bill should be brought in to make those regulations effective, but the session was so nearly at a close, that this resolution could not be conveniently carried into effect, and the present bill therefore had been submitted to the house for that purpose. The masters themselves had complained that they were aggrieved by the bill of 1800, as the men were allowed the selection of arbitrators in cases where disputes might arise. This bill went therefore to provide against such complaints, as well as against those of the men. By the present bill, neither of the parties had the nomination of the arbitrators, but the justices of the peace were to be vested with this privilege. The bill was not proposed as a new measure, but merely as a means of rendering an old one effectual.

Mr. *Francis* thought that the hon. member opposite (Col. Stanley) had stated a very important fact, which ought to have great influence with the house. He had told them that the trade had made very rapid progress, and had given them the data on which he founded this assertion. But it was impossible that any manufactory could flourish to such an extent, unless it had been properly conducted, and much less if its regulations were hostile to its prosperity. He argued, therefore, that the present existing regulations were sufficient for every purpose either of necessity or expediency. The prosperity of the manufacture was the best proof that every thing was going on well, and they ought to be cautious not to interrupt this prosperity by any unnecessary measure. He did not think it at all necessary, in regard to any disputes that might arise, to interfere with the authority of the magistrates, or to take the right of settling such disputes out of their hands, in order to put it into the hands of others.—A division was then called for, when there appeared, For the motion, 27; Against it, 8. The house having resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[FOREIGN TROOPS ENLISTMENT BILL.]—Mr. Huskisson brought up the report of the Foreign Troops Enlistment bill.—On the question that the amendments be read a second time,

Mr. *Moore* rose for the purpose of entering his solemn protest against the bill, and the principle it implied. It was founded on the same principle, he said, that had been contended for by the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the year 1794, on the landing of the Hessian troops on the isle of Wight, though then discouraged by almost every one of his colleagues, that it was constitutional to introduce foreign troops, independently of the consent of parliament, as a part of his Majesty's prerogative. The majority of the house, on that occasion, supported the measure, but its effect was such as to incur the disapprobation of the country at large. It was in opposition to the spirit of the constitution, and offered to it a severe wound. The present bill, he argued, was precisely of a similar nature, and went to second a precedent which had been so unhappily permitted to exist. The hon. member said he would repeat the questions that were put yesterday to ministers by his hon. friend on the same bench (Mr. Francis). Did this measure, he asked, originate in the privy council, and why did not this bill, in the usual form and language of such bills, state that his Majesty in this acted by the advice and with the consent of his privy council? The best means, he thought, of removing objections, was for the gent.

opposite to give an explicit answer. The hon. gent. then considered the bill as a measure of state, but no case had been made out to shew that it had any foundation, either in necessity or in sound policy. He was not surprised, however, that those grounds had not been resorted to, as it could not have been maintained on any of them, without admitting that the present force of the country, amounting to above 800,000 men, was inadequate to its defence, and that to our disgrace we were to have recourse to foreign mercenaries. The introduction of foreign force into the country was not only unconstitutional, but dangerous in the extreme. In order to induce the house more easily to consent to the measure, it was stated that these men were Hanoverians, hitherto subjects of his Majesty, and consequently entitled to some degree of regard. This fact he denied. They were not all Hanoverians; for better than one-fourth of them were the sweepings and refuse of other parts of Germany, besides those that constituted his Majesty's dominions. He complained that the bill, notwithstanding its importance, had not been printed for the use of the members. This omission completely fixed on the measure the character he had given it. The hon. gent. then requested the house to look to the conduct of Ireland on a similar occasion in 1779. When Lord Harcourt offered the services of 4000 foreign troops, in room of a greater number that had been draughted to America, though Protestants, they were rejected by the parliament of Ireland, who declared that they would accept of no foreign help, as they felt competent to defend themselves, or if not, that they were not worth defending; and this, too, was at a crisis of danger, when the combined fleets of France and Spain, to our great astonishment, were in possession of the Channel. Instead of relying on foreigners, 50,000 volunteers on that occasion presented themselves for the defence of their country, and were wisely trusted by the then ministry of England. This confidence, the result of necessity in England, was, nevertheless, gratefully received in Ireland, and from that moment lessened the dissatisfaction that then prevailed in that country. He begged the house to contrast the effects of a well-placed confidence with the effects of a system of rebellion that had lately been too prevalent in that country. The hon. gent. concluded by protesting warmly against every principle that went to encourage the introduction of foreign forces, without the previous consent of parliament, as unconstitutional and illegal.—The report was then received, and the bill ordered to be read a 3d time.

[Revenue of Ireland.]—Mr. *Corry* rose to beg the attention of the house for a few minutes. He complained that certain statements had been made on a former evening by the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Foster), which went to attach blame to the late administration of Ireland. He was far from thinking that right hon. gent. had intended any misrepresentation, but at the same time the statements he had made were far from being correct, and the house, he was afraid, had been induced to draw from them conclusions very unfavourable both to himself and to the govt. of Ireland. From the nature of the statements that had been laid before them, they must have drawn inferences very remote from the truth. He by no means imputed to the right hon. gent. a wish to produce this effect, nor did he wish to throw any obstacle in his way to the office that he understood he would soon publicly be announced to occupy; but he wished to vindicate Lord Hardwicke and others, and to shew that they were not liable to the imputation that the statements he alluded to really bore. The right hon. gent. then went into a minute view of the various statements which the right hon. gent. had made on a preceding evening, in regard to the decrease of the Irish revenue, and the great balances in the hands of the collectors. He denied that the revenue was much diminished, or that the balances in the hands of the collectors were great in the manner that had been represented. An impression had been made on the house, that above half a million remained in the hands of the collectors, which ought to have been received; it would, therefore, be necessary for him to state to the house the nature of those balances. In general, the balances were not cash received, but charges that had not yet been available. Many of the balances arose from insolvent arrears, and such arrears would happen independently of the best regulations. The right hon. gent. then adverted to the debt of Ireland. He argued, that this debt had been necessarily increased lately. Very considerable additional expences had been occasioned, not only by preparations against a foreign enemy, but by providing also against the designs and machinations of such at home as had been infatuated enough to contemplate the overthrow of the govt. Other extraordinary expences also had been incurred by winding up the Union, and by the compensations that had been judged necessary to such as had suffered by that measure. He adverted also to the state of the revenue, and attempted to account for the apparent decrease, as it stood in the statement of the right hon. gent. During the troubles in Ireland, the stores had been exhausted, and the warehouses left completely empty: upon the return of tranquillity, therefore, a great deal of importation took place, which added very much to the revenue of that year. He could not but consider it, however, as unfair to compare a year of this description with the one following, in which less importation even than usual would be necessary, for the purpose of pointing out the decrease of revenue. He had intended, he said, to bring forward a measure relating to the absentees from Ireland, which would have been productive, he flattered himself, of considerable advantage to the revenue; but certain circumstances had occurred that had prevented him from putting his design in execution. He concluded by declaring the satisfaction he should have in regaining the good opinion of the house, which he thought must have been forfeited by the statements which he had now attempted to correct. The right hon. gent. then moved, "that there be laid before the house a copy of the report of J. Croker, Esq. surveyor-general of the port of Dublin, as ordered by, and delivered to, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Oct. 1802: also other reports of a similar kind, down to the latest period."

Mr. *Foster* assured the right hon. gent. that in the statements lately made by him, he had made no allusion whatever to the Union; nor did he say that, during the discussions on the Union in Ireland, he had predicted what the state of her finances would be. All he said was, that two years ago, in that house, he had stated his apprehensions as to what the situation of Ireland was likely to be. He never alluded to the Union as being the cause of the failure of Irish finances. He now believed, that the situation of Ireland was such as to be capable of great improvement, and was increasing rapidly in prosperity. And whatever he had said on the subject of the Union, during the discussions upon it in Ireland, he now felt it his duty to forego every thing he then advanced, and to do his utmost endeavours to mend the defects of the country, and increase all the advantages she must derive from the measure. These were the sentiments that had at all times been expressed by him since the Union took place. Now with respect to the question of balances remaining in the hands of collectors, he must contend that there was in the paper before the house the sum of 550,000l. acknowledged to be in the hands of collectors. And he would ask the right hon. gent. if he thought the officers in Ireland did their duty, if they suffered one-fifth of the revenue of Ireland to remain in the hands of the collectors? He was justified in saying that the revenue was not collected as it ought to have been. What he asserted was, that govt. should now be in possession of these arrears, and that the money was withheld somewhere in its passage from the pocket of the subject into the treasury.

Mr. *Francis* thought it very unfortunate that the two right hon. gent. did not understand one another. There must, he apprehended, be some extraordinary intricacy in the question, as they could neither convince one another, nor satisfy the house which was in the right. If what the right hon. gent. on the same bench (Mr. Corry) had said, was really the fact, he was completely convinced he had cleared himself from every imputation of blame; but it was rather singular they could not come to a proper understanding. The English members, he was sure, must go away very dissatisfied, as the right hon. gent. opposite had given no satisfactory answer, and as the case required some explanation to those who were unacquainted with Irish affairs. He did not know what the items of those balances might be, but he understood they must be arrears of money in their hands, and that the arrears must be of such a nature as were not allowed by law to lie in this manner in hand. It would give more satisfaction, he thought, could the accounts with the different items be laid before the house.

Mr. *Foster* said, what he meant to contend was, that every farthing of arrears mentioned in the paper before the house, ought to have been collected, and in the treasury of Ireland; that the arrears outstanding were those which ought not to have been suffered to lie out. This was all he could say at present; there were various items in the balances which would be laid before the house, and might be examined hereafter: upon these he would give every information in his power, but he could not say any thing more on the subject, till all the accounts were laid before the house.

Mr. *Hawthorne* said, that in order to be satisfied whether the balances were actually in the hands of the collectors, he applied to a right hon. friend of his, who was sec. to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and from him he had learned, that a month's credit was given for the payment of the duties on excise; but that the collectors were charged with the money for that time, although they could not have received it. This was the reason why so much money appeared to be in their hands. He hoped this statement would remove any impression that might have been made unfavourable to the govt. of Ireland; and that those who had supposed her to be, from the statements of the right hon. gent. in a sinking state, would now entertain a different opinion.

Mr. *Foster* denied his having ever said that Ireland was in a sinking state; on the contrary, he had declared, that by great efforts she was capable of retrieving all those difficulties.—The motion of Mr. Corry was then agreed to. After which he moved, "that there be laid before the house a copy of all the general orders issued by the commissioners of excise and customs in Ireland, since 1800, for the better collecting and paying in of the revenues of Ireland. Ordered.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 5.

[Minutes.]—The Irish Stamp Duty bill, and the Exchequer Bills bill, were read a 3d time and passed.—The Counterfeit Dollars bill was read a 2d time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.—The Irish Customs and Excise bill was committed, and the report received.—The bill for relieving the Incumbents of certain livings in the city of London, was brought from the Commons, and read a 1st time.—Lord Hawkesbury presented specifications of the qualifications of deputy lieutenants and others, from the time the last accounts were presented, to the present time.

[Conduct of Judge Fox.—The Marquis of *Abercorn* presented articles of complaint against the hon. Mr. Justice Fox, grounded on the petition presented against that judge. He said, that the articles of complaint contained every topic that had been noticed by him on former days, except what related to certain high military officers, and that he had not been able yet to reduce into a proper form. He would only add, that whatever proceedings their lordships might adopt on this subject, whatever might be the form, and manner, and time of those proceedings, he would say, that he was as ready now to undertake the part that might fall to his share, as he ever could or should be.—The articles of complaint were then read: they were under four principal heads; the first stated, that Mr. Justice Fox had urged upon the grand jury of the county of Fermanagh, that it was their duty to address his Majesty to remove the lord lieutenant and govt. of Ireland, with the intent to excite discontent against his Majesty's govt. The 2d stated, that Mr. Justice Fox had endeavoured to induce the commanding officer of a corps of volunteer yeomanry to procure an address from the corps to the same effect, and that this was done with the same evil design. The 3d stated all the complaints which have appeared in the petitions of the high sheriff of the county, and of the petty jurors; the high sheriff complaining of being fined 500l. by Mr. Justice Fox in an arbitrary manner, and the petty jurors of being stigmatized by him, in his judicial capacity, as being unworthy to serve as jurors in future. Under this head, also, was included the complaint of Mr. Hart, as stated in his petition. The last stated, that Mr. Justice Fox had grossly and wantonly insulted the Marquis of Abercorn, representing him as withdrawing himself from his duty, as a governor of a county, from sulky and selfish motives; and this article concluded with stating, that Mr. Justice Fox had afterwards publicly acknowledged that he had done so, to vex and annoy the said marquis.—The articles were ordered to lie on the table, and, on the motion of the Marquis of Abercorn, a copy of the same was ordered to be furnished to Mr. Justice Fox.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 5.

[Minutes.]—Sir E. Nepean presented to the house a return of the number of men raised in Ireland for the army of reserve. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Alderman Combe brought up the report of the committee on the London Coal Market bill, which was agreed to, and the bill was ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—Sir E. Nepean brought in a bill to continue the act of the 27th of his present Majesty, for the better execution of the law and preservation of the peace in counties at large in Ireland. Read a 1st time.—A similar order was made with respect to a bill to exempt from payment of postage, letters and packets sent or received by the quarter-master general, adjutant general, barrack-master general, and by certain persons in each of those offices; also a bill to explain and amend certain acts respecting Hackney Coachmen; also a bill to regulate the appointment of commissioners for carrying the Property act into execution; also a bill to repeal the several duties upon stamps, and to enact other duties in lieu thereof.—The Foreign Troops Enlistment bill was read a 3d time and passed; as was the bill to relieve certain Incumbents of Livings in London; also the bill for paving, lighting, and cleansing the several streets, &c. in the borough of Southwark.—Mr. Rose brought in a bill for creating certain Free Ports in the West Indies. Read a 1st time.—A message from the Lords stated their lordships' assent to the Exchequer Bills bill, and the Irish and Scotch Stamp Duty bill.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of Lady Kilwarden's Annuity bill, which was agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—The hon. member also brought up a farther report from the Expiring Laws committee; the resolutions of which were agreed to, and bills ordered accordingly.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in a bill for the better support of his Majesty's household, and for the better maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown. In answer to a question from Mr. Johnstone, he stated, that the several items of the civil list, to which the proposed augmentation of the revenue was to be appropriated, would be laid before the house to-morrow. The bill was read a 1st time, and ordered to be printed.—Mr. Foster moved the farther consideration of the report of the committee on the Corn bill. On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a clause was added to the bill, by which it is enacted, that notwithstanding any prohibition which may be issued against the importation of corn into this country, any ships which may appear to have bonâ fide taken in their cargoes of corn in the ports of the Baltic or America, before they could have been apprised of such order of prohibition, shall be allowed to unlade, and dispose of such cargoes in this country. The several amendments were agreed to, and the bill was ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.

Irish Additional Force Bill.]—Sir *E. Nepean* moved the farther consideration of the report of the Irish Additional Force bill.

Col. *O'Dell* said, he understood that this bill was to be re-committed.

Mr. *Foster* observed, that if the hon. gent. had any objections to offer, or any amendments to propose, in the detail of the bill, he would assent to its re-committal.

Col. *O'Dell* said, he had some objections to offer with respect to the power which it was proposed to vest in the lord lieut. for fixing the quotas to be furnished by the several counties, and he conceived that the committee was the proper place in which to state them.

The *Speaker* thought it right to state, that at the time this bill went through a committee, there was an express understanding that it should be re-committed.

Mr. *Foster* declared, that he had no objection to the re-committal, if desired.

Mr. *Dawson* said he had not read this bill, but he had just understood from an hon. friend of his, that it was a very objectionable measure. His hon. friend had stated to him, that there was not a clause in it to which he did not object, except the last, "that it might be altered or repealed within the present session." The hon. member wished for time to investigate the subject.—The re-committal of the bill was then ordered for to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 6.

[Minutes.]—The bill to prevent Irish offenders from coming to England, or removing from one county to another in Ire land, went through a committee, and was ordered to be reported on Monday.—Witnesses were examined in Lingham's Divorce bill, as to the present residence of Mrs. Lingham. The further proceedings were adjourned to Monday next.—The bill for enabling foreigners to enlist into the English service, and the London Coal Market bill, were brought from the Commons, and read a 1st time.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 6.

[Minutes.]—Lord Marsham reported from the Middlesex committee that C. Willock was guilty of gross prevarication, and concluded with moving, that he be taken into custody. The motion was agreed to, and the Speaker issued his warrant for the committal of C. Willock to Newgate.—A message from the Lords stated, that their lordships had agreed to the Irish Duties and Customs' bill.—Mr. Owen from the India-house, presented the particulars of the sum of 1,501,666l. received from govt. by the E. India Comp. together with the interest at the rate of 4 per cent. thereon. Ordered to lie on the table.—The London Coal Market bill was read a 3d time, and passed.—The Chatham Ordnance Land bill was reported, and ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—The Hackney Coach bill was read a 2d time, and committed for to-morrow; also the Stamp Regulation bill.—The Civil List bill was read a 2d time, and ordered to be committed on Monday; also the Irish County Justices' bill.—The West India Free Port Bill was read a 2d time, and committed for to-morrow.—The Quarter-Masters' Franking bill was read a 2d time, and committed for Monday.—Lady Kilwarden's Pension bill was read a 3d time and passed.—The Expiring Laws bill was committed, and ordered to be reported to-morrow.—The Irish Small Notes bill was read a 2d time, and committed for to-morrow.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice, that on Monday next he should submit a proposition to the house respecting the holders of the Loyalty Loan.—The order for the 3d reading of the Corn Trade Regulation bill was then read. Several amendments were agreed to, in general tending to lower the prices at which corn might be imported.—Some further regulations were suggested to be necessary; but, as the hon members who suggested the necessity of making such amendments, were not prepared to submit them to the house at the time, the further reading of the bill was deferred till to-morrow.

[Lottery.]—The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose to bring forward his motion for raising a sum of money for the ensuing year, by way of Lottery. He meant that the number of tickets should be 80,000, the same as last year; that the price of each ticket should be 10l. and the whole sum be 800,000l. The whole should be divided into 3 lotteries. He should also propose that, instead of raising a specific sum at one given time, by which the public might be deprived, as was the case last year, of the chance of having tickets on advantageous terms, the commissioners be now empowered to take advantage of the market, by making bargains from time to time. This would have the effect of extending the competition as widely as possible among the individuals who should contract for the lottery. He then moved, "that it be the opinion of the committee, that the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's treasury have power to contract for the sum of 800,000l. to be raised by lottery tickets, each ticket not to exceed 10l." The resolution was agreed to, and the house being resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[London Docks Bill.]—Mr. *Huskisson* said, he supposed the motion he was about to make, was one which no gent. would have any objection to. On the contrary, he believed it would give satisfaction to every body, to hear that the London Docks, towards the opening of which he now proposed certain regulations, were in such a state of forwardness, that it was expected they would be opened for the reception and accommodation of shipping, early in the month of Sept. The bill he meant to move for, was to have three objects in view. First, to give additional facility to the trade of the port of London; 2d, to provide for the greater security of that trade; and 3d, to provide for the greater security of the revenue arising out of it. There would be in the bill a variety of details, which he should not now enter into; but these constituted its principal objects. All the regulations that should be contained in the bill, had been already concerted and planned by the directors of the company; and met with the approbation of all to whom they had been submitted. He then concluded with moving, "that leave be given to bring in a bill for the warehousing certain goods within the limits of certain docks, which were made under the provisions of an act of the 40th of the king, for the better accommodation and security of shipping in the port of London." Leave given.

[Irish Additional Force Bill.]—On the motion that the house should resolve itself into a committee on the Irish Additional Force Bill,

Mr. *Giles*, observed, there was a clause which vested a power in the lord lieut. to order what sum he may think fit to be given to the different parishes for the raising of their quota of men. He did not mean to insinuate, by any means, that a person in that high official situation would, in any instance, be guilty of an abuse of such power. The rule by which bounties were formerly fixed in parishes was, to allow them three-fourths of the general regulation bounty, at the time of their quota being raised. There was a possibility, however, that by resigning a parliamentary power up to the discretion of an individual, he might order, that in particular counties or districts, only one guinea should be given for each man so raised. To prevent all possibility of a misapplication of discretionary power, he should move that the terms of the clause be altered, so as to allow the parish bounties to be 3-4ths of the regulation bounty as heretofore.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* agreed in this suggestion, and consented that 3-4ths of the bounty for the line should be specified.

Mr. *Sheridan* expressed his approbation of the amendment. He was always averse to vesting extraordinary powers in any individual, while such powers were usually exercised by parliament. According to the original wording of the clause, counties which were suspected of disaffection, without there being any proof of the existence of such disaffection, might possibly be allowed such very small bounties that it would be impossible for them to raise the men without paying more than the penalty which the law would levy of them in case of their total neglect or omission. The consequence of this would be, that they would pay the 20l. to govt., and they might raise men where they could get them cheaper. The bill would then become a money bill, instead of a bill for raising men in such counties. The same defect, however, existed in the English Additional Force bill, which had passed the house. He hoped that the clause would be amended early in the next session of parliament. To this amendment he was very certain the Irish gent. would very readily give their support, as they had been so very active in supporting that measure, even with such an inaccuracy among the provisions of the bill.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, July 7.

[Minutes.]—Mr. Foster gave notice, that he should move a vote of credit for Ireland, and also the ways and means, on Monday next.—Mr. Swinburne presented at the bar the annual accounts of the commissioners of Westminster-bridge, which were laid on the table.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer delivered the following message, at the bar of the house, from his Majesty: "G. R.—His Majesty, relying "on the experienced zeal and affection of "his faithful Commons, and considering "that it may be of the utmost importance "to provide for such emergencies as "may arise, is desirous that this house "will enable him to take all such mea- "sures as may be necessary to disappoint "or defeat any enterprise or design of his "enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs "may require." On the motion of Mr. Pitt, it was ordered to be referred to a committee of supply.—Mr. Pitt presented an estimate of the annual charge on the civil list, which was laid on the table.—The Irish Commissioners' bill, and the London Dock Warehousing bill, were read a first time.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the Irish Additional Force bill, which was agreed to, and the bill was ordered to be read a 3d time on Monday, as was also the Irish Malt bill.—The Chatham Land bill was passed.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee of Ways and Means for granting a sum to his Majesty by way of Lottery, which was agreed to, and a bill ordered thereon.—The Tobago Free Port bill was ordered to be reported on Monday next.—The house in a committee, went through the bill for the better execution of the laws in the counties at large in Ireland, and ordered the report to be received on Monday.

[CORN TRADE BILL.]—The Corn Trade bill was read a 3d time, and several amendments brought up and agreed to. On the question that the bill do pass,

Col. *Stanley* said, he wished that the general average had been taken by the districts of the whole country, and not by the maritime districts only. He wished also that the price had been lower, as it would particularly affect the interests of the people in Lancashire, who do not grow so much corn in some years as amounts to the demand of the people residing in the county.

Mr. *Western* was certain the hon. gent. had no occasion to be alarmed in the manner which he seemed to be. He had made a most accurate observation respecting the average prices in the county of Lancaster, and those of the maritime counties, and he had found the difference so small, that he thought it could hardly be felt. He mentioned the average prices at several different periods, in order to shew that Lancashire was no more likely to suffer from the present average prices than any other county.

Mr. *Jefferey* thought that the landed interest had in this bill fixed the prices so high, that the parliament would be obliged to lower them in the next session.

Mr. *Fellowes* said, the object of the bill was to keep the prices as equal as possible; and, at the same time, to give a due encouragement to agriculture. This was what the landed interest were particularly interested in, and which he thought it their peculiar duty to attend to.

Mr *Foster* said, he should be sorry the house should part with any idea that Lancashire was likely to be injured by the operation of this bill. He was certain that could never be the case, as that county had Ireland and Quebec open to it when corn came to a certain price; and the Baltic was also open to it after a fixed price, which, though not so immediate, was such as to take away that degree of alarm which the hon. member had mentioned.

Mr. *Leigh* opposed the measure, on the ground that it would tend to raise the price of corn precisely at those times in which many of the commercial parts of the country would, from stagnation of trade, be least able to bear such an augmentation. He had particularly in his contemplation that part of the kingdom with which he was himself connected, the commercial county of Lancaster, and, he contended, that it was unjust and oppressive to subject that part of the country to the same general and unyielding regulations, which, in other districts, might be very proper; but which, in Lancashire, from the insufficient quantity of grain grown there, the uncertainty and expence of importation from abroad, and the want of easy water communication with corn counties, must operate as a most grievous hardship.—The bill was then read a 3d time and passed.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 9.

[MINUTES.]—In the appeal, Hogg, v. Lashley, the Lord Chancellor spoke for a considerable time; after which the judgment was postponed till to-morrow.—Mr. Valence, from the Victualling-office, presented an Account of all contracts for serving the Royal Navy with Wine, from the 5th of Jan. 1800, to the 5th of June 1804.—Mr. Montague, from the Chamberlain of the City of London's office, presented certain Accounts annually laid before parliament, agreeably to an act of parliament.—The bill for granting an annuity to the family of the late Lord Viscount Kilwarden, the bill for amending an act for the better regulating of Chimney-sweepers and their Apprentices, the bill for vesting certain messuages in Trustees, for the use of his Majesty's Ordnance, and the Corn Bounty Regulation bill; were brought from the Commons, and read the 1st time.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 9.

[MINUTES.]—The Chimney Sweepers and the Wedenbeck Ordnance bills were read a 3d time and passed.—A message from the Lords informed the house, that their lordships had agreed to the Counterfeit Dollars bill.—Lord Marsham reported from the committee appointed to try the merits of the several petitions complaining of an undue election for the county of Middlesex; that it was the opinion of the committee, that Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. was not duly elected; that W. Mainwaring, Esq. was duly elected, and ought to have been returned as the sitting member at the said election. But it having been proved before the committee, that W. Mainwaring, Esq. did commit certain acts of bribery at that election, the committee resolved, that he was thereby incapacitated from sitting in the present parliament; and that the said election was void, so far as it related to Sir F. Burdett. The committee also resolved, that none of the petitions, nor the opposition made to them, were frivolous or vexatious.—Lord Marsham then moved, "that a new writ be issued for the election of a knight of the shire for the county of Middlesex, in the room of Sir F. Burdett, whose election was declared void."—Lord Marsham then reported certain other resolutions from the committee, which were as follow: "that on the 13th, 14th, and 15th days of the poll, when there was a majority of legal votes in favour of W. Mainwaring, Esq. Robert Albion Cox, Esq. and Sir W. Rawlins, Knt. the sheriffs who presided at the election, did wilfully, knowingly, and corruptly, poll 300 persons, claiming a right to vote, under a fictitious pretence that they were freeholders, in consequence of being joint proprietors of a certain mill, called the "Good-Intent mill," situate in the parish of Isleworth; and that on the 15th day of the poll, after a majority was thus established for Sir F. Burdett, the said sheriffs rejected the votes of several other persons, on the same grounds for which they had admitted those of others; that they refused to hear counsel upon those votes. That the said sheriffs, in thus deciding on the validity of such votes, had acted contrary to the conduct pursued by themselves on other occasions, and in gross violation of their duty. And it appeared to the committee, that the obvious tendency of their conduct was to admit persons not having a right to poll, and to hold out an encouragement to the commission of perjury." On the motion of Lord Marsham, the report was then ordered to be taken into consideration on to-morrow se'nnight, also to be printed; and it was ordered that so much of the minutes of the evidence taken before the committee, as related to the said report, be laid before the house for the use of the members.—The Attorney General obtained leave to bring in a bill to obviate certain inconveniencies experienced in the Accomptant General's office in the courts of Chancery, in the execution of the Property Tax act.—A new writ was ordered to be issued for a member to serve in parliament for the borough of Knaresborough, in Yorkshire, in the room of W. Cavendish, Esq. who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—The Lottery bill was brought in by Mr. Huskisson, read a 1st, and ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow.—The Irish Additional Force bill was read a 3d time and passed; as was the Irish Malt Duty bill.—The Civil List bill, the Irish Officers' Fee Regulation bill, and the London Docks bill, were read a 2d time, and ordered to be committed.—The house having resolved into a committee, Mr. Foster moved, "that the chairman should be instructed to apply to the house for leave to bring in a bill to permit Spirits distilled in Ireland to be warehoused for exportation, and also to regulate the exportation of such spirits as shall not be warehoused."—The motion was agreed to, the house resumed, and the report was ordered to be brought up to-morrow.—The Hackney Coach bill was reported, and ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—Mr. Johnson, from the office of the Chief Secretary of Ireland presented at the bar an Account of the amount of payments into the Irish Treasury, of balances in the hands of the Receiver General, and also of the Post Office. Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.—The West India Free Ports bill, and the Irish County Law Execution bill, were reported, and ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.

[ADDITIONAL STAMP DUTIES BILL.]—On a motion being made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "that the Additional Stamp Duties bill be committed on Wednesday next,"

Mr. *Sheridan* rose to express his earnest wish that some longer time might be allowed for considering a measure of so important and complicated a nature as the present. It was of this importance, that no less a sum than 800,000l. was proposed to be raised on stamps, in addition to the duties they already paid. He thought this measure was nothing more than a modification, or a consolidation of the old duties; instead of which, it went to make an enormous addition to them. As the schedule now stood, it was impossible to understand the subject, or know the difference between the new and the old duties. In one column there should have been an account of the old duty, and in another, and a corresponding, there should be an account of the new duties; he hoped something of this kind would be done, and that longer time might be allowed, to enable gent. to understand the measure; which at present appeared to be unjust, oppressive, and not likely to be productive. A great number of persons, whose interest was likely to be affected by the bill, were much alarmed on account of it, and for that reason, he hoped the right hon. gent. would have no objection to postpone it to Friday or Monday next. The hon. gent. afterwards moved that it should be postponed to Friday next.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that the hon. gent. must certainly have been mistaken, if he had supposed that this measure would be nothing more than a simple consolidation of the duties on stamps, without any addition being made to the old duties. It must be in the recollection of the house, that the right hon. gent. who lately filled the office which he now held, did a considerable time ago, give notice that a proposition would be made to raise the sum of 800,000l. by making an addition to the Stamp duties; therefore, neither the house nor the public, could have been taken by surprise on the subject; and when he himself brought forward the measure, a week ago, he said the schedule should be printed, which was done on Saturday last; and, without stating what the items were at that time, he barely observed, that an addition of 1-third, and, in some respects, of 1-4th, was intended to be laid on the existing duties. There would be time enough to consider this bill before it should pass; and as he saw no reason why the house might not enter into the discussion of it on the day proposed, he could not agree to put it off.

Mr. *Martin* wished the bill to be postponed.

Mr. *Fonblanque* observed, it was very true, the house might have heard of its being intended to increase the stamp duties; however, the question at present did not apply to the principle, but to the detail of the measure, and it was in order to understand the detail, that time was required. But, for his own part, he objected to the principle of it, because it went directly to affect the administration of justice in a most extraordinary manner; and he would ask the house if it would be fit to put it in the power of any individual to go forth and say, he could not find justice on account of the enormous expence attending all legal proceedings? He was sorry to find that a measure of this kind should be so much treated as a matter of course. This was not a time to oppress the house with measures of this kind; every thing should be done that might secure their confidence in the govt. He really believed the right hon. gent. now felt doubts on the subject of this measure; that he had resorted to it, not as a measure of choice, but of necessity; and that he did not do so without a considerable degree of anxiety. He ought to have consulted every man in the house, and in the country, capable of giving him information, before he thus invaded the administration of justice. If this bill should pass into a law, as it now stood, the officers of the courts of justice would no longer be able to go through their ordinary business; they could not raise their prices, for these were fixed by law. The fees of the courts were fixed and stationary, and they must continue so, unless changed by act of parliament. He would ask the right hon. gent. whether these persons ought not now to be heard against this bill, and whether sufficient time and opportunity ought not to be allowed them for that purpose?

The *Attorney General* said, he was certain that all persons interested in this measure would have full information of it, and have sufficient opportunity to state their grievances. The schedule of the new duties was delivered on Friday last, and the parties interested must have had time between then and Wednesday next, to consider it.

Dr. *Laurence* said, he was confident that those who introduced this measure did not, at the time, understand the details of of it; and, therefore, he hoped that sufficient time might be allowed for considering them. He insisted that the bill would produce great mischiefs in the courts in which he practised; he instanced one case (the Marquis of Winchester's) where the stamps of the pleadings amounted to 73l.; but by the present bill, would have amounted to between 11 and 12,00l. Although this part of the bill had been corrected within the last few hours, yet, when such monstrous inconveniences might proceed from a single clause in it, he thought it was a very sufficient reason to take full timeto discuss it before it should pass into a law. He should wish to give professional men time to consider it.

Lord *A. Hamilton* was of opinion, that a measure of the kind now before the house, ought not to be hurried through without attending to its details, and as a short delay could be productive of no bad consequences, he professed himself ready to support the motion.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, the schedule was only printed on Saturday, and the persons who were the objects of the bill had not got it until that morning.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he had that morning received a copy of resolutions entered into last Saturday by several persons calling themselves a Law Society; and although, according to the hon. gent.'s statement, they had not received the schedule until that morning, they passed those resolutions, probably without knowing any thing of the subject. It appeared, therefore, that they were prepared to oppose the measure before they saw it; it could not, therefore, be contended that they wanted information on the subject. For his own part, he did not now wish to argue the question; nor was this the proper stage for arguing the general principle. As to the fact stated by a learned gent. on the other side of the house, of a certain rate of duty being increased from 73l. to 120l. that was merely a defect in a particular item, which had been rectified, and which might be amended in the committee. The lawyers had no occasion to be so alarmed as they appeared to be; they surely were not that defenceless class of beings who were likely to sustain an injury, in the manner that was stated; and he himself had too high a respect for a profession to which he once belonged, to propose any measure that would subject them to inconvenience.

Dr. *Laurence* could not help thinking that the bill was not understood by those who had brought it forward, and that if they themselves did not understand the various details of the measure, it could not be supposed that the house could immediately understand the subject without proper deliberation.

Mr. *Windham* thought it was natural that delay was wished for, when a bill of this kind came upon men by surprise, and when the author himself was not well acquainted with it. It was a bill which amounted to something very great in its consequences; and, in discussing it, it was necessary to have the aid of persons out of that house; and the very circumstance of people being unacquainted with it, was the best reason why it ought to be delayed.—The house then divided, when there appeared for the original motion 78, against it 33. The commitment of the bill was accordingly ordered for Wednesday.

[VOTES OF CREDIT.]—The house having resolved itself into a committee of supply, and his Majesty's message, with several estimates and accounts, being referred to the same; and the message being then read,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that in consequence of the recommendation contained in his Majesty's most gracious message, he should vote that the sum of 2,500,000l. be granted by a vote of credit, and the object would be to enable his Majesty to provide for any unforeseen expences which the exigencies of affairs might require. But, besides the expences that might hereafter be incurred, there were others for which no provision had been made in the supplies of the year, and which should be paid out of this sum. Among these was the sum of between 5 and 600,000l. for paying the arrears on the civil list. The next was the sum of 320,000l. to make good the deficiencies in the estimates of the navy. The additional expence attending volunteer corps, in consequence of the days of exercise having been increased, and so great a number (170,000 men) having been called out on permanent duty, amounted to 160,000l. The whole expence was 1,200,000l. As other corps were still likely to come out on permanent duty, it would be necessary to reserve a sum of between 20 and 30,000l. for meeting that expence. After the expences already incurred should be defrayed, there would remain a sum of about 1,300,000l. applicable to any emergencies that might arise. He then moved that the sum of 2,500,000l. be granted to his Majesty; which was agreed to.

Mr. *Foster* moved a similar vote of credit, for 800,000l. for Ireland, which was also agreed to.

[BRITISH MUSEUM.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he should next call the attention of the committee to a subject which had produced some conversation on a former day. He alluded to the British Museum. Since then, a plan and estimate had been laid before the house, from which he was confident every gent. would be satisfied that every necessary enquiry had been made on the subject. He then moved, "that the sum of 8000l. be granted to the trustees of the British Museum, to enable them to carry into execution the trust committed to them.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, he had understood from a right hon. gent. opposite, that a regulation had been adopted, of admitting 75 persons instead of 35, every day to the Museum. He was certainly happy to hear of this improvement; but thought the right hon. gent. might have been candid enough to have told them when this regulation was introduced, as to his surprise he had heard, that it had only existed since the 8th of June last.

Mr. *Rose* could not hear without astonishment the insinuation of the hon. gent., as he had expressly stated on the occasion alluded to, that the new regulation had taken place in the course of the month of June last.

The *Speaker* said, that being one of the trustees of the Museum, in virtue of the situation he had the honour to fill in that house, he could not let this matter now pass by unexplained. So far back as two years ago, the trustees had paid attention to this very subject, which was now under discussion, and had agreed that additional officers should be appointed, and greater facility afforded the public. The house must, therefore, perceive, that the measure recently adopted was not a sudden alteration, but one that had been long determined upon.—The resolution was then agreed to.

[SIERRA LEONA.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he should next move a sum of money for the establishment of Sierra Leona. Last year 10,000l. had been voted; but the grant was delayed on account of the report made of the state of the settlement by a naval officer, who had been on that station. This officer had since been examined before the committee of that house, and their report must convince the house of the utility of that establishment. Besides the 10,000l. already voted, and 8000l. for fortifications, there would also be required the sum of 10,000l. more; making in all 28,000l He was confident that this colony would make a considerable progress in promoting industry among the natives of Africa; and, when similar settlements should be formed in other parts of the coast, a proof would be afforded how superior free labour was to that of slaves; and a system might at length be established much more congenial to the feelings of every man than the present trade. He then moved, "that the sum of 28,000l. be granted for the support of the settlement of Sierra Leona."

Mr. *Dent* opposed the grant of this money, as being to be paid for the interests of a colony that was not deserving that consideration which many persons gave to it, and which, he was sorry to observe his right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) was so ready to favour. He referred to the report of Capt. Hallowell, who had been sent out on purpose to inspect the state of the colony, and who had given it as his decided opinion, that it could never be of any service to this country. He insisted, that as a commercial concern, it had entirely failed; and, as a proof of it, he asserted that the shares of the company were now at 95 per cent. discount. It was therefore evident it was a speculation which had failed, and which obstinacy alone was the occasion of persisting in. Even the Maroons, who had been sent there, were desirous of being removed; and he could not consent to vote away the money of his constituents for the purpose of supporting so losing a concern.

Mr. *Windham* said, the original object to form a settlement there, was with a view of civilizing the manners of the people, and by degrees to get rid of the slave trade. The question appeared to him to stand thus: if it does not answer as a commercial concern, is it likely to do so in any other? He approved of any plan that had for its object to teach men the arts of civil life; but he confessed that he entertained much doubt of the practicability of the project under consideration.

Mr. *Fuller* said, he heard a good deal about justice and humanity, but there was a great deal of distress among the people of this country, and therefore he condemned every proposition for granting money for the support of visionary schemes of philanthropy. In his opinion, 'charity ought to begin at home.'

Mr. *H. Thornton* said, no infant colony was ever set on foot without having great difficulties to encounter, and without being aided and assisted by govt. The Sierra Leona company had certainly encountered very severe difficulties. They had struggled with a war of ten years continuance, under great disadvantages; during the greatest part of which time they had no fort to protect them against the attacks of the natives, which was one considerable cause of the ill success of the settlement. The chief evils were now removed, and the question was, whether parliament having transplanted colonies there from Nova Scotia (the Maroons, &c.), will continue to support the expence, or will stop short at the present moment? In his opinion, parliament were in some respect bound to give this support. The company had actually expended the sum asked for, and had not received the 10,000l. voted last year. The company could not support the colonies which had been thrown on them by govt. nor could they at present withdraw themselves from the concern. The sum now proposed to be voted, was to indemnify the company till govt. should take the colonies formed there into their own hands, at which time, whenever it might arrive, the company were willing to resign it.

Dr. *Laurence* considered this as an experiment of philanthropy, and as such approved of it; but thought, that the experience of 16 years was sufficient to shew, that this experiment was not likely to succeed; he therefore thought the house should pause before it assented to the motion proposed.

Lord *Henry Petty* thought the case stood thus: either that we must abandon this colony altogether, and with it any idea of cultivating a liberal intercourse with the people of Africa, or else the institution must have the support demanded. The latter was certainly the alternative which his sense of duty urged him to advocate. The principle of this plan was extended in the way mentioned by the right hon. mover of the proposition before the committee, he had not the least doubt that it would tend to the benefit of the people of Africa, and redound highly to the honour and glory of this country.

Mr. *Patteson* said, that from the evidence he had heard before the committee, he was convinced the settlement could never answer, and was, therefore, averse from voting the public money to support it.

Mr. *Wilberforce* strongly recommended perseverance in this laudable undertaking, which, even from the experience already had, proved that the people of Africa were capable of free labour and cultivation. This experience, however, was not a sufficient criterion of the practicability of the plan, for this reason, that since the commencement it had never had a fair trial, this country having been almost the whole of the time engaged in war. The forts proposed to be erected were become necessary for the defence of the settlers against our European enemy, and also against any attacks from the natives.

Mr. *Francis* observed, that it now appeared, that instead of seeking to cultivate a liberal intercourse with the natives, we were about to construct forts to terrify them. The apprehension of attack from them was very natural, for he saw no right that we had at all to take possession of their land, or make an establishment there. He was surprised the company should attempt to persist, after so many years experience, that they could not make the settlement answer as a commercial concern. He doubted much whether, from such people as we were likely to carry there, the morals of the natives will be considerably improved. He rather feared, that our endeavours to settle there, would be the means of carrying among them bloodshed and desolation.

Mr. *H. Thornton* explained, in the course of which he said, he thought parliament in some degree pledged to grant this support annually.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he could not consider the house as pledged to any thing further than the grant of the present year; it might perhaps become a permanent vote, but that will depend on circumstances.

Mr. *Fuller* said, that the way in which the purchase of the land was made, was by getting the king of the country drunk, and when he was well soaked with brandy, he gave an excellent bargain. He asked whether it was delicate for those who were concerned in this colony, to vote for a resolution which went to put money into their own pockets?

Mr. *Wilberforce* stated, that nothing could be more unlikely, from the character of the officer who purchased these lands and from other circumstances, than that the purchase had been made while the king was drunk.—The question was then put and carried without a division, though the gallery was cleared for a few minutes.—On strangers being re-admitted, the committee were voting various resolutions of sums to be granted for miscellaneous services, such as law charges, Bow-street police, conviction of felons, the stationary for the two houses of parliament, &c. After which the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

The house then resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, "that the sum of 2,500,000l. granted by the committee of supply, be raised by loans on Exchequer bills." Ordered.—Mr. Foster moved, "that the sum of 800,000l. Irish currency, granted in the committee of supply, be raised in Ireland by Exchequer bills." Ordered.—It was also resolved, that towards raising the supply, there should be a stamp duty of 5s. on every promissory bank note, from 20l. to 100l. 3l. 3s. on game certificates; 1s. 1d. on all boxes, &c. containing patent or quack medicines; and 10l. per cent. on warehousing home-made spirits in Ireland. The report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 10.

[MINUTES.]—The royal assent was given, by commission, to 14 public and private bills: among the former were the Scotch Additional Defence bill, the Irish Customs Regulation, Linen Manufacturers, Irish Stamp Duties, and the East India Prize Goods bill. The Lords Commissioners were, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Dartmouth, and Lord Walsingham.—The Irish Additional Defence bill was brought up from the Commons by Sir E. Nepean, and read a 1st time.—The Lord Chancellor quitted the woolsack, and resumed the delivery of his opinions relative to the appeal Hogg v. Lashley; which having done at considerable length, he expressed his wishes to learn the general sense of their lordships upon the subject, particularly the opinions of a noble and learned friend (the Earl of Rosslyn), who had paid a considerable degree of attention to the investigation of the case, previously to his reducing the propositions thereon to regular form, for the final decision of their lordships. The Earl of Rosslyn delivered his opinions shortly upon the case, and seemed entirely to concur with the leading positions advanced by his noble and learned friend. The farther consideration of the case was then adjourned till Thursday next.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages.—The Corn Trade bill was ordered to be printed for the use of their lordships.—Earl Stanhope presented a petition from Mr. Francis Chambers, merchant of Liverpool, against the bill, alleging that the measure would have an injurious tendency, especially in the county of Lancaster, that it would tend to increase the poor's rates, &c. and praying to be heard by his counsel against the bill. The petition was ordered to lie on the table.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 10.

[MINUTES.]—The house was summoned by the Black Rod to the bar of the House of Lords, where the royal assent was given, by commission, to the Irish Customs and Excise Duty bill, the Irish Stamp Duty bill, the Exchequer Bills bill, and the Irish Linen Manufacture bill.—On the motion of Mr. Barnard, it was ordered that there be laid before the house an account of the grants for forwarding the grand canal of Ireland, since its commencement, together with a copy of the correspondence between the directors of the Grand Canal Company, and the commissioners of Inland Navigation, relative to the lowering of the tolls, and the progress that had been made towards that object.—The Hackney Coach bill, and the Cotton Manufacturers bill, were read a 3d time and passed; as was the bill for the preservation of the peace in the counties at large in Ireland, and the Jamaica Free Port bill.—The Civil List bill was reported, and ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—A bill for removing inconveniencies suffered by the Accomptant General under the Property Tax act, was brought in by the Attorney General, read a 1st time, and ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow; as were two bills brought in by Mr. Alexander, one for encouraging the Importation of Oak Bark for Tanning, and the other for the Improvement of the Trade of the Isle of Man.—Mr. Owen, from the East India House, presented an Account of the separate fund of that Company, and the payments thereout from the year 1793, to the 1st of March, 1804. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Poole, from the sec. of state's office, presented an abstract of the returns made by the overseers of the poor.—Mr. Rose moved, that the proper officer do insert the expected returns as they come in, till the abstract should be complete; and that when complete, it should be printed. Ordered.—Mr. Foster presented a bill for warehousing home-made spirits in Ireland, which was read a 1st time, and ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow.—Mr. Francis gave notice, that before any Irish business was brought on to-morrow, it was his intention to draw the attention of the house to the manner in which the business of Ireland was at present conducted.

[LOYALTY LOAN.]—On the motion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, the house resolved itself into a committee on the several acts relative to the Loyalty Loan. The right hon. gent then rose and stated, that as the subject to which the resolutions he meant to submit referred, had been so amply discussed at a former period of the sessions, he should not, on the present occasion, trespass longer on the attention of the house than was nenecessary, to give a short history of the nature of the transaction, and to describe the motions with which he intended to conclude. Gent. would recollect, that in 1797, a loan had been contracted for, which had received the denomination of the Loyalty Loan, and that variations had taken place in the terms of that loan; 1st, between the notice which had been sent to the Bank upon the proposition of the loan, and the resolution of the committee of ways and means respecting it; and 2dly, between that resolution and the bill founded upon it. The variations he alluded to were only material in the consequences to which they led. In the first notice it was held out to persons disposed to contract for the Loyalty Loan, that their capital would be restored, on application, at the end of two years after a definitive treaty of peace. In the resolution of the committee of ways and means, it was stated that 3 months' notice should be given before such capital could be obtained; and in the bill this notice was extended to 6 months. This bill also prescribed that the payments should be made only at particular periods, namely, on the 10th of April and 10th of Oct. in each year. Here there was an evident departure from the first notice, and the resolution of the committee of ways and means, upon the latter of which the contractors for any loan usually advanced their money, and generally the first deposit was made before any bill was passed. According to the bill passed upon this subject, it was maintained that the holders of the loan under consideration, were not entitled to demand their capital until the 10th of April next, although they were of opinion that they had a right to receive it on the 10th of Oct. and that the 6 months notice were to be considered as concurrent with, and not superadded to, the two years referred to. With this opinion he fully concurred, and he could not conceive that a fair construction of the letter and spirit of the act could warrant a different conclusion. He was aware that some very high authorities entertained a different opinion; but even if their definitions of the law were acquiesced in, he would not admit that it should prejudice the fair claim of men who entered into an engagement, according to the terms of the resolution upon which this law, which deviated from it in this respect, professed to be founded. It was mentioned, he understood, that this deviation had taken place with the consent of the contractors to the loan, but this he could not suppose probable; indeed he did not deem it possible that such a consent was ever obtained, or could be had, considering the manner in which a loan almost immediately shifts hands; the concurrence of all persons concerned could scarcely be had, and to make such a change with the approbation merely of one description of persons, would be unjust. On the whole, he thought the house was pledged on principles of good faith to adhere to the original resolution of the committee of ways and means. It was superfluous, he felt, in this instance, to enter particularly into a discussion of the nature of the alteration which had been made by the bill; and he disclaimed the reason alleged against those claimants, that it would be inconvenient to the public, in the present crisis, to attend to, or discharge their claims. From the arrangement he had to submit, he apprehended, that no injury would arise to the public in the payment of this demand. It was impossible to speculate that no change would take place in the price of stocks between Oct. and April; if no material change should occur, the public could suffer no loss; supposing the stocks to be the same price in April as in Oct. it was of no consequence to the public that the Loyalty Loan-holder should be paid in Oct.; but it was of much consequence to the holder that he should have his money. It appeared that these holders were entitled to 100l. value in money for every 100l. capital stock advanced. This demand it was not at present possible to comply with; because, consistently with the terms of the last loan, no more stock could be created for the present year. The only expedient, therefore, which suggested itself, was an exchange of stock. His proposition then would be, that the subscribers should have it in their option either to wait for their money till the 5th of April, or to accept of so much stock on the 10th of Oct. as would be equivalent to 100l. in money for every 100l. which they had lent, with the addition of one quarter's interest computing from the above-mentioned period. There was no other expedient, except that of giving to the subscribers as much capital stock as would amount to the value of 100l. for every 100l.; the excess, however, over the stock that would be annihilated by the payment of this debt, not to be transferable till the 5th of April. The proposition, then, which he would submit to the committee, would be, that all those concerned in this loan, who should apply before a time to be limited, should have the equivalent of their money in capital stock, with an addition of one quarter's interest as above mentioned. The value of the stock to be computed by the average of the latest 10 days for transferring it. In order to guard against artificial means that might be employed for lowering the price of stock previous to the payment, it would be requisite that an option should be left to the commissioners of the treasury, whether the stock should be given in the 5 per cent. consols, or in the 3 per cent. reduced annuities. It ought also to be understood, that it was in case the 5 per cent. stock was accepted, that the addition of one quarter's interest was to be given. In case the 3 per cent. should be chosen, as much stock would be given as would be merely equivalent to 100l. for every 100l. lent. Those who did not choose to agree to this arrangement, were at liberty to claim their money, and measures would be taken early in the next session of parliament for the payment of that money, with the difference of the interest from the 10th of Oct. till the time of the payment. This he considered as a very fair proceeding. The right hon. gent. concluded with moving resolutions agreeable to his statement.

Mr. *Dent* expressed his doubts whether the Loyalty Loan-holders would avail themselves of this proposal. He bore testimony to the good intentions of the right hon. proposer, but was far from thinking it fair to leave it at the discretion of the lords of the treasury to discharge this demand with any description of stock they pleased. It was more than probable they would choose 5 per cent. stock, which was very unmarketable, compared to the other stocks, and of which there were already 28 millions in existence. What then must be its state, when the Loyalty Loan should be added to it? It was at present at a discount of 9 per cent. and it was fair to presume, that with the proposed addition that discount would be augmented at least 2 or 3 per cent. This depreciation would of course fall upon such as might receive this stock, particularly as they were to be precluded from a transfer until April. It would be fairer, in his opinion, to reverse the arrangement, and to give the Loyalty Loan-holders the option of fixing upon the stock with which their claims should be adjusted. They should be allowed to choose either in the 5 per cents. the 3 per cents. or the reduced annuities. In either of the two latter the holders might make time bargains, an advantage of which they could not avail themselves in the former. The reduced annuities, he was disposed to think, would be preferable, because they formed the smaller stock. This preference he was pretty certain all persons concerned in the Loyalty Loan would concur in, were they advised of the measure before the committee; and in his opinion they ought to be consulted before this measure was carried into effect. The hon. member said, he was surprised to hear the right hon. gent. state, that there was no probability of any alteration in the price of stocks between this and April next. On the contrary, he thought that, from the state of the country, and the small amount of the vote of credit, a very considerable sum would become necessary at the beginning of the next sessions. This would of course produce a material effect upon the price of stocks. The hon. member repeated his opinion, that the greater part, if not all, of those claimants would rather, notwithstanding the bonus held out, wait until the next sessions for the total discharge of their demands.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* denied that he had stated any opinion so rash as that imputed to him by the hon. gent. that no difference in the price of stocks would take place before April. This was a circumstance which must depend on events upon which no man could speculate. With respect to the hon. member's allusion to an application for a considerable loan at the commencement of the next sessions, the right hon. gent. could see no ground from which the right hon. member could conclude that a considerable loan would be required, or that any proposition for a loan would be made at an early period. In the hon. member's comments upon the effects of an addition of the Loyalty Loan to the 5 per cents. his opinion appeared to be rather singular; for the annihilation of 22 millions of Loyalty Loan, and the proportionate increase of the 5 per cents. could not fairly be presumed as likely to affect the general rate of stocks. The right hon. gent. contended that no injury could arise to the parties concerned by vesting the proposed option in the lords of the treasury, as they were, in whatever stock was chosen, to receive 100l. for every 100l. they had originally advanced, while the consequences must be obvious of allowing any denomination of stock to be previously fixed upon. The right hon. gent. descanted upon the nature of the measure he proposed, as connected with the rapid operation of the plan for the reduction of the national debt, and bearing in view the ultimate extinction of that debt. Upon the statement of the hon. member, that he would not advise the holders of Loyalty Loan to accede to this proposal, he would only say that it would be rather strange if those gent. should refuse to receive 100l. in Oct. when by waiting until April they could get no more.

Mr. *Johnstone* was of opinion, that the value of 100l. money in stock was not a sufficient compensation, if those to whom it was to be given were to stand the fluctuation of 6 months. He allowed, that if the state of the continent were to become more favourable, if Russia were to join with us either for peace or for war, the funds would rise; if not, they would fall between Oct. and April.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in explanation, stated, that the whole of the 5 per cent. stock would be transferable; it would be only the new complimentary 3 per cent. stock, which would not be transferable.—The resolution was agreed to, and the report ordered to be received tomorrow.

[India Budget.]—Lord *Castlereagh* moved the order of the day for going into a committee on this subject. The house having gone into a committee accordingly, the noble lord, in calling the attention of the committee to the accounts before them, hoped they would keep in mind the circumstances under which the affairs alluded to occurred. The account relating to the year ending the 5th of April, 1803, was the actual account of that year; and the account for the year 1804, was the estimated account for that year, according to the general custom observed in the manner of stating these matters to the house every year. The house would have to consider, in looking to these accounts, that war had commenced last year in Europe, which had affected the sales of the E. India Company; that a war of no less considerable effect had existed in India earlier in fact, but much earlier in preparation. The account of the preparation in the event of anticipated hostilities, which had been sent out in March, must have affected the sales arrived about the month of July; the account of actual hostilities, resolved on in May, must have reached India in Sept. The variation created by the preparation for war had kept the public mind afloat for 10 months, and the slowness of intelligence relating to actual hostilities, had kept them afloat from April to Oct. The preparations for the Mahratta war had originated in Oct. 1802. The principal particulars of expence under this head occurred at Bombay and Madras. It was true, hostilities had not been commenced till Aug. 1802, but the expence of preparation had been considerable. He would not enter into the general policy of the grounds of this war, nor of the advantages of its conclusion. He would proceed simply to the statements of the accounts. The statement was generally divided into 3 classes: 1st, revenues and charges; 2d, commercial investment; and 3d, debt and assets abroad and at home. And 1st, for the year of actual account, ending April 1803. The first view was the average expenditure of 3 years, compared with the actual produce of the last year; and whether from that the probable revenue of the next year would be adequate to the probable expenditure.—His lordship then read the statement, which was as follows:

GENERAL VIEW.

BENGAL.

Revenues.—No. 1, average 1800-1 to 1802-3 - -	£.7,388,804
More than average last drawn	627,205
No. 3, estimated for 1802-3	7,612 384
Actual amount -	8,330,087
More than estimate -	767,703
Charges.—No. 3, estimated for 1802-3	4,535,066
Actual amount - -	4,775,512
More than estimate -	240,446
Deduct excess of charge from excess of revenue, the net rev. is more than estimated - - - -	527,257
And the net revenue for 1802-3 is -	3,601,575

ESTIMATES, 1803-4.

Revenues.—No. 1 - -	8,064,981
Charges.—No. 2 - -	5,066,940
Net revenue - - -	2,998,041
Rev. estimated less than actual 1802-3	315,106
Charges ditto more than ditto -	291,428
Net rev. estimated for 1803-4, less than preceding year - -	606,534

MADRAS.

Revenues.—The objection to drawing an average on the gross receipts of 3 years still prevailing, as it would not give a correct view of the annual resources of the presidency, or be a proper mode of comparison with former years, on account of the large addition acquired by treaty in particular years, the same principle is resorted to as formerly, viz. by stating the average of the receipts on the more ancient revenues of the Comp. wholly excluding the subsidiary or other resources derived either from treaty or conquest. On this principle, the average on 3 years, 1800-1 to 1802-3. by the statement No. 4, amounts to -	1,174,533
which is more than the average on the 3 years 1799-1800, to 1801-2 by	37,936
Revenues.—No. 6, estimated for 1802-3	4,670,369
Actual amount - -	4,724,904
More than estimate -	54,535
Charges.—No. 6, estimated for 1802-3	4,555,676
Actual amount - -	4,925,560
More than estimate -	379,830
Deduct excess of revenue from excess of charge, the net charge is more than estimated - - -	325,295
And the net charge of the year 1802-3 is	210,602

ESTIMATES, 1803-4.

Revenues.—No. 4 - -	4,888,895
Charges.—No. 5 - -	5,018,157
Net charge - -	129,262
Rev. estimated more than actual, 1802-3	163,991
Charges, ditto - -	82,651
Net charge estimated for 1803-4 less than preceding year - -	81,340

BOMBAY.

Revenues.—No. 7, excluding, as last year, the revenues of the ceded counties, likewise the Guicowar Subsidy; the average receipts on the 3 years 1800-1, to 1802-3, amount to - - -	309,042
which exceeds the average on the 3 years 1799-1800, to 1801-2 by -	57,586
No. 9, estimated for 1802-3	410,280
Actual amount - -	359,546
Less than estimate -	50,734
Charges.—No. 9, estimated for 1802-3	907,406
Actual amount - -	1,329,306
More than estimate -	321,900
Add Deficiency of Revenue to Excess of charge, the net charge is more than estimated	372,634
And the net charge of the year 1782-3 is	869,760

ESTIMATES, 1803-4.

Revenues, No. 7 - - -	518,575
Charges, No. 8 - - -	1,478,881
Net charge -	960,306
Rev. estimated more than actual, 1802-3	159,029
Charges, ditto - - -	249,575
Net charge estimated for 1803-4 more than preceding year - -	90,546

BENCOOLEN and other SETTLEMENTS.

No. 10.—Revenues of Fort Marlbro', on average, 3 years, 1798-9, to 1800-1 - -	8,806
Charges, ditto ditto -	102,030
Net charge -	93,224
Supplies from Bengal to Fort Marlbro' estimated for 1802-3	116,000
No. 18.—Actual amount - -	196,848
More than estiamted -	80,848
No. 11.—Supplies estimated for 1803-4	212,628

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the Year 1802-3 *collectively.*

Revenues.—Bengal, by No.	3	8,380,087	
Madras,	6	4,935,506	
Bombay,	9	1,229,306	
Total Revenues			13,464,537
Charges.—Bengal,	3	4,775,512	
Madras,	6	4,935,506	
Bombay,	9	359,306	
Total charges			10,940,324
Net revenue of the 3 presidencies -			2,524,213
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c. No. 18			196,848
Remaining net revenue			2,327,365
Deduct Interest, &c. paid on the debts,			
At Bengal,	No. 18	972,234	
Madras,	19	295,054	
Bombay, -	20	190,089	
		1,457,377	
Deduct Interest on Securities purchased by Sinking Fund, in small part estimated		95,924	
Net Interest			1,361,453

The remainder		965,912
is the Surplus from the Territorial, &c. Revenues, after defraying the charges and interest.		
Add, amount Sales of Imports, by No. 15		537,940
The Total		1,503,852
is the Sum applicable to Commercial Purposes.		
Amount advanced for the purchase of Investments, payment of Commercial Charges, and in aid of China,		
At Bengal, No. 18	1,353,036	
Madras, 19	590,221	
Bombay, 20	156,655	
Marlbro' 22	16,219	
Total advances for Investments		2,117,031
Cargoes invoiced to Europe, in 1802-3, with Charges, by No. 22 - -		1,742,353

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the Estimates for the Years 1803-4, *collectively.*

Revenues.—Bengal, No. 4	8,064,981	
Madras, 4	4,888,895	
Bombay, 7	518,575	
Total revenues		13,472,451
Charges.—Bengal, No. 2	5,066,940	
Madras, 5	5,018,157	
Bombay, 8	1,478,881	
Total Charges		11,563,978
Net estimated rev. of the 3 presidencies		1,908,473
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c. No. 11.		212,628
Remainder		1,695,845
Deduct further Interest on the debts, by No. 16 -	1,574,011	
Deduct Interest on securities purchased by Sinking Fund	126,360	
Net Interest		1,447,651
The sum then remaining		248,194
is the surplus rev. after defraying the charges and interest.		
Add amount estimated to be received on the sales of Imports, No. 15 -		535,952
The total		784,146
is the sum estimated to be applicable in the year 1803-4, to the purposes of commerce.		

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year	19,965,739	
Deduct, in the hands of the commissioners of sinking Fund - -	1,311,358	
Net amount of debts last year -		18,654,381
Amount this year by No. 16	21,881,571	
Ded. sink. fund, as above	2,012,348	
Net amount of debts this year -		19,869,223
Increase - - -		1,214,842
Debts transferred in the year by No. 17		4,484

DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

Amount last year -	16,994,833	
Deduct, in the hands of the commissioners of sinking fund - -	1,136,352	
Net amount of debts bearing interest last year - - -		15,858,481
Amount this year by No. 16	18,712,933	
Ded. sinking fund as above	1,686,917	
Net amount of debts bearing interest this year - - - -		17,026,016
Increase of debts bearing interest -		1,167,535
Amount of interest payable by accounts of last year	1,481,070	
Deduct, on securities in hands of commissioners of sinking fund -	86,900	
Net amount of interest payable last year		1,394,170
Amount this year by No. 16	1,574,011	
Ded. sinking fund as above	126,360	
Net amount of interest payable this year		1,447,651
Increase of interest payable -		53,481

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. last year	13,372,741	
Deduct, balance and securities in hands of commissioners of sinking fund	1,311,358	
Net amount of Assets last year		12,061,383
Consisting as above, by Account No. 21, this year	14,630,971	
Ded. sinking fund as above	2,012,348	
Net amount of Assets this year		12,618,623
Increase of Assets - -		557,241
Deducting increase of Assets from increase of Debts, the state of the company's affairs in India appears worse in this view by - - -		657,601

HOME ACCOUNTS.

No. 25. Aggregate amount of sales		8,425,269
Less than last year	1,202,863	
The amount of Sales of Company's goods less by	170,459	
Do. Private goods do.	970,119	
Do. Neutral property do.	62,285	
Difference as above	1,202,863	
The Sales of the Company's goods were estimated at - - -		6,805,500
The actual amount was - -		5,877,569
Being less than estimated by		927,931
The receipts on the Sales of the Company's goods, estimated at - -		6,085,500
No. 23. Actually amounted to -		5,482,304
Being less than estimated by		603,196
Charges and profit on private trade estimated at - - -		150,000
Actually amounted to - -		176,587
Exceeding the estimate by		26,587

GENERAL RESULT.

The balance of cash estimated to be in favor of the Comp. on 1st March, 1804, amounted to - -	89,393
The Balance by the actual Accounts is in favor - - -	172,449
Being better than estimated	83,056

principally in consequence of the disbursement for India and China, and on some other accounts being less than estimated, which, with the protraction of the payment of the debt to the Bank, exceeded the greater expenditure on Freight, Bonds, &c. added to the deficient Receipt on the Sales of Goods.

ESTIMATE, 1803-4.

No. 23. Receipt for Sale of Comp. Goods	6,598,496

GENERAL RESULT.

The Receipt from the sale of goods being calculated at a larger amount than last year, and the expectation stated of a re-issue of Bonds, paid in the Supply for India and China, being taken on a smaller scale, and the liquidation of the Debt to the Bank not being reckoned upon, the Balance on 1st March, 1805, is estimated to be in favour in the sum of - -	157,634

DEBTS AT HOME.

On 1st March, 1803 - -	4,773,886
On 1st March, 1804, No. 23 -	4,788,865
Increase	14,979

ASSETS AT HOME.

On 1st March 1803 - -	17,440,593
On 1st March, 1804 - -	19,168,736
Increase	1,728,143
Deducting the increase of Debts from the increase of Assets, the improvement in the Home Concern in the year is - - -	1,713,164

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance at China last year, in favour - -	91,434	
Balance at China, by the present accounts, No. 24, against	260,900	
Decrease at China	352,324	
Balance at St. Helena, on 30th Sept. 1801, in favour - -	78,848	
Do. at do. on 30th Sept. 1802, in favour, No 24.	105,194	
Increase at St. Helena	26,346	
Net decrease at China and St. Helena		325,988

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India - -		£.1,214,842
Increase of debts at Home - -		14,979
Total Increase of Debts -		1,229,821
Increase of assets in India	557,240	
Increase of assets at Home	1,728,143	
	2,285,383	
Deduct, Net Decrease of Balance at China and St. Helena - -	325,988	
Net Increase of Assets		1,959,396

The Net Improvement of the year in this view appears to be - -	729,575
From this sum should be deducted the amount of cargoes arrived in India previous to the 30th April, 1803, and included in the quick Stocks there which formed part of the cargoes afloat outward in the Assets at Home	417,000
The Remainder is	312,575

Which may be considered as still liable to further adjustments, when the final arrangement of the claims of the Company upon govt. as stated in the Home Assets shall be completed.

This statement being concluded, the noble lord begged leave, before he sat down, to make a few general observations. He wished to call the attention of the committee to the estimates which he had brought forward for 1802-3. He had then expressed his sanguine conviction, not only that the public would receive a participation of 500,000l. but that the company, in addition to this contribution to the public, would be able to establish a sinking fund for the extinction of their debt, to the amount of 2 millions a year. When he had made this declaration, it was but fair to keep in mind, that the circumstances then existing were very different indeed from those in which the country is now placed. It was in the contemplation of the continuance of peace, that he could only look forward to the fulfilment of his expectations. But to shew that he had not proceeded on light or trivial grounds, he adverted to the estimates which he had laid down, and contrasted them with the real amount of the revenues and charges. The noble lord next proceeded to shew, that the arrangement for liquidating the debt of the company, was as strictly adhered to, as it was possible to do; and that it was not reasonable to expect more from them, unless their trade should have the good fortune to take another turn: it was rather matter of surprise, that under such circumstances they could have made such laudable exertions. Still if affairs were to assume a tranquil aspect, there was little doubt but a much more favourable result must arise. The noble lord also explained the difficulties which obstructed the repayment of the company's debts, and endeavoured to shew that these difficulties principally arose from the advances made towards the support of govt. It were much better, he observed, if these means were provided from Europe; for the rate of interest in India rendered them far more enormous. Indeed, if the whole of the accounts were fairly looked to, and also the circumstances under which they stood, he ventured to hope that a far more favourable prospect would be opened both to the company and the public than generally seemed to be expected.—The noble lord concluded by moving the first resolution.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* alluded to the repeated promises given by the predecessor of the noble lord, respecting the prosperity of the affairs of India. The house had been many years ago assured that India would not only be freed from all embarrassment, but would actually be able to administer relief to the financial demands of the empire at large. They were assured that not only would aid be afforded to the public, but that the whole Indian debt would speedily be extinguished. He wished the committee to reflect how these fine promises had been realized. Since these promises had first been brought forward, the Indian debt, it was known, had increased three or four fold. In 1793, when the charter of the company was renewed, a stipulation was made, that 500,000l. should annually, after a certain period, be paid to the public. Of the sum so stipulated for, not one sixpence had been, or was likely to be received. He wished to ask, on what foundation the promises held forth were supported, and when or where the public might, in reason, hope to see them realized. The debt of the company, so far from being diminished, accumulates from year to year. Last year it was 18 millions, and by the papers now on the table it would appear that it was upwards of 19 millions, with every prospect of a still greater accumulation. The noble lord alluded to the state of the account betwixt the company and govt. Last year the debt due by govt. to the company was estimated at something more than 4 millions. At that time a million had been discharged, and still the balance against govt. was not diminished according to the statements contained in the papers on the table. He thought this a very extraordinary circumstance, and called on the noble lord to afford some explanation on the subject. Before he sat down, he read a part of the speech of the noble lord in 1802, where the most sanguine views of the prosperity of the company's affairs was held forth. He hoped the noble lord now saw that these representations rested on no solid grounds, and would henceforth be less sanguine in his expectations.

Lord *Castlereagh* explained that part of the statement which respected the account betwixt the company and govt. The noble lord declared that he adhered to all his former declarations, as to the prosperity of the affairs of the company, and was ready gravely to renew any pledge which he had formerly given to the house.

Mr. *Johnstone* maintained, that the affairs of the company were, year after year, growing more embarrassed. Not a single one of the promises or prospects held forth by the noble lord's predecessor, or the noble lord himself, had been in the slightest degree fulfilled. The noble lord's predecessor had, after his magnificent statements of the flourishing situation of the company's affairs, retired from office, leaving their debt greatly accumulated, and giving as his only legacy a serious advice to reduce it. The noble lord himself followed strictly his predecessor's example in the views he gave of the company's affairs. Like him he abounded in magnificent promises and flattering prospects, but like him he had, in every instance, found himself altogether disappointed. The hon. gent. shewed that the debt of the company was rapidly accumulating. He took the average of 5 years from the year 1799, shewed that in each year there had been a large accumulation of debt, and stated as the result, that in the course of these 5 years the company's debt had increased upwards of 11 millions. This statement he desired the noble lord, or any member of the committee, to disprove; and he asked every gent. whether this was not a complete evidence that all the representations given of the company's affairs were altogether fallacious and unfounded? He insisted that the service of the company could not go on without new loans; and that a new loan must be negociated next year in India. He argued, that the statements of the charges on the company were quite delusive. The most prominent charges were only brought forward, while all the heads of extraordinary service, which were very numerous, were carefully kept out of view. The hon. member supported his arguments by a number of minute calculations, and sat down with declaring, that the affairs of the company were far from being so flourishing as they were represented to be.

Lord *Castlereagh* observed, that the hon. gent. did not make a proper allowance for the expenditure which the company were unavoidably subject to in time of war. He had, besides that, omitted to make any deduction on account of the assets which the company were possessed of. These were inaccuracies which it was necessary for the hon. gent. to take into his more serious consideration. He was fully aware that the question was of a most complicated nature, and every gent. did not sufficiently attend to such complex statements as were then before the house, to be in full possession of the various changes which arose in the course of such accounts. If the hon. gent. was to revolve these considerations in his own mind more at leisure, it was more than probable that he would be induced to alter his opinion. We had an European, and we had an Asiatic war in the course of the year. It should be also recollected, that shortly after the Mysore, we had to undergo the expences of the Mahratta war. Though that war did not actually break out until August last, preparations were made a considerable length of time before hostilities were actually commenced; the first preparatory steps by which expences were incurred, he understood, were taken in the month of May, 1802. Upon the whole, it would be found that, exclusive of the charges of a complicated war, the actual amount of debt contracted within the year, did not exceed 300,000l. If the increased amount of debt were considerably more than such a sum as he had mentioned, he could not think that even then it was a fair criterion by which we should be authorised to form any judgment respecting the resources of the company, or the general state of their finances. It was evident, that in time of war, there must be some difficulty in transmitting bullion from Europe to the East. And when we looked at the extended commerce, and the increased revenue of the company, we must be convinced, that borrowing, under such circumstances, was the necessary result of the increased opulence and growing power. The universal prospect of the state of our affairs in India, must present a flattering picture to the company themselves, and be most grateful to the feelings of every Englishman.

Lord *Henry Petty* said, he did not mean to go into the general detail of the question, but merely to make one observation on a paper which he held in his hand, to which the noble lord had alluded with respect to a balance of 900,000l. due from govt. to the E. India Company, which had been allowed by the commissioners. He wished the noble lord to put the house in possession of the principle upon which such claims had been allowed. Without such a standard, it was impossible to say where they would rest, as they might be extended to every species of expedition that might be undertaken by the company, purely for their own benefit, and the security of their possessions. He hoped, therefore, that the noble lord would explain the progress that had been made by the commissioners.

Lord *Castlereagh* in reply, stated, that the commissioners had not yet decided on more of the sums claimed than to the extent of 900,000l. The accounts relative to the expedition to Egypt, had not arrived till this year, by which one million was added to the claims of the company, upon which no decision could yet have been formed. It was extremely difficult to determine what part of the expence of joint operations, should be charged on the respective parties, and he should despair of bringing the account to a final settlement, if he was not to rely on the liberality of the public; and he had every reason to trust, that the whole account would be prepared for the consideration of parliament before next session.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, in addition to what had been stated by his noble friend, thought it right just to observe, that no idea had ever been entertained of a final adjustment of the accounts by the commissioners. They had been appointed only to examine into the claims for the purpose of facilitating the final adjustment. But the result of their enquiry, as well as the items and total amount of the claims, would be submitted to the eventual consideration of parliament.

Mr. *Kinnaird* was relieved from considerable anxiety by what had fallen from the right hon. gent., as, if the decision of the commissioners was to be final, he should enter his protest against such a proceeding. As he was up, he desired to know, whether the noble lord would pledge himself, that no increase should take place in the exportation of bullion to the East Indies in the present year?

Lord *Castlereagh* flattered himself that the event of the sales in this country would enable the company to export a considerable quantity of bullion, and was of opinion that it would be most advantageous to the company to send out as large a quantity of it as possible.

Dr. *Laurence* contended, that from the failure of the estimates for the last 5 years, during which there had been an intervalof 18 months peace, there must be something extraordinary in the manner of making them up. They had failed on both sides, both as to the amount of the proceeds and the extent of the charges; and there must be, therefore, some inherent radical fallacy at the bottom, which was not to be attributed to any particular persons, but to the whole system, in not making the proper allowance for the management of the affairs of a great empire. The learned member then proceeded to comment on some items of the estimates. He contended, that if the duties on teas were so high as to injure the sale, by diminishing the consumption, they ought to be lowered, and as for access to the markets on the continent, he looked upon that as more completely barred at present than at any former period. As to the assets to which the noble lord had referred, he could not look upon them while warehoused and deprived of a vent as available to any purpose of advantage to the company, and he stated this merely to shew the fallacy of taking the whole amount of the company's possessions into the estimate of available property.

Mr. *Wallace* declared that he was surprised to hear the hon. and learned gent. suppose that the expences of a war were at an end immediately after the termination of war.

Mr. *Princep* thought that the affairs of India deserved the most minute investigation. He was not to be told that the time of danger and war was improper for an enquiry into such matters, when the interests of the empire were so materially concerned. When the report was brought up he would take an opportunity of expressing himself fully and calmly upon the subject, and would deduce no consequences but from the papers already on the table.

Mr. *Francis.*—Sir; I owe it in gratitude to the distinguished few, who have had fortitude enough to favour us with their attendance, and possibly with their attention to this hour, to let them know that they are safe, at least on my part, from any very heavy addition to the burthen they have already submitted to with so much equanimity. A long speech now could have no effect, but reduce the audience to nothing. Neither is it necessary. A year ago, when the affairs of India were under the consideration of a committee of the whole house very like the present, I entered fully into the subject; and I took care that what I then said should be conveyed to the proprietors of India stock and to the public, with all the accuracy and authenticity, that I could give to my opinion by vouching for it in writing. Nothing has since occurred to induce me to recede from any part of that opinion, or from any of the principles, which I have hitherto maintained with regard to India. On the contrary, every new fact that appears, and every fresh light we obtain, serves only to confirm the declaration I then made, that the mischief was in a state of progression, and to convince me that the case is a good deal worse than it was a year ago. My intention however is to avoid repetitions, to take notice only of some particulars mentioned by the noble lord, as they occur to me, and proceed as quickly as I can to that conclusion, which is the principal object of my addressing the committee. The noble lord regrets that the sanguine and satisfactory expectations, given by him to the public last year, have not been realized, and he places the failure to the account of the Mahratta war, which, he says, has been conducted on a very extensive and expensive scale, which must disturb all estimates; that this war is the most expensive military transaction, in which the company was ever engaged; that the increase of charge, amounting to about a million, was mostly of a military nature,and unforeseen; and that, although the actual hostilities did not commence till August 1803, the preparation for the war began early in November 1802, and even then created a heavy expence.—Sir; if the noble lord himself had not introduced the Mahratta war, for the purpose of accounting for a failure in his estimates, I should have carefully avoided it; because I consider it as a subject reserved for a future discussion, when the materials are before us. The papers are not yet printed, nor likely to be, for many weeks. I have never seen one of them. The fact now stated deserves special attention. It appears that the orders, for our army to take the field, were given in the beginning of November 1802; and surely I have a right to presume that the project of the war must have been under deliberation, and the plan of it concerted sometime before those orders were given; and that consequently the war itself, which commenced in August last, could not have been unexpectedly forced upon us, by the spur of an unforeseen occasion, or by the sudden pressure of an instant, or unavoidable necessity. Yet, when I moved for the papers first on the 14th of March, and afterwards on the 6th of last April, the committee will recollect that neither the company nor govt. were then in possession of the circumstances, which preceded the rupture, and that no communication whatever on the subject had been received from India. I shall dismiss it now with only one observation, which has no relation to the justice or policy of the war, but is particularly applicable to the present debate. If the preparation for the war, in November 1802, and so long before it commenced, has been sufficient to disturb his lordship's estimates, and to defeat his expectations, what are you to expect from the war itself, when the accounts of the actual expence attending it shall be fairly and fully brought into view! It seems he had calculated that, in this month, the public would receive their participation in the Indian revenues; but unfortunately his hopes have been disappointed by the war abroad, and by the diminution of sales at home. Sir, the day must come, when it shall be examined, and, if possible, explained, why the public has never received more than one year's participation in the revenues of India since the renewal of the charter in 1793, and particularly why that single payment was made in the first year, and never since; considering that it was one of the essential conditions, on which the charter was renewed. There is some mystery in this part of the transaction. The noble lord says that govt. had no legal claim on this account, because the net proceeds of the company's sales, (after providing for other charges, which stood first in point of order,) did not furnish a surplus, out of which the participation of 500,000l. a year, to which the public were intitled by law, could be defrayed. Very likely. But then I say that, besides all our other relations to the object, and independant of the general duty, by which we are bound to watch the govt. of India and the management of the company's affairs, this is an additional pecuniary argument and interest, that obliges parliament to inquire how it happens that, out of a territorial revenue of 13 millions, added to the profits of a flourishing trade at home, there is no surplus to make good to the public so inconsiderable a share in that immense receipt, as half a million a year. The govt. it is said, have no legal demand; because the produce is absorbed before the public right accrues. It may be so. But, without a parliamentary examination, how is it possible for us to know whether the failure, by which that right is defeated, be owing to an intolerable mismanagement, or even to a criminal waste of the resources abroad, or, bona fide, to just and unavoidable expences? The result of such waste, or of such expence, may always be pleaded, legally, in bar of the public. "We have spent the money. Of course you have no claim." This house is trustee for the nation, and ought not to be satisfied with such an answer. The noble lord admits that, on the whole of the company's concerns, in India there has been, in the last year, a deterioration to the amount of 657,000l. which he attributes to an increase of charge, amounting to something less than a million, mostly of a military nature and unforeseen; and also, that the company's sales of tea have fallen short of the estimated sales by above two millions of pounds weight, owing to the additional duties lately laid on that article. This, Sir, is a melancholy fact. It at once reduces the public revenue and the company's commercial profits; and, what is worse, it shows that, since the consumption is certainly not lessened, the trade is falling again into the hands of the smugglers. But the noble lord looks forward to better times, and relies with a confidence, that seems to be attached to his station, on the flourishing circumstances abroad, which are to arise hereafter from the acquisitions made in the present war. Our Indian prosperity is always in the future tense. I must do him the justice to admit that, in every respect but one, he seems to me to be the full and legitimate successor of the noble lord, who for many years presided at the same board. He has succeeded to the office, to the promises, to the hopes, to the estimates, to the sanguine disposition of that noble lord, and to his perpetual disappointments. Now, Sir, it is rather odd that, in the course of 21 years, the result in any year has never made good the promise of the preceding. Much less have the general promises made to the nation by the act of 1793, by which the charter was renewed, been realised, or, in all appearance, ever will. But then there was always a good reason for it. Only wait another year, and every thing will come right. In one article only, the noble Lord has not accepted the succession to his predecessor. He has not taken upon him the specific engagement so often and so regularly repeated in this house from year to year, exactly in the following terms, "To save any gentleman the trouble of putting the question to me, whether I adhere to the hopes, I gave last year, that the day is much nearer, when the resources of India will administer aid to the revenues of this country than that, on which we are to apprehend that India will call for aid from the finances of Great-Britain, I anticipate the question, and answer in the affirmative. The only difference is that I am more sanguine in those hopes, than I was at the time I first asserted them," and so on in every succeeding year in the same strain, till he resigned in 1801. To the specific question put to the noble Lord by my noble friend near me, (Lord Archibald Hamilton,) whether he took that engagement upon himself, he made no reply. But, in a general way, his hopes and his estimates are as good as ever. We are to be reimbursed and enriched, some day or other, by the territorial acquisitions made in this war. I ask him a plain question. Have any acquisitions made by war in the last 20 years, paid the expences of the war, provided for all the new establishments, and left a surplus applicable to trade or tribute through the medium of investment? No. So far from it, that whereas the pretended plan and promise of the act of 1793 was to reduce the company's Indian debt to 2 millions sterling, it was 20 millions a year ago, though 2 millions are said to have been bought up by the commissioners of the sinking fund. Since the promise of an annual reduction, the real increase of debt has exceeded 2 millions a year communibus annis; And now we have a new war, on a most extensive and expensive scale, the charge of which cannot yet be known here, but which, I suppose, will appear in the accounts of the present year or in those of the next. One of the first effects, and indeed a singular feature of this war of acquisition, is very odd and unaccountable.—There is a prince in the Guzzerat, called the Gwicowar, whose territory, I presume, is ceded or mortgaged to the company, to pay them for their trouble, or to indemnify them for their expences. You would naturally suppose that the fund was productive, and in some degree answered the purpose. What real effective profit it may produce hereafter, is, at least, very uncertain. But the first transaction we have with this Gwicowar is to lend him money, to the amount of 186,000, as the noble Lord states it; but as it is stated by the govt. of Bombay, (who lent the money), among their extraordinary nary disbursements, (viz. Bombay rupees 31,25,944) it really amounts to 360,000l. The noble Lord has a reason ready for every thing; but, I think, he gave no explanation of the causes of this loan. Remember the debts of the Nabob of Arcot. The committee will observe that there is a constant annual export of bullion by the India company to China of about 650,000l. a year. Of that trade, so detrimental in a national view, I shall say nothing, because I presume there is no remedy. If you will have tea, you must pay for it in specie. The object, to which I endeavoured to draw the attention of the committee last year, is the enormous extraction of bullion to India. In the last year, it must have amounted to 900,000l. at the least. The presidencies of Fort William and Fort St. George, in their estimate of resources for the year ending on the 30th of April 1804, reckon upon bullion expected to be received from England, as part of their ways and means applicable to current services, equal to 640,000l. and so they go on. You have a military wasting establishment of 20,000 Europeans in India to be kept up by a perpetual supply of recruits from Britain; and, in aid of that and other expences, there is and must be an annual remittance of specie. I desire you to consider whether England can support these perpetual drains of men and treasure; and, if she could, what is the real effective benefit in a national view, of holding this Indian dominion on such terms? The noble Lord meets all questions of this sort with great equanimity. He says it is better economy to send out money, than to borrow it in India at the high interest of that country. If that were all, I should think it very little worth inquiring which of the two was the shortest road to ruin; or I should leave it to the directors to settle that question for the company. But, I say, you do both. The specie you send out is absorbed in expences, and the govts. abroad go on as usual, drawing heavy bills on the directors, and borrowing on the spot to any amount, for which lenders can be found. Hitherto it has been generally understood that the country, which receives its balance from another in specie, is the gainer; and that which pays it is the loser by their mutual intercourse. If bullion had been imported from India into England, we should have heard another story, set off with many fine phrases.—I shall now, Sir, take a short notice of some particulars in the home account, and then proceed to my conclusion. In the computation of the company's stock, the apparent balance is in their favour, and is stated at 5,675,379l.—but by an order of the house of commons, which I have sufficiently explained to the committee and to the public a year ago, the capital subscribed by the proprietors, and actually received by the corporation, viz. 7,780,000l. is omitted on the debit side, where it should and always did appear. I suppose it might have excited some alarm, or at least some curiosity, if the balance on the face of the account had been left on the wrong side. In the opposite credits, which include the whole of what the noble lord calls the company's assets, there are some very important and other very questionable items. This word assets is handy and convenient; but I do not think that, with reference to these accounts, it is distinctly understood or properly applied. In a testamentary sense, in which it is most commonly used, it signifies a sufficiency, either in cash, or in property convertible into cash, to discharge debts and legacies. Any species of property, which does not possess that quality, does not properly fall within the description of assets. Passive credits cannot fairly be opposed to active debts. With plenty of such credits on his books, a wealthy merchant may find himself a bankrupt, if he has no other means to satisfy the bills which he has accepted. In this view, I take it, the India Company are not much the richer for many articles in their quick stocks in India, or for their dead stock in Leadenhall-street. But leaving this enquiry for the present, I attach myself now to one item only, to which I have repeatedly endeavoured to draw the attention of parliament without success. It comes before us again in a more questionable shape, but with some explanations which we never had before: I mean the sum of 4,018,000l. for which this account takes credit, for stores and supplies to his Majesty's troops. In the last year this demand on govt. stood at 3,573,339l. One million was paid on account, by authority of parliament, very improperly obtained, as I conceive, and 501,666l. more for interest, without any authority at all; and all this upon a mere claim stated, subject to adjustment. You would naturally expect to find the claim diminished by 1,500,000l. On the contrary, it stands now at 4,018,000l. and we are informed by a memorandum, "that the Company's claims on govt. for the expences of the army sent from India to Egypt will probably amount to 2,000,000l. more. This debt is certainly a thriving plant, the more you prune it the faster it grows. Now look at the particulars. Does the public know, has parliament to this hour ever heard, that government owes the Company 3,130,591l. for the capture and possession of Ceylon; 1,023,995l. for the capture and possession of French and Dutch settlements on the peninsula; 563,068l. for intended expeditions to Mauritius and Manilla; and that, on the capital of this unadjusted claim, the public is paying interest at 4 per cent. as if the debt had been finally liquidated and funded. Of the Company's right to the amount of their demand, I say nothing: it may, for aught I know, be perfectly well founded; but I think it cannot be disputed that it should not have been kept out of sight for so many years. The directors themselves should have brought it before parliament. The whole has accrued since the act of 1793. On this point however I think I have gained some ground since last year. The noble lord has come round to my opinion. He thinks that the claim ought to be examined, and finally adjusted; and he informs us that commissioners on both sides have been appointed for that purpose. In the first place, I never heard till now of the existence of such a commission; and then I assert that a demand of such importance as 5,500,000l. ought to have been submitted to parliament in the first instance, and investigated by a committee of this house, or at least by commissioners acting under parliamentary authority. The noble lord, I presume, has examined the report made by these commissioners, for he says that it appears that 900,000l. is certainly due to the Company. If that be all, their stock account takes credit for 3,100,000l. more than they are worth. But suppose this had been the state of the case last year, when the chancellor of the exchequer moved and carried a resolution to pay them one million on account without enquiry here, or any evidence whatever produced to the house. It is plain that he would have paid them 100,000l. too much. On the whole of these transactions I shall content myself with saying, that a very different prospect was held out to the public when it was proposed to renew the Company's charter. The act of 1793 was an act of ostentation, and nothing else. Almost all the great objects, which it professed to provide for, have failed. Some of the principal calculations, for which unbounded personal credit was taken, have not merely failed, but are reversed. The law is now in effect little more than a dead letter. It promised to secure 500,000l. a year to the public:—one year only has been paid. It promised to reduce the Indian debt from 7 to 2 millions, sterling.—On the 30th of April, 1803, this debt was 20,000,000l.

It promised to reduce the bond debt in Great Britain to 1,500,000l.—The capital of their debt at home, including 700,000l. borrowed of the Bank, amounted to 2,544,567l. on the 1st of March, 1804. It promised to exhibit a surplus "to be reserved and retained by the Company for their own use, and applied in augmentation of the dividends on their capital stock;" and finally it promised to provide a fund of 12,000,000l. sterling, to be vested in the stocks, "as a guarantee fund for the better securing to the India Company their capital stock, or the value thereof;" after which the supposed surplus, of which that fund was to be formed, was to become the property of the public in full right. I need not tell you, that not one shilling has ever been produced to make good any portion of these three last provisions. Have I not then a right to conclude that, as far as relates to the Company's finances, the whole measure is a nullity, if not a deception, under the imposing name and authority of an act of parliament. The noble lord's predecessor, who brought in that bill, did not confine his hopes within the limits even of that flattering prospect. In his letter to the directors, dated the 30th of June, 1801, he states an opinion in which he says there would be much sound policy, viz. "that it would be wise, after the example of other Indian powers, to have always a depôt of treasure, in your coffers in India, to the amount of three or four millions, sterling, to meet any sudden emergency, and to save you the necessity of having immediate recourse to large loans!" On the wisdom of such a measure we may debate hereafter; that is, if any of us live to see the day, when the supposed deposit of treasure shall exist any where but in the noble lord's imagination. There is not a glimpse or a shadow of it within our present Indian horizon. Sir; I do not mean to oppose the passing of these resolutions: on the contrary, I wish to see them recorded on the Journals, in order that the substance of them, with the whole state of our Indian acquisitions, and of the Company's affairs, may be open to a fair and full investigation; not in a little, annual, wrangling committee, of fifteen or twenty members, but upon a scale of enquiry commensurate to the object, the magnitude of the dominion, the Company's safety, and the important national interests connected with that territory and that trade. I know I am unequal to the task; but if it be not undertaken by others, my intention is to attempt it myself, and as early as possible in the next session. I shall propose it to the house to enquire, through the medium of special committees, into the principal transactions which have happened in India since the year 1782, and into the changes produced by those events in the general state of the company's affairs. On that review of the whole subject, I shall call on parliament to determine and pronounce, either that they adhere to the fundamental principles of policy, justice, and honour, laid down by their own solemn resolutions at that time, and soon after adopted by the legislature; or that the force of events compels them to abandon that system, and to set up a new principle for the future govt. of India. It is not prudent, it is not honourable, it is not safe, that, in the management of that great dominion, all your principles, all your laws, and all your institutions should appear on one side, and all your practice on the other.

Mr. *Charles Grant* said, that he had no objection to examine the affairs of the East India company however minutely, provided that such an examination should be fair and impartial, and unmarked by any party spirit. It was a national misfortune, he admitted, that the affairs of India were so little known and so little attended to. In the affair of the company's claim on government, for the actual balance of which they took credit in the present computation of their stock, viz. 4,018,000l. he thought they had been very ill used. They had borrowed in India the money, with which they had supplied the services of govt. at a very high interest several years ago; and it was only in the last year, that a small part of their just demand had been allowed. He wondered to hear a gent. (Mr. Francis,) for whose abilities and knowledge he had long entertained the highest respect, complain of the export of bullion to India, as if the company or the nation were losers, or at all affected by such export. Bullion was an article of merchandize as much as any other; and, as to profit or loss, it made no sort of difference, whether you bought bullion by the sale of broad cloth in Europe, or whether you sent the broad cloth to India, to purchase bullion which you wanted there. As to the company's omission of their capital on the debit side of their stock laid before the house, it was done by a positive order of the house of commons, which left them no choice. They could have no view or interest to serve by this omission. No concealment could be intended, nor would it be practicable. He thought his hon. friend had not done justice to the accuracy of the accounts annually submitted to parliament by the court of directors; the communication contained in those papers, of the state of the company's affairs, was full and unreserved, as far as the materials in their possession would permit. Nothing, he was confident, was intentionally withheld. Undoubtedly all estimates of services so extensive, so remote, and so complicated, were liable to fail in some particulars; but such failures were always fairly accounted for. In the annual account laid before the court of proprietors, which made it as public as possible, the amount of the capital invariably appeared as a debt against the company, exactly on the principle maintained by the hon. gent. (Mr. Francis). But in effect, it made no difference in the company's situation, whether their capital was stated so, or not; because, after all, the debt was only due from the company to itself, and never could be demanded, unless the corporation were to be dissolved; and even then, it would come last in order of payment, when all other debts were satisfied. The hon. gent. concluded with asserting, from his own knowledge, that the company's affairs, were, on the whole, much better now, than in 1793; and that, by the help of a sinking fund which had been wisely established abroad, he hoped to see them ere long relieved from all their incumbrances.

Mr. *Francis*.—Sir; I beg leave to assure the hon. director, with the deepest sense and the sincerest acknowledgment of his personal merit and uncommon qualifications for his office, that I revert with pleasure to former times, when I had the happiness of possessing his friendship, and that having, as I trust, recovered it now, I shall never relinquish my claim to it. In reply to some of my hon. friend's observations, I shall say but a few words. In the first place, I utterly disclaim the idea of hostility to the India company. To the best of my judgment, I am their true friend and disinterested advocate; but not by encouraging or submitting to delusions, which, sooner or later, I believe must be their ruin. In all the transactions of India, I well know that the company are purely passive. They have no power over their own affairs, because they have no command over those, who are nominally their servants. Between the governors abroad, and the board of control at home, I wish to hear what real, effective authority is left with the court of directors. With regard to the export of bullion, my hon. friend asserts, that it is just the same thing, whether you send out so much silver or an equal value in British manufactures; or, in other words, whether you buy the silver, with your broad cloth, in Europe or in India. I state his proposition as I understood him, and there I leave it for the present, observing only, that far other promises of new markets were held out at the renewal of the charter. As to the company's unadjusted claim on government, I never said that it was ill-founded; for, in fact, I did not know, till very lately, how it arose, or what it consisted of. But I did and do assert, that it ought to have been examined and liquidated, and the balance paid or acknowledged long ago. Is it a thing to be defended or endured, that a silent debt should have been suffered to grow and accumulate against the public since the year 1794, to the enormous amount of five millions and a half, besides an outstanding demand of two millions more for the expedition to Egypt, and that the subject should never have been regularly brought before parliament? The censure follows the fact, but it does not fall on the India company. My hon. friend says, that the court of directors are precluded by a positive order of the house of commons, given in 1794, from inserting the amount of their capital on the debit side of their stock account. I know it. The directors have a right to plead the order. But how is it possible to justify the order itself? My hon. friend informs the house that, although the capital be omitted in the account laid before parliament, it is invariably inserted in the public account laid before the court of proprietors. If so, the two accounts of the same property must exhibit a different balance; and all that I have contended for so long, on this point, is admitted. But my hon. friend has delivered it as his opinion to parliament, that it made no real difference whether the capital was stated or omitted, because the debt was only due from the company to itself; which, in my mind, is very like saying that it is no debt at all. Here, I own, I differ from my hon. friend, though with great distrust of myself, and with unaffected deference to his superior knowledge; and first I ask him whether it would be right and regular in a merchant, computing only for himself, to credit the account of his commercial property with the produce of his capital laid out in ships or merchandize, and not to debit the same account with the capital so laid out. I believe it is even usual to charge interest on the capital, in order to shew the final profit or loss accruing from the use of it. On this question, I appeal and submit to the judgment of the merchants of England, who certainly know better than I do, how such accounts ought to be kept. As to the proposition now stated, that the debt is only due by the company to itself, as if the company were an individual person, I cannot accede to it. The corporation, and the subscribers or proprietors are different persons. One of them borrows; the other lends. In all cases the debt should appear and be acknowledged. I believe the worthy directors would be very tender of telling the proprietors, the widow, and the orphan, whose fortunes are invested in the stock, that the corporate body owed them nothing. Undoubtedly they are different parties, and accordingly the legislature has repeatedly interposed in the management of their domestic affairs for the necessary purpose of protecting one of them against the other.

Mr. *Johnstone* threw out an idea that the accounts might be made up in India to the 31st of Oct. in place of the 30th of April, whereby the affairs of India might be brought under the consideration of parliament at an earlier period.

Mr. *C. Grant* agreed that it would be desirable, but stated an insuperable objection, as the revenue year in India terminated on the 30th of April.

Mr. *Johnston* said, this was not the case in all the settlements, though it was in Bengal.—The resolutions were then agreed to, and the house having resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—Adj.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 11.

[Minutes].—Counsel were heard respecting the writ of error, T. Harwood, esq. *v.* Sir J. H. Astley, bart. M. P. viz. Mr. Curwood, for the plaintiff, in error; and Mr. Wilson for the defendant.—The Lord Chancellor delivered his opinion briefly thereon to their lordships, and concluded, by moving, that the judgment of the court below be affirmed, with 100l. costs.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their several stages. Among these the Foreign Inlistment bill, and the London Coal Market bill, were read a 3d time and passed. The Irish Additional Defence bill was read a 2d time; and the Kilwarden Family Pension bill, and the Offenders' Transmit bill, respectively went through committees of the whole house.—The Irish County Peace, the Irish Malt Duties, the Cotton Manufacturers, and other bills, were brought up from the Commons, and severally read a first time.—The Corn Bounty bill was, on the motion of Lord Walsingham, ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow, and the lords summoned thereon.—Mr. Swinburne, from the commissioners of Westminster Bridge, presented certain accounts directed to be laid annually before parliament, which were ordered to lie on the table.

[Vote of Credit.]—Lord Hawkesbury delivered the following message from his majesty, viz.—" G. R. His majesty firmly relying on the uniform zeal and affection of the house of lords, and considering that it may be of the utmost importance to provide for such emergencies as may arise, recommends it to their lordships to concur in enabling him to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprize, or design of his enemies, that the exigencies of affairs may require."—The message being read,

Lord *Hawkesbury* moved a corresponding address to his majesty on the occasion, and assuring him of the cheerful concurrence of the house, &c.; which was immediately voted by their lordships, and ordered to be presented to his Majesty by the lords with white staves.

[Corn Trade Bill.]—Earl *Stanhope* called their lordships' attention to the petition which he had yesterday presented against the corn bill; the prayer of which was, that the petitioner, Mr. Chambers, have leave to be heard by himself or counsel; had a noble sec. of state remained in the house, he should now have moved that the prayer of the petition be complied with; but that not being the case, he gave notice that he should move to that effect to-morrow.

The *Lord Chancellor* observed, that as he understood, it was the intention of the gent. who petitioned to be heard by himself, it could make little difference, presuming that the gent. was fully prepared, whether the noble earl's motion was made that day or to-morrow. However the bill itself being one not only of great importance, but of general regulation, it would be matter of serious consideration, whether an individual could be regularly heard against a legislative measure of the kind.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, June 11.

[Minutes.]—Mr. Corry moved for an account of the public proportional expenditure of Ireland for the year 1801, and for a copy of the letter for checking the same, as far as regarded the army. Granted, and afterwards presented by Mr. Smith, and ordered to be printed.—A 7th report was presented from the commissioners of naval inquiry. Ordered to lie on the table and be printed.—On the motion of Mr. S. Bourne, leave was given to bring in a bill to permit the exportation of salt from the Bahama islands, &c. in American ships, coming in ballast. The Attorney General moved for, and obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend certain provisions in the defence act passed this session, as far as related to the purchase of lands and hereditaments for the public service.—On the motion of Lord Marsham, the minutes referred to in the evidence taken before the Middlesex election committee, as far as related to the report made to the house on Monday last, were laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.—Mr. Ald. Coombe obtained leave to bring in a bill to alter, amend, and render more effectual the additional defence act, as far as it related to the city of London, which bill he afterwards brought in. It was read a first time, and ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow.—The sheriffs of London presented a petition from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. praying for the aid and authority of parliament to enlarge the Poultry Compter, and to remove for a time the prisoners now detained in this prison. The petition was referred to a committee.—The free port bill was read a 3d time and passed.—A message from the lords informed the house, that their lordships had agreed to the foreign enrolment bill, and to the London coal market bill.

[Irish Chancellorship of the Exchequer.]—Mr. *Foster* brought up the bill for warehousing home-made spirits in Ireland, intended for exportation, and for regulating the exportation of spirits not so warehoused. On the motion that the bill be read a first time,

Mr. *Francis*, in pursuance of the notice he had given yesterday, rose and spoke as follows: Sir, the formal question before the house entitles me to say a few words on a subject connected with the business of the day, and which, if it deserves consideration, ought to be considered now: previously, I mean, to our going into any discussion of the affairs of Ireland. The doubt which I wish to submit to the house has no personal relation whatever to the right hon.gent. (Mr. Foster), to whom the govt. of that kingdom is committed, though it has to the character and situation in which he appears. Nothing can be farther from my thoughts than to attach any blame, or to throw out any reflections on that gent. If at the time when a change was made in this branch of the administration, it could by any possibility have depended on me to have appointed a successor to the office which he represents, his name, I think, would have been one of the first that would have occurred to me. My question is not founded in private curiosity, nor will he receive it, I hope, as any mark of disrespect to him; though I believe there are many persons in this house besides myself who naturally wish to know which of the two right hon.gents. (Mr. Foster or Mr. Corry,) is the true Amphitryon in this drama. But mine, Sir, is a parliamentary inquiry, material, as I think, to the regularity and safety of our proceedings. The right. hon. gent. (Mr. Foster,) executes the office of chancellor of the exchequer of Ireland. He lays before us the official documents necessary for our information, and we have had the benefit and pleasure of hearing many speeches from him full of official information on the business of that department. How the house has been enlightened by those speeches, I need not say. On one particular point, I mean the balances supposed to remain in the hands of the collectors, we heard a variety of contradictory assertions, but the question is by no means cleared up to the satisfaction of the house.—My question is, by what title or authority does the right hon. gent. perform the functions of chancellor of the exchequer of Ireland? If he does not hold the office, on what ground does he claim or expect parliamentary credit to official statements, or assertions made by him in that character? The house does not permit a written document of any kind, particularly in matters of account, to be laid on the table, unless it be properly an official account, officially authenticated. Gent. may remember that, some time ago, an account of shipping was delivered from the board of admiralty, in which there appeared to be a considerable mistake in the computation, and it was not signed. That account was consequently withdrawn, and another presented, in which the error was corrected, and that 2d account was signed. Why does the house invariably observe this caution, and adhere to these forms? First, I presume, it is to insure the accuracy of the documents laid before them; and 2dly, that if they be erroneous, that there may be somebody answerable for the error, and liable to the censure of the house. The case which is now in our view is new, and as far as I can find, without example; consequently the reasoning upon it cannot be governed by precedent. The question, whether the practice now adopted be parliamentary or not, can only be determined by a reference to the forms and principles of our proceedings in cases similar, or equivalent, to the present. Now, Sir, I contend, that official statements made, or measures proposed orally in this house, in any department of govt. ought to be authenticated by the proper officer, just as must as written documents, and exactly for the same reason, namely, that in case of error, we may have some person officially answerable to parliament for having misled us. Whether the right hon. gent. who lately held the office of chancellor of the Irish exchequer, (Mr. Corry,) holds it now or not, I do not know; but I do know with certainty, that the right hon. gent. on the other side, (Mr. Foster,) has not accepted that place; because, if he had, he must have vacated his seat in this house. Now, Sir, allow me to submit a possible case to your consideration, merely for the purpose of my argument, and by no means to convey or insinuate any idea to his disadvantage. I have no wish that the management of Irish affairs should be taken out of his hands, or to interrupt him in the duties that belong to it. Suppose the right hon. gent. or any other in a similar situation, that is, performing the functions of an office of which another is in possession, should be discovered to have, wilfully or ignorantly, misinformed the house in some article of consequence, and led us thereby into some material error, I ask, Sir, on whom would the censure of the house attach, and what would be our remedy? The representative of the office might say, "I am "only a private person. The information I "gave the house ought not to be consi- "dered as official; and, if I have misled "you, I am very sorry for it." If you turned to the principal, he would naturally tell you that he had not misled you, because, though he continued to hold the office, it was, in effect, by a nominal tenure only; and that he had not exercised the functions of it. Here then there might be a breach of duty committed, and nobody to answer for it. Whereas, when the proper officer does the business of the office, you know where your censure ought to attach; and, if the case of misconduct should appear to require it, you might address the king to remove the party offending. The practice now pursued does not leave you that remedy, or any other.—Sir, I declare most solemnly, that I attach no dishonourable suspicion to the present transaction. I consider it only as a dangerous precedent, inadvertently established, and liable to be wilfully abused hereafter. There is one consideration more which may deserve attention, and with that I shall conclude. For the purpose of securing the independence of the house of commons, the law provides, that members of this house accepting certain places of profit under govt. shall vacate their seats, and be sent back to their constituents, who may re-elect or reject them. But if it be once admitted that one man may hold the office while another does the duty, may it not happen, that by collusion between the parties the intention of the law may be defeated? They may tacitly understand one another on the subject; the seat is not vacated, and two persons for the same office may be retained in the service of govt. without its appearing that the profits are received by more than one of them. I now submit the whole case to the wisdom of the house, who, I hope, will not think that I have troubled them on this occasion without sufficient reason.

Mr. *Foster* confessed that he should have rather felt awkward if he had acted as an official person without, at the same time, holding any office; but his conduct, he argued, was not inconsistent with the character of a private member of that house; and he could not help regarding the conduct of the gent. who had just sat down, as unconstitutional in the highest degree. If no gent. had a right to interfere in public affairs but such as were in office, the privileges of the house would be abridged in a manner that would operate against the spirit of the constitution. The part he had lately acted did not necessarily imply an official capacity. He had interfered still more two years ago, when he had moved for various papers, and proposed several public measures, and when no objection had been offered to his conduct. He certainly was not, he said, in office; but, as a member of parliament, he conceived that he had not only a right, but that it was his duty to act the part he was now pursuing. In regard to the responsibility that had been alluded to, he conceived it repugnant to every principle of the constitution, and as having a tendency to check freedom of debate, to imagine that a petition could be presented to his Majesty to remove any gent. from office for what he might say in that house. Such a petition could only be presented for conduct out of that house, as the responsibility of the chancellor of the exchequer could relate only to his office out of that house, and not to his conduct in it. Had he acted, he said, in any instance, as chancellor of the exchequer out of the house, there might, perhaps, have been some room for the animadversions of the hon. member; but any such conduct, or any such possible construction of conduct, he positively denied. He concluded with expressing a hope, that the hon. gent. would see the propriety of here dropping the matter, as the discussion could lead to no beneficial object; and begged that the hon. gent. would not persist in pushing him into an office which he was not eager to enter upon.

Mr. *Windham* was by no means satisfied with the explanation given by the right hon. gent. There seemed to be a total mistake, both as to the nature of the question, and as to the objections urged by his hon. friend. It was never supposed that the conduct of the right hon. gent. was to become the subject of a representation to the crown, or to be made cognizable by any tribunal other than that of the house itself. What was the idea then of any breach of privilege, or of any thing unconstitutional in the present proceeding? It was surely not unconstitutional, or inconsistent with privilege, for the house to take cognizánce of its own proceedings. With respect to the nature of the objection, nobody had ever maintained, that what had been done was illegal, or contrary even, so far as the letter was concerned, to any order or regulation of the house. Upon the point of right, the hon. gent. was impregnable; but there, let it be recollected, he had never been attacked. It was admitted, that he had the law on his side: the question was, whether he had propriety and usage on his side: and, on that point, there was something more than a doubt, there was next to a certainty that he had not.—In whose memory had it ever happened, that the business of any of the principal departments of govt. had been carried on by one person, while the office had been really held by another? What a confusion would such a course of proceeding introduce, even in the forms which he (the Speaker) would have to observe! It was lucky that the same practice did not subsist with respect to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland as did in the case of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for this country, namely, that of addressing him by his official title, as the Speaker might have been at a loss to know, which of the two hon. gent. he ought so to address. The confusion in the conduct of business, and in what was necessary for the guidance of the house, was equally real, and much more important. The house naturally expected that all official statements should be made to it by those who possessed the means of official information. This expectation was, he observed, founded upon practice, and that practice upon principle. If a member not holding the official situation, was to give to the house information that was incorrect, he might plead for his incorrectness the want of having been duly informed himself: but not so, the person who actually filled the office. His misstatements must either be wilful, or the result of ignorance for which he was responsible. The house had therefore something to trust to, and was not left without security or remedy on points which it could not know of itself, and on which nevertheless it was necessary that it should judge and act.—If these were the objections on one side, let it be seen how that matter stood in another view. The law required that every member who accepted a situation to be held during pleasure, should be sent back to his constituents, to know whether they were willing in the new circumstances to confirm their former choice. It could hardly be said, that a person in expectation of an office, was less dependant on the crown than one in actual possession, even though removable at pleasure. However easy the operation of turning out might be, it could not be easier than to refuse originally to appoint. But it would be said, and said truly, that though we knew, and could take cognizance, of those who held offices, we could not be equally certain of those who were only expectants. The list might be very large, yet the names not easily ascertained. But, even this objection did not apply in the present case. The question here was not of a person generally supposed to have views upon an office; but of one actually exercising its functions; of a person *designatus*, who gave a pretty good proof both of what he himself wished, and of what others intended for him, when he was willing, and was allowed, to discharge duties which few were found ready to undertake for nothing, and which others did not usually consent to leave to them, if it had not been previously agreed that they were to fill certain situations. A person so circumstanced, not only came within the scope and meaning of the law; as was in truth the case with many of whom it was not possible to take notice; but presented a distinct and sensible object, on which the rules of the house might be made to operate, even if the law did not. Under the law, as it stood, the seat of the hon. gent. was perhaps not vacated; because the letter of statutes must in these cases be pursued; but according to the spirit of the law, the seat ought to be vacated, and to that spirit the house might give effect by only determining to discountenance a practice, which, with nothing to recommend it, had obviously much that might be objected to it. In such circumstances could the house hesitate? Was it for the house to shew an indifference about a law which was meant to support its own purity; or could it be thought consistent with the spirit of that law, that a person exercising all the functions, and with them all the powers of a high office, confessing his own wishes, and manifesting in the clearest manner his connection with the servants of the crown, should yet continue to act and vote, merely because the act of his appointment was not yet delivered to him, and that he had not touched as yet the first quarter of his salary? If this were allowed, the law on which many were disposed to lay so much stress, on which it became the house at least to feel so much delicacy, might soon, with a little management, be made a mere name. These were the real and solid objections to the course which had been pursued. But, were all these out of the question, the very novelty of the proceeding must be thought objection sufficient, combined, as it must be, with numerous suspicions and conjectures which could not fail to arise out of it. When was so extraordinary a phænomenon ever seen before in the political sky, as that of two suns shining at once in the same sphere—two chancellors of the exchequer acting at the same time for the same kingdom? In smaller concerns, indeed, the case was common. We were accustomed to firms and partnerships, and an acting partner and a sleeping partner; but an acting and a sleeping chancellor of the exchequer, was something not yet familiar to us. It was not customary, at least in the case of the present office, for the great officers of state to appear in pairs. The nature of the office did not seem to admit of it. A chancellorship of the exchequer with two heads, was as monstrous a production as a cow with two heads, and would as much embarrass the naturalists to explain the manner in which the functions were to be performed. It happened, he supposed, as in most of these cases, that only one of the mouths eat; and he should be curious to know which of the two it was; whether the same that they had oftenest heard of late, or the other? For here a new prodigy occurred, not only each of the mouths spoke, but what was more extraordinary, spoke a different language. Instead of connexion or sympathy, the two heads seemed to be actuated by the most adverse spirit, and to be nothing less than butting against each other. In this state, how was the house to distinguish? To which of the two were they to resort for instruction? Which was that whose lowings they were to listen to, as conveying the true oracle? It was impossible for the house to sit down contented in such a state of things. They ought by their disapprobation to force matters back into their regular course, and not to suffer the usages of parliament to be set at nought, the law of the land to be eluded, the course of business to be disturbed, and themselves placed in a ridiculous and embarrassing situation, merely to answer the purpose of individual, or perhaps, ministerial convenience, and which, however innocent it might be in the present, might, in other instances, not happen to be of the sort most entitled to consideration. He thought the house was not a little indebted to his hon. friend for having brought this matter before them.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, much entertainment had been introduced upon a dull point, while scarcely any thing was said to the question before the house, which merely regarded the warehousing of home-made spirits in Ireland. He could see very little danger in the precedent from which so much mischief was apprehended, for the example could not be very contagious of those who undertook the labours of office without the emoluments, which was the case of his right hon. friend. Neither had his right hon. friend proceeded to originate any one measure which it was not equally competent for any other member of the house to have undertaken. He was therefore at a loss to see how any law had been violated; and until the time came when he could receive the emoluments of office, and fully enter on the discharge of all its duties, he did not feel that his right hon. friend was bound to vacate his seat. The whole of the conversation, he conceived to be altogether irregular.

Mr. *Sheridan* was convinced, that if the conversation had been altogether irregular, the speaker would not have permitted it to go so far; the speech of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) had been a humorous one, but really the situation of the two Irish chancellors of the Exchequer was ridiculous, and at least the country might get rid of the incumbrance of the one who did nothing; the acting partner came down to the house and denounced his sleeping partner, for balances in the collector's hands, and at length the sleeping partner was obliged to come and defend himself. The thing was something like Caliban in the play, that had two mouths, and Trinculo remarked, "if I could but bring this island monster into England, I should make a fortune by shewing him." He wished to know of the partnership which was the real Simon Pure? When men hold ostensible situations, such as the noble lord opposite to him (Lord Castlereagh), who, with his predecessor in that office, had been deceiving us for fifteen years with flourishing accounts of the state of India, we may believe more or less, as much as we can of their statements, because we know that they have official means of information, but when a member speaks officially, without even pretending to official information, the case was very different.

Mr *Canning* said, that in point of fact, his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Foster) had not made any motion without informing the house that he held no official situation. He had owned, in every measure he had proposed, that he had got no official communication. This he had done in order that the house might canvass the matter with greater attention. So far, therefore, the house had the evil in their own power. He asked if it was to be imputed to the right hon. gent. as a crime, that, by a previous discharge of any office, he had proved to his constituents his fitness and ability fully to execute its duties, whenever they were officially and formally imposed upon him.

Dr. *Laurence* said, that this discussion was material, because it had arisen out of a measure, against which gent. might be induced to vote, if it should appear that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Foster) had no better information upon the business in question than other hon. members. It appeared to him to be an anomalous and a new situation, and it was exceedingly proper that some notice should be taken of it, so as to draw forth the censure of parliament.

Mr. *Francis*, in explanation, said; Sir, I did never assert that, summo jure, any individual might not do all the acts done by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Foster.) My objection was founded on the usage of parliament, the inconvenience of such a proceeding, the danger of the precedent, and the abuses to which it was liable; and to all this it is thought quite sufficient to answer, that any member has a strict right to act in this manner if he thinks fit.

Mr. *Kinnaird* said, that when the right hon. gent. opposite to him (Mr. Foster) brought forward the Irish budget, he (Mr. Kinnaird) had considered all the various statements therein as proceeding from official information. Had he conceived it to be otherwise, he would have refused his consent. His Majesty and the country were badly served, and Ireland was left in a disgraceful situation. The right hon. gent. was in the situation of a person who had purchased an estate, the titles to which were not compleated. There was a miserable evasion somewhere. This question would have a very useful tendency, as it would lead to shew whom we were to look to for responsibility, in regard to these matters. The right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer presumed himself responsible for the affairs of this country. As to the monster with two heads, he dared to say that the print-shops would soon take care to caricature it in the manner it deserved.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, he wished to know if the right hon. gent. or any other was responsible; for if there was none of this description, then the crown wanted an official person in the house, and the house had none to rely on for necessary information that might occur.

Col. *Hutchinson* complained also of the equivocal character of the right hon. gent. who seemed at present to transact the Irish business.—The bill was then read a 1st time, and ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow.

[IRISH TREASURY BILLS BILL.]—Mr. Foster brought up a bill for raising 800,000l. by treasury bills for the service of Ireland. On the motion that it be read a 1st time,

Mr. *Johnstone* rose for the purpose of observing, that it had been allowed that the question that had just been agitated would have been regular, had the right hon. gent. acted as Chancellor out of the house. But he recollected, that in answer to a question respecting the issue of Exchequer bills, the right hon. gent. (Mr. Foster) had formerly stated that arrangements had been taken to provide that none of these bills should be issued, and that those arrangements would be followed up. He wished, therefore, to have an answer, if the right hon. gent. had said, that those engagements would be kept, on the authority of the late Chancellor (Mr. Corry), or his own?

Mr. *Foster* answered, that what he had said on the occasion alluded to, was only that he had understood that some arrangement had been made in Ireland to that effect. If the hon. gent. wished to have a serious answer, he would say, that he had no authority to make any such statement. —The bill was then read a 1st time.

[Irish Customs and Excise Regulation Bill.]—Mr. Foster presented a bill for better regulating the Customs and Excise in Ireland, and to prevent fraud therein.

Mr. *Sheridan*, in consequence of what fell in the last conversation from Mr. Foster, asked him, whether he had, in his individual capacity, undertaken to assure the Bank of Ireland, that the govt. of this country would make good the 800,000l. for the vote of credit?

Mr. *Foster.*—Sir; I remember when I was Speaker in the Irish parliament, there was one night a great number of questions asked about finance, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not in his place: the answer that was given at last was this; if you will have the patience to wait till the gent. who is in the habit of answering these questions comes in, you will probably receive an answer. This is precisely the answer I shall give on the present occasion.

Mr. *Sheridan* thought this was making bad worse; it was something strange for a member of that house to say, when he was asked a question, "Wait till I get into office, and then I'll answer you."

Mr. *Johnstone* also put some questions to Mr. Foster about the same arrangement; when the latter replied there was no such arrangement.—The bill was then read a 1st time.

[Loyalty Loan.]—Mr. Alexander brought up the report on the loyalty loan, which being read,

Mr. *Addington* observed, that being unavoidably absent from his attendance when the late discussion took place on this subject, he did not wish now to detain the house longer than to do what he now felt it to be his duty, namely, to reassert his former opinions, that the holders of stock in that loan were not entitled to payment before April, 1805; a majority of the house had so decided upon a former night; and relying, as he did, upon the opinions of the first law authorities in the land, he was still of the same opinion.—The report was then agreed to.

[Stamp Duties Bill.]—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved the order of the day for going into a committee on the stamp duties bill,

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he would not object to the Speaker's leaving the chair, but he wished that the committee should have power to divide the bill. He had still to object, that the old duties were not stated in the schedule, together with the new items of the same description. Without such a view, it was impossible to ascertain either the object or the effect of every distinct increase, or the amount of the whole. This duty was estimated at 800,000l. by the late chancellor of the exchequer, including an *ad valorem* stamp on conveyances, which would yield 300,000l. This stamp was omitted by the present chancellor of the exchequer, who yet took credit for a produce of 750,000l. The worst effect of this tax would be, that the courts of justice would be less accessible in consequence of it. The right hon. gent. said, he found this measure already in existence, he had not instituted it. This was entirely a question of degree, and when degree was lost sight of in such things, there was no longer any equitable principle. There were several species of taxation which might be increased in any degree without any mischief, such as game licences, taxes on spirits, and several others; but when the govt. looked towards the administration of justice with a greedy eye, the administration of justice must be affected. If we were told that no man should pursue a suit at law without a licence of the expence of 5 per cent. every one would say, that such a tax would be shocking in any country, but intolerable in this; but he saw no difference between such a licence and the necessity of using stamps to that amount. It was on this ground that he was always an enemy to the stamp duty on newspapers, for though it was contended that the liberty of the press would not be affected, if the duty was carried to an extreme it would be ruinous. On this principle it had been said by one of the most acute men of this country, Mr. Horne Tooke, and the observation was worthy of note, "the courts of justice are open to every man in this country, and so is the London Tavern; but if one cannot afford the expence, it is as useless for him to look for justice in the one as for the means of satisfying his hunger in the other." Of the whole sum of 750,000l. to be raised by the increase of stamp duties, 500,000l. would be on law proceedings. In the chancery proceeding the addition would be 25 per cent. If a man could not defend his right without a licence, or what amounted to it, this was virtually selling justice. It was a breach of the principle of Magna Charta, *nulli vendere justiciam*, by which equal justice was to have been secured to the rich and the poor. This was intended to prevent the imposition on those who were not allowed to remove their suits out of the county court to the king's court, without paying the crown for the privilege. The money levied by the govt. for these stamps would be exactly similar to that exacted by the crown in the former instance, and prohibited by Magna Charta. The poorer classes would be entirely excluded from the court by the vast expences superadded to the process. It might be contended, that it was a good thing to discourage litigation; he allowed it was, but it should not be prevented by extreme expence in the course of justice, which would equally repress the pursuit of right and the spirit of contention. He condemned the annual licences required for attornies, as illegal and oppressive; there were good and bad in all professions, and why should that be selected for this burden; why might it not as well be laid on physicians and merchants? He allowed that the 100l. stamp on the indenture was very proper, as it was a security of some property or connection in the person. He condemned the increase of duty on the policies for life insurance; persons sacrificing a part of their present income to secure a provision to their surviving relatives, should not be so burdened. He was the more surprised that the right hon. gent. imposed this burden, as in his own income tax, he allowed the sums paid for life insurances to be deducted from the income. He concluded with moving, "that the committee be instructed that they had power to divide the bill into two bills."

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought that the most proper place for the discussion of particular clauses would be in the committee, and therefore he would decline going into them in the present stage of the bill. But if the hon. gent. who had been at the trouble to direct his attention to the papers on the table, had given any part of that attention to the schedule itself, which had been so filled with anxiety for a week past, about the examination of the paper, he would not have fallen into such egregious misconceptions of its contents. Indeed, he himself felt some regret that the paper had not been printed, because, in that case, the hon. gent. might have found some friend to read it for him, and prevent him falling into the egregious error of estimating at 500,000l. the tax on conveyances, which, in the former schedule was estimated only at 60,000l. The discussion of this day, he observed, opened on a very different ground from that which had been taken by the opponents of the bill on a former night. They had attacked the bill on the principle that it would act most oppressively on that profession of which he had the honour once to be a member, and to whose interests certainly he could not wish to offer any injury; but he could now say, that in the conversation he had held with certain members of that profession, they seemed to have very different feelings from those professed for them by their advocates in that house; and though each individual might not exactly approve all the items of increase in the schedule, yet, in general, they were acceded to as circumstances called for by the exigencies of the times.—With respect to the very enormous increase that was stated by a learned and hon. member (Dr. Laurence), to accrue under this schedule, upon proceedings in the civil courts, it was an effect certainly not intended, but arose out of a misconception in wording the schedule, and not precisely considering the number of lines and words which constitute a folio in the proceedings of those courts: and if the tax were to attach, in the manner expressed in the schedule, upon those who sought the luxury of prosecuting suits in those courts, it certainly would, like most luxuries, be pretty much enhanced by the excess of expence: for, upon enquiry, it appeared, that in some cases, it was necessary to begin a suit in one of those courts by a statement occupying 400 pages, as preliminary to the commencement of any actual proceedings. It was, however, an error he would own, and, fortunately, one of a nature not very likely to escape detection; for, in fact, the only increase intended to be made, was a general proportion of one-third upon the rates in general. Now, as to the objection against the principle of taxing law proceedings, gent. would recollect that it was one of no very modern adoption, but commenced in the reign of King William, a period of our history not very favourable to unconstitutional measures and since taken up and adopted by successive parliaments; and he could see no reason why law proceedings were not as fairly objects of taxation, as other transactions of intercourse between men in society. With respect to the plea of injury to the poor, it was the peculiar characteristic of our constitution, to assign a mode to them of seeking justice *in forma pauperis.* But he utterly denied that this was a tax on justice; as the cost must fall upon the party maintaining an unjust suit; and so far was he from coinciding in the argument of the hon. member, for opening the law courts for litigation without expence, that he thought it a good thing to discourage it. The hon. member had said, that a tax on law proceedings was a violation of Magna Charta, and a sale of public justice. He totally denied the inference, and asserted, that the principle of Magna Charta was only against the practice of setting up justice to auction, and deciding in favour of the highest bidder. He would not, for the present, go more into the arguments of the hon. gent.; but regretted the hon. member had not resorted to the information he might have had from the paper on the table.

Mr. *Sheridan* replied, that it would be a tedious operation indeed for members to be obliged to read the paper, one after another, instead of having it printed.

Dr. *Laurence* said, the right hon. gent. had the advantage of combining with his other great talents a high degree of wit, which was seldom found in union with them. These long proceedings in the civil law courts, on which the right hon. gent. had been so witty, took place only in matrimonial cases, which there was reason to hope the right hon. gent. would never incur the burden of. The reason of moving for the instruction to divide the bill, was, that if one part of it could not be amended, it might be excluded. From the different modes in which papers were presented, it was not surprising that some of them escaped notice. Sometimes they were presented by a sec. of state at the bar, in volumes almost bulky enough to require a wheelbarrow to carry them; at another time they were brought slyly in the pocket of a sec. of the treasury, and suffered to lie on the table, or in some of the drawers under it, with no other notification than the titles of them being once read at the table. It was complained of as a great hardship, that in the court of Chancery the additional stamps would only amount to 25l. per cent. while in the Ecclesiastical court they would amount to 50 per cent. A great deal had been said of the benefit the poor had in being able to sue in forma pauperis: it was fit the house should know that this advantage was enjoyed only by those who could swear themselves not worth 5l. after the payment of their just debts. The gratuitous assistance of the bar was frequently given to persons not so entirely poor; but if govt. imposed this burden upon them, they would be entirely debarred from justice. He wished the judges to have a power of giving relief from stamps in such cases. As to the idea of costs falling on those who were in the wrong, it should be recollected, that there were many cases, in which each individual paid his own costs; and that when there was no object in litigation but the decision of an important point. In testamentary cases this burden would fall so heavy, that wills of small properties would not be worth establishing, and the falsification of wills would be encouraged by the barriers which were opposed to inquiry and conviction. In the Admiralty court also this burden would be severely felt. In cases of complaint between husband and wife, where the costs on both sides must always fall on the husband; in prize causes, where the parties on one side were that gallant set of men, British sailors, and on the other, foreign merchants, who were obliged to follow their ships into our ports, and vindicate themselves in our courts against the charges on which they were seized; in suits instituted on the subject of wills, the fees on the admission of proctors, and a vast variety of other cases, the expence of stamps would be so enormous, as to deter men from seeking justice or redress, and fall most heavily on those who were least able to bear it, and mostly on the injured party.

Mr. *Addington* said, the schedule was the counterpart of that which he should have recommended, if he had continued in office, and therefore he considered himself bound to take upon himself even a larger proportion of any obloquy to which it may give rise, than the right hon. gent. who now brought the measure before the house. The learned gent. who spoke last was in error, in thinking that the charge was increased on all the proceedings in the Admiralty court. There was no increase on appeals in prize causes, nor on libel, on declaration, nor on many other important proceedings. Neither was there a general augmentation on policies, or life insurance; on the contrary, the expence was diminished on small sums, and when it was increased, it was in proportion to the property. He acknowledged that costs on law proceedings could be justified only by absolute necessity; and he would recommend, that if substitute taxes could be found, these taxes should be reduced, or at least not increased. He thought the whole of this discussion best adapted to the committee, and was adverse to the instruction to divide the bill.

Sir *W. Pulteney* was of opinion, that objections which went so much to the principle of the measure, came best before the house before they went into the committee. He thought the new stamps on law proceedings totally unconstitutional and unwise. There were a number of taxes proposed and adopted in the reign of King William, from the necessity of raising money, and ignorance of the principles of taxation, which would not now be tolerated for a moment. There were a number of things in this schedule which ought to be omitted, and a number of other taxes of the right hon. gent. which ought to be repealed.

Mr. Serjeant *Best* opposed the tax, as absolutely barring the doors of justice against all the poor, as well as the middling orders of society. He said, that no man could venture to seek justice for a moderate sum of money, without an expence of a stamp more than it was worth his while to pay. He denied that the costs of suit fell upon the losing party; for that party frequently became insolvent during the course of litigation, and not only the costs of prosecution, but the enormous expence of stamps, was to be added to the loss of debt already sustained. In many cases the circumstances were so equally poised, that no costs were allowed by the court to either side, and in this case the incurred charge of stamps would fall heavily on both. He considered it as in effect a sale of justice, and a measure which would deter men from seeking justice. He always understood the fair principle of taxation to be, that taxes should be laid on those who were most able to bear them; but in this case the principle would be inverted, and the burden of the tax thrown where it could least be borne, upon the indigent and distressed. It was a tax on distress, and not opulence, as in the instance of mortgage: if a man wanted to borrow 10,000l. on mortgage, he would be obliged to pay 100l. by this tax. A person who owed 20,000l. paid more than one who had 20,000l. to spare. He asked the gent. of the landed interest whether this was right? He also observed, that this would be extremely burdensome on copyhold tenures, where the heir could not be admitted without suing in the Lord's court. He contended that the principle of Magna Charta was violated, inasmuch as the suiter could not come into court without paying. Law proceedings were already too heavily taxed, and suits were, in other respects, too expensive, and it was among the first principles of taxation to consider the prior state of what was to be taxed. With respect to costs falling always on those who were in the wrong, he had to observe, and those conversant with the courts knew it, that defences were frequently set up by persons unable to pay, and unwilling to confess their inability, who, when judgment was at length given, could satisfy the demand no otherwise than by going to prison, leaving the person for whom judgment was given to pay his costs, in addition to the loss of the debt. The measure would have the effect of impeding the progress of justice, by multiplying the expence, and of course augmenting the difficulties. Paupers, it was true, who could swear they were not worth 5l. would still have access to the courts, without being affected by the operation of the act; but there was a description of persons between the rich and the poor, who were peculiarly entitled to the considerate attention of the house, that would be materially and severely burdened by it. On these grounds, therefore, he felt himself under an obligation of supporting the amendment.

Mr. *Dickinson*, jun. thought it would have been well if the learned serjeant, before he made his speech, had taken into his consideration, that if there was any thing which more particularly distinguished this country, it was the purity and equity of its law proceedings. As to the tax falling heavily upon the poor, if the learned serjeant had taken time to reflect, he would certainly have made no such statement, seeing that there was a very considerable part of the administration of justice in this country which was totally unfettered by stamp duties, namely, all that valuable part which was left in the hands of the justices of the peace.

The *Attorney General* contended, that the argument of his learned friend applied rather against the laws already existing for levying a stamp duty, than against the augmentation proposed in the present instance. Did the learned member mean to state, that the laying an ad valorem duty in a certain proportion to the duties already existing on all legacies, bequests, conveyances, and promissory notes, would interfere with the course of law proceedings? The litigations that arose from having such instruments executed on an improper stamp, would be done away by the arrangement of the present measure, and on that ground it ought to have the support of his learned friend. All the arguments he had drawn from the effect the measure would have on the opinion of foreign nations, with respect to the difficulty of prosecuting suits, or obtaining justice in this country, applied generally to the policy of levying any stamp duty at all on such proceedings, and therefore did not bear on the present occasion.

Mr. *Windham* could not subscribe to the opinions of the learned gent. either that, in point of fact, the arguments of the learned serjeant were arguments against duties on law proceedings in general, and not against the particular duty in question; or that, being arguments against such duties in general, they were not applicable to the present occasion. If duties on law proceedings had been heretofore improperly imposed, that was no reason why they should now be renewed and extended. If the objections to such duties had, in former instances, been with propriety over-ruled, that was no reason why those objections might not be urged with effect now. It was an odd argument in favour of any principle wrong in itself, that the same had in fact, on former occasions, been acted upon; or, on the other hand, that what was right in a certain degree, might therefore be pursued to any extent at pleasure. In the present instance, he should be inclined to say the direct contrary; and that law proceedings having been already heavily taxed, there was an additional reason why nothing farther should be added. In his opinion, law proceedings never ought to have been taxed at all. A tax upon law was, as had been well observed by an ingenious writer, a tax upon necessaries. It was a tax upon that by which the means of existence were, in many instances, to be procured. It was a tax in consequence, that fell fatally upon the poor. To them it was nothing less than a denial of justice; and, of consequence, of all that which justice was to give. The disadvantages of the poor, in that respect, were already sufficiently great; and that from no fault either on the part of the law, or of the govt. or of those by whom the law or the govt. was to be administered; but from the necessary condition and constitution of things. As had been well observed by a great writer (Dr. Johnson), to bring a rich man and a poor man upon equal terms into a court of justice, was a *desideratum* in human policy, that had never yet been fully supplied. But the difficulty was, in most cases, to enable the poor man to come into a court of justice at all. This difficulty, instead of alleviating, we were taking means, deliberately, to augment, and thus to defeat the very end and object of law, which was to give protection to the poor against the rich, to the weak against the strong, to the helpless against the powerful. Even as it was at present, no liberal or conscientious lawyer would advise a client to have recourse to law, for any object of less value than 40 or 50l.; a value bearing a large proportion to the fortunes of most in the community, and affording, therefore, an extensive range, within which injustice might operate with impunity. This circle we were now about to enlarge. If any plea could be urged for increasing the difficulties of legal proceedings, it would be in cases of a far different description; cases, namely, of penal justice, where prosecutions for petty offences were to be carried on against individuals on the part of the public. There arguments might not be wanting to shew, that too great facility in giving effect to law, might be to the full as injurious as too great difficulty; particularly if certain *societies* were likely to come in for a part. But in these cases, on the contrary, if he were to judge from a bill that had been projected lately, the opinion of many was, that every impediment was to be removed, and nothing omitted that might give to justice the most free and unrestrained course. It was only in questions of *meum & tuum*, where redress was to be sought for private wrongs, and men were endeavouring to recover what was their own, that difficulties were to be thrown in the way, and such impediments created, as in the case of those who ought peculiarly to be the objects of our protection, would amount to nothing less than a prohibition. He was amazed that the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer should, for the sake of such a sum as this tax would bring, be willing to profit by the wrong of his predecessors, and to persist in a measure so contrary to every principle of justice, and pregnant with such serious injury.—The question was then called for, and strangers ordered to withdraw. The question, however, was not pressed to a division, and the house forthwith resolved itself into a committee.

Mr. *Sheridan* objected to the schedule becoming part of the bill, until members had had an opportunity of examining it after it should be printed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, to leave out the schedule would be to omit one of the most important and efficient portions of the bill. If the hon. gent. wanted information of the existing stamps, a list was printed, which was in the hands of every stationer. The hon. gent. he said, seemed to neglect every ordinary means of gaining intelligence, and to be disposed to call for documents which will give him no explanation whatever.

Mr. *Sheridan* was surprised to hear the sense and understanding of the committee was thus to be employed on loose, irregular papers, instead of being assisted by the production of authenticated instruments. This bill, which was to disappoint all the ends of justice in the country, was introduced under circumstances peculiarly suited to its nature and design.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* attributed the difficulty felt by the hon. gent. not to any deficiency in the papers on the table, but to some inattention on his part in regard to the contents of those papers.—A desultory conversation of some length took place; Mr. Serjeant Best, Mr. Fonblanque, and Mr. W. Smith, contending, that the schedule ought to have been printed, pursuant to what was known to have been the intention of the late right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the information of gent. previous to the discussion of so important a measure; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, M. Huskisson, and Mr. S. Bourne, insisting that it was the business of any hon. gent. who wished the paper to be printed, to have moved the house to that effect, but at the same time not expressing any reluctance to have the paper adverted to, containing a comparative statement of the old and the new stamp duties, ordered to be printed, when the house should be resumed, though they would not consent to delay the progress of the bill for that purpose.

Mr. *Sheridan* maintained, that it was the duty of the hon. gent. who had moved for, or brought up the account, to have moved that it should be printed, for the accommodation of gent. who seldom paid attention to papers until they came in that form before the house, and complained that on a former occasion, his attention had not been directed to the papers now alluded to.

The *Secretary at War* replied, that the laying the paper on the table was a public act of the house, with which every member must be supposed to be acquainted, and it was therefore the right hon. gent.'s own fault, if he wished it to be printed, not to have moved for it. The fact, however, was, that the hon. gent. had committed a blunder with respect to this paper in the first instance, that he had repeated his blunder in the last discussion, and that he was now in the 3d instance guilty of the same blunder.

Mr. *Sheridan* observed, that the right hon. gent. had the happiness to belong to a country where they possessed the second sight: he unfortunately was of a blundering race in the West, and might reasonably expect some compassion for his hereditary infirmities. With all that respect he felt for the superior discernment of the right hon. sec. it was his duty to say the bill was calculated to prevent the attainment of justice in our public courts; it was not to impose large sums on hackney coaches, quack medicines, and lavender water. It was not on the constitutional grounds connected with the use of Dr. Anderson's pills, that he objected to it, but it infringed the sacred principles of our political constitution, which no pharmaceutic remedy could subsequently restore. Four or five hundred thousand pounds were, in multifarious forms, to be raised by these stamps, and the poor were to be deprived of that protection of the law to which they were entitled.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought the present not the proper stage to enter into the general principles of the bill. The hon. gent. seemed to have very soon forgotten, that his motion was not to abrogate but to divide the bill. The figures he had also misstated; and what was most unlucky for him was, that he could not correct his arithmetic, without stultifying his argument.—A considerable part of the bill was then gone through, when the house being resumed, progress was reported, and the committee appointed to sit again on Friday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 12.

[MINUTES.] — The Irish Additional Force bill went through a committee of the whole house, and was afterwards reported.—The Kilwarden Family Pension bill was read a 3d time and passed.—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their several stages.

[CORN TRADE BILL.]—Earl *Stanhope* moved, that the order of the day for the 2d reading of the Corn Trade bill be discharged, and that the bill be read the 2d time on Monday next. His lordship said, he had distinctly given notice, that he should oppose the bill. Whatever the opinions of noble lords might be as to the merits of this bill, it would be allowed, it was a bill of great importance. He had read hundreds of bills, but never saw any so unworthy to receive their lordships' approbation as this, if it were even admitted that the principle of the bill was unexceptionable. If their lordships should come to a debate on it, he would shew that it was drawn up in a most absurd and ridiculous manner. The legal import of the words et cætera, he believed, had never been attempted to be defined. But in this bill it was taken to mean biscuits. The bill had occasion to notice the relative value of English and Irish currency. This was well understood to be as 12 to 13. In this bill it was sometimes stated to be as 9 to 9; 10 to 10; as 14 to 16. Such was the arithmetic of the bill, such its absurdities! As to its policy, it was a bill to increase the price of corn and bread. This was the acknowledged object of its framers, this the language of the bill, and of the committee in the other house. He said thus much to call their lordships' attention to this extraordinary bill.—The noble lord s motion was then agreed to.

[BROQUEN'S NATURALIZATION BILL.]—The report of the committee on this bill being read,

The Bishop of St. *Asaph* observed, that the naturalization of foreigners was an act of mere grace in the legislature; and the principle it had adopted was, that the person praying for such favour should be of the religion of the realm by law established. If they were adults, it was required that they should have received the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England. If they were not adults, he thought the principle should be still maintained, and evidence required that they were Protestants of the English church. The proper evidence was that of having been confirmed. In the present instance, which was that of a lad under the age prescribed by law for taking the sacrament, no evidence was produced before the committee to prove that the young man was a Protestant of the church of England. He thought it indispensable that the person praying to be naturalized, should give proof of his being a Protestant of the church of England, by having received the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, if an adult; or being confirmed, if otherwise. He should on this principle, which he held to be of the utmost importance, move, "that the report be taken into consideration on this day 3 months."

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he entirely agreed with the learned prelate on the principle which should govern such bills. But, perhaps, in the present case, it was pushed too far. It would be hard on the party to lose all the expences of the bill, because of that which might fairly, as to him, be deemed to result from mere ignorance. He therefore wished, that the report should be postponed for a few days, to see if the party could not give proof of his being of the established religion. Perhaps the bill might be passed with a prospective power; enacting that he be naturalized so soon as he shall be confirmed, or receive the sacrament. He was unwilling the person should suffer from ignorance. He would therefore propose, that the report lie on the table, to see what could be done, consistent with the principle which he wished to maintain, and with what was just in this particular case. For future regulation, he thought it would be well that a committee should be appointed to point out what evidence should be necessary when the person was not an adult. The best evidence would probably be that of confirmation, as suggested by the learned prelate.—The report was thereupon ordered to lie on the table.

[INSOLVENT DEBTORS' BILL.]—Lord *Walsingham* moved the 2d reading of the bill; which being done, it was ordered, on the motion of his R. H. the Duke of Clarence, that it be referred to a committee of the whole house on Tuesday next. When the question was put,

The *Lord Chancellor*, leaving the woolsack, said, that the bill before their lordships seemed to have remained in the house without a single friend, until the illustrious Duke had taken it under his protection. Most of their lordships, he was persuaded, were even ignorant that such a bill was before them; and he thought it extraordinary that those who brought forward a measure of such importance, did not think it worth their while to consult with the noble and learned lords in that house. He approved of deferring the commitment of the bill until Tuesday, and he hoped that their lordships, in the mean time, would bestow all that attention on it that the great importance of it required, for it was impossible that it could pass without undergoing very great alterations in the committee.

The Earl of *Westmeath* stated, that the respectable member of another house (Mr. Shaw), who brought in the bill, had confided it to his care when it should come before their lordships. As it was not his wish to precipitate a measure of such consequence, he had been induced to postpone moving for the 2d reading of the bill, until he had some conversation with the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, which it was his intention to have requested on the first opportunity.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 12.

[MINUTES.]—Sir J. Anderson brought up the report of the committee on the petition from the city of London, respecting the re-building of the Poultry Compter. Upon the motion of the hon. bart. leave was given to bring in a bill for rebuilding the said Compter, and for enabling the sheriffs, in the interim, to remove their prisoners.—A new writ was moved for a representative for Bath, in the room of Lord J. Thynne, who has accepted the place of Lord Chamberlain to his Majesty.—The Expiring Law bill was committed.—The Lottery bill was read a 3d time and passed, as was also the Irish Small Note bill.—Mr. Sturges Bourne brought up a bill for permitting the exportation of salt from this country and the Bahamas, to certain settlements in North America.

[ORDNANCE LANDS BILL.]—On the motion for the 2d reading of the Ordnance Lands bill,

Mr. *Giles* objected to it, on the principle of its allowing the permanent purchase of lands for the crown, which was contrary to the principle of our constitution. The General Defence bill already gave power for the temporary purchase of such lands; but this bill would go to render the purchase permanent. That the principle may have been adopted in any former bill, was no reason, in his mind, why it should serve as a precedent to justify new errors. The reference, too, was to the lord lieutenant of the county, whom he considered ineligible, as being an officer of the crown, removable at pleasure; and, therefore, he thought that reference to the bench of justices of the county would be infinitely more proper. He did not know whether the present was the proper stage in which to object to particular clauses; but if not, he would avail himself of the future stages of the bill.

The *Speaker* informed the hon. member, that in the present stage of the bill he must confine himself merely to the general principle of the bill.—The bill was then read the 2d time.

[IRISH TRADE WITH NEWFOUNDLAND.]—The house having resolved itself into a committee on the acts for regulating the trade between Ireland and Newfoundland,

Mr. *Foster* observed, that the trade to Newfoundland was of importance to Ireland, and deserved encouragement, and for that purpose he proposed two resolutions to the committee: 1st, that salt should be allowed to be exported, duty free, from the ports of Waterford, Ross, Cork, and Limerick, to Newfoundland, for the benefit of the trade; and 2dly, that salt imported into Ireland should be allowed to be re-shipped, without being landed from the vessels in which it should be imported into vessels clearing out for Newfoundland, free of duty.—The resolutions were agreed to, and the house being resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[IRISH REVENUE BILL.]—On the motion for the 2d reading of the Irish Revenue Regulation bill,

Col. *Hutchinson* objected to its being read a 2d time in so thin a house. He thought it a bill of much importance, and that it ought to be printed, and time given for its mature consideration. He was himself unacquainted with its contents, but only knew from report, that it was directed to raise a very great revenue in Ireland, and therefore the fullest time ought to be given for its due discussion.

Mr. *Foster* answered, that the bill was printing, and he had every reason to believe would be ready this day. If the hon. member would not oppose the 2d reading now, and allow the bill to be committed for to-morrow, he pledged himself to them to agree to defer it farther till Saturday, if the hon. gent. desired.—The bill was then read a 2d time, and committed for to-morrow.

[IRISH SPIRITS WAREHOUSING BILL.]—Mr. *Foster* moved the 2d reading of this bill.

Col. *Hutchinson* observed, that this measure was a direct violation of the articles of union, and he felt himself bound, of course, to object to it. The distillers of Ireland felt considerable alarm on the subject; and in such a case, he trusted the right hon. gent. would not persist in his intention of proceeding with the bill this day, and in so thin an attendance. It would not be too much, therefore, to ask, that the right hon. gent. should defer the 2d reading, till the bill should be printed, and in the hands of the members.

Mr. *Foster* replied, that he was willing to give the hon. gent. every indulgence consistent with the period of the sessions. There was a bill before the house for the collection of all the revenues of Ireland, which had been kept back above 3 months, and depended for some of its clauses on the provisions of this bill. The hon. gent. would have many opportunities of opposing the principle of the bill, though he was certain he should, on examining it, perceive that it was calculated to carry into effect the spirit of the Union. There was one clause in it, however, which, consistently with his duty to his constituents, he could not but approve, that was the clause for allowing the warehousing of spirits for exportation, without paying the duty, which amounted to 4s. 6d. per gallon, whilst the intrinsic value of the spirit was not above 2s. The right hon. gent. stated some other circumstances, to shew that the measure was not inconsistent with the article of Union, and expressed a firm persuasion, that whatever might be the opinion of certain distillers, all the rational, moderate, and loyal persons engaged in the trade would be satisfied. He should consent, if the bill should not be printed this day, to put off the committee to Saturday, beyond which he could not delay it.

Col. *Hutchinson* rising to reply, was reminded by the Speaker of the necessity of confining himself strictly to explanation. The hon. member then expressed a wish that the right hon. gent. would not compel him to take advantage of the state of the house.

Col. *Longfield* observed, that there was not a more loyal body of men in Europe, than his respectable constituents, in whose behalf his hon. colleague had opposed the present question.

Col. *Hutchinson* then moved, that the house be counted, when it appearing that only 29 members were present, the order was necessarily dropped, and the house adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 13.

[MINUTES.]—In the appeal, Arrott *v.* Kerr and others, Mr. Alexander and Mr.

Nolan were heard for the respondents, and Mr. Romilly replied.—The Civil List, Irish Promissory Note, the Poultry Compter, and several private bills, were brought up from the Commons, and read a 1st time.—The Irish Additional Force bill was read a 3d time and passed.

On receiving the report of the private committee on the London Clergy bill,

The *Lord Chancellor* said, that nothing was nearer his heart, than that the clergy of the established church should be adequately maintained, but he feared that he could not give his concurrence to the bill, consistent with that regard for the rights of individuals, which the legislature was always so laudably anxious to maintain He did not very well see how the bill could be passed without having first obtained the consent of all those whose interests were likely to be affected by it. Their lordships should take it into their consideration, that much of that property which would become chargeable for the support of the clergy residing in London, had been purchased under the faith that no farther impositions should be laid on it. It would become the house to deliberate, before it would go the length of violating the engagements so taken. At all events, the principle of the bill should be fairly discussed; for if their lordships should agree to it, it was not improbable but a thousand bills of the same kind would be applied for in the next session. He concluded by moving, "that it be referred to a committee of the whole house on Monday." Agreed to.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 13.

[Minutes.]—The Loyalty Loan bill was read a 2d time, and committed for to-morrow.—The London Permanent Additional Force bill, and the Property Tax Commissioners bill, went through a committee.—The resolutions of the committee on the Irish Newfoundland trade were reported and agreed to.

[Irish Spirits Warehousing Bill.]—Mr. Foster moved, that the order for the 2d reading of this bill should now be read.

Col. *Hutchinson* said, he held in his hand a petition from Richard T. Blunt, for himself and others, distillers of the city of Cork, praying to be heard by themselves, or counsel, against this bill.

The *Speaker* stated, that if it was a petition against a tax bill, it was contrary to the standing orders to receive it. The petition being read, it was found to have nothing in it contrary to the standing orders, and was ordered to lie on the table. On the motion that the petitioner be heard by himself or counsel on the report,

Mr. *Foster* suggested that the proper time for hearing counsel would be before the committee, and moved that the bill be now read a 2d time.

Colonel *Hutchinson* pleaded the injury which this bill would do to the trade of Ireland, as an excuse for his counting out the house upon it yesterday, and for the opposition which he was about to give it in the present stage. It was not necessary for him here to enter into any panegyric on the loyalty of the distillers of Ireland, or to state their willingness to support a fair proportion of the public burdens of their country. It was sufficient for him to say what he could clearly establish, that some of the provisions of this bill were contrary to the principles of the act of union. The Irish distillers, in consequence of certain revenue laws in Ireland, enjoyed a bounty of 8 per cent. on all spirits distilled in stills of above 500 gallons, of 16 per cent. on all distilled in stills of above 1000 gallons. This regulation was still more beneficial to the revenue than to the distiller, for the effect of it had been to increase the revenue from distilleries from 60,000l. to 120,000l. in the first year. and at last to 800,000l. and to reduce the number of distilleries from 1000 to 600, and thereby diminish the expence of collection. These provisions were granted prior to the union, and enforced then. At the union, by the 3d section of the 6th article, it was enacted, that all articles of the growth, produce, and manufactures of either country, should be imported into the other, on paying the same duties which were paid for similar articles in the country into which the importation was made. A regulation had been made conformably to this principle, for the mutual importation of the produce and manufacture of both countries, and papers had been laid on the table, and schedules had been framed accordingly, in which no alteration had been, as to these duties, which were the only advantage the Irish had. This bounty had now been enjoyed 20 years by the Irish distillers, and it was to be supposed that those who had framed the present schedules were not aware of this and the other circumstances when they arranged them. In the 2d clause of the 6th article, where the rights of the English distillers were proved, for it was enacted, that all duties and bounties which interfered with the mutual intercourse should cease, and this allowance was still permitted to subsist. It may be said, the act of union did away this allowance; he submitted it did not, for all that the union allowed was, the power of enacting a counteracting duty, to counteract internal regulation. If there was any person who was more concerned than another to guard the rights of Ireland in this instance, it was the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose faith was pledged that the provisions of the act of union should not be a mere dead letter. What he principally rested on was the declining state of the revenue of Ireland, he would not say in consequence of the union; but at least since that measure, the increase of the debt of Ireland, the falling off of the manufactures of that country, even of its staple, the linen manufacture, according to the high authority of the right hon. gent. the diminution of its provision trade, the annihilation of its woollen manufacture, and that this was the only point in which the trade of Ireland had any prosperity. He did not say that the union did not afford many sources of public benefit, but none of them had yet come into action, and this was, in fact, the only benefit that Ireland enjoyed; but the manufacturers here found out it was some advantage to Ireland, and they wished to take it away. The question was before the judges, and there was every reason to believe their decision would be in favour of the Irish manufactures. Why then, was it proposed to turn short, and to endeavour by this act to deprive the Irish distillers of the advantage they enjoyed. The most respectable legal opinions of both countries had been taken on this measure, and the result of all was, that this benefit should not be taken away from Ireland. This bill was held out as a boon to the Irish nation, by excusing the payment of duty on warehousing; but on the distillers it would be a burden, as it deprived them of their former allowance. Of the spirits which were exported from Ireland, nine-tenths were sent to Britain; so that on the remaining portion no advantage could be counted on. He knew the Chancellor of the Exchequer must be aware of the present state of Ireland. The right hon. gent. built his glory on the atchievement of the union, and if the union could be carried into effect, by the consolidation of the affections, and the advantages of both parts of the empire, it would have that effect; but he was sure, if the right hon. gent. clearly turned his attention to this bill, he was sure he would not so far counteract the interest of Ireland.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, this question lay in a narrow compass. There could be no doubt of the religious obligation of the act of union, in the letter as well as in the spirit. In the spirit, nothing could be more clear, than that articles of the produce and manufacture of each country, should be admitted into the other, on paying the same duty that the home manufacturers paid. On this principle, all spirits from Ireland to G. Britain were to receive a drawback to the amount of the whole of the duties they had paid at home, to be charged in England with the same as home-trade spirits paid here. It happened, that in Ireland, an allowance of 8 per cent. was given to stills of 500 gallons, of 16 per cent. to spirits distilled in stills of 1000 gallons. When these spirits came to be exported, they received a drawback of the whole they had paid, with the allowance, which operated as a bounty of 8 per cent. in one instance, and of 16 in the other, against the British spirit. It was true, this regulation had subsisted as an internal one in Ireland for 20 years, and great benefit had been found from it to the revenue. As an internal regulation, it was allowed to remain, but he did not think any regulation could be regarded as a permanent compact. At the time the regulation was adopted, there could be no view to the union, but having been passed by the act of union, was it to be supposed that it was to be unaltered. Every act of the separate parliaments remained subject to the discretion of the united parliament. With respect to the legal opinions, the only difference was, that the Irish law officers thought this allowance so opposite to the spirit of the act of union, that it must have been done away by that act; the English law officers, though they agreed that the allowance was contrary to the spirit of that act, thought it was due to the letter of that act to frame a legislative measure for that purpose. One thought it was not necessary to apply to parliament, the other thought it was. He had considered the subject particularly, and he was convinced that if this provision was not agreed to, there would be such a hardship on the English distillers as he could not reconcile himself to be a party to.

Dr. *Laurence*, at the time the act of union was passed, expected that there would have arisen many delicate questions of this sort between the two countries. Although there were many different ways of doing away the inequality complained of, yet he must support the principle that the intercourse between the different parts of the united kingdom should be as much as possible on the principle of equality.

Mr. *Francis* perfectly agreed that equality was the fair principle by which the intercourse of the two countries should be governed; but in the present difficulties and embarrassments of Ireland, he thought as much tenderness as possible should be used towards her.

Mr. *Vansittart* said, that when representations were made on this subject last year, it was clearly the opinion of the Irish govt. that this allowance was a bounty; and the only question was, whether the act of union, coupled with the temporary acts which had followed, had established them so as to make them a matter of faith. Proceedings had been commenced by the distillers here for laying their case before parliament, but had been withdrawn on the assurance of the consideration of their case on the part of govt.

Mr. *Ormsby* said, the Irish parliament was not pledged eternally to an act, which, if not annually renewed, expired every 29th of September. He contended that the corn laws of the present session did vast benefit to Ireland beyond what it suffered by this bill. This allowance of a deduction of 16l. for every 100l. was in fact a bounty as 16l. on 84l. or of 20l. per cent.; the advantage of warehousing was besides to be considered. The Irish distillers, who had come to London last year on the subject, would, he was sure, have been very well satisfied with this arrangement, so he was sure would the whole of the Irish distillers, when the measure was explained to them.

Mr. *Sheridan* allowed the provision alluded to had been in force in Ireland for 20 years, and had been instituted without any view to the union. How then could the right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt), be so clear as to the sense of the articles of union, when this provision of the Irish parliament of such long standing had not been altered by the act of union, and had been confirmed by every act since that æra? If it was so obvious that this was an injustice to the English distillers, why was not that injustice pointed out before? It was true, application had been made by the English distillers, but these applications had always been withdrawn. Hence there was reason to presume that the allowance would be continued, and the Irish distillers had accordingly vested their capital in large works, and extensive stock. This was hard. The thing should be left to a legal decision, and while that was expected, the allowance should not be withdrawn, where there was reason to expect that the trade of Ireland would be fostered and cherished.

Mr. *Smith* was persuaded, that if this point was not noticed in forming the schedule on the act of union, it was by oversight. Application had been made by the English distillers, and redress had been promised in one way or another. The only fair principle was, the principle of equality; and if the extent of works and the expenditure of capital was added, it would weigh infinitely on the side of the English distillers.

Mr. *Foster* was sure, that when the Irish distillers understood this bill, they would look upon what it took away from them as a just privation, and, on what it gave them as a benefit. Before the union, no exportation of Irish spirits could take place to England, now there was no limit to that exportation. Before the union, there was no power of warehousing, now there was. The duty at the union was very low; it was now 4s. a gallon, and all this was saved to the distiller. These advantages were long wished for by Ireland, and he was happy to have introduced the measure which gave them.

Mr. *Dawson* complained that this measure was brought forward at this late period of the session, when so few Irish members were present, when those birds of passage lately brought over for occasional service, and who were seen in such numbers a few days back, had returned to their native clime. If this advantage to Ireland, was an oversight in the act of union, the surrender of the constitution of that country, may be said to be a greater oversight. If it were now to be said, give us back that constitution, the surrender of which was an oversight, what would be the answer? Yet the sole advantage which Ireland enjoyed was asked back on the same ground. Parliament was certainly competent to make an alteration in this point, but he feared it scarce would.

Mr. *Alexander* contended, that there was at that moment a much larger proportion of Irish representatives, than any other in the house; and these were gent. of intelligent and enlightened minds, who had paid great attention to all business relating to Ireland. This fact, he thought it necessary to assert, in order to obviate the mischief which might be occasioned in Ireland, if the statement of the hon. gent. should go there uncontradicted. If it was the hon. gent.'s intention to make himself popular in Ireland, by opposing this bill, it was the duty of every Irish member to deliver his sentiments upon it. The corn bill recently sent up to the Lords, was a proof that the parliament did not wish to deprive Ireland of any advantages. But what injury did this bill do to Ireland? None. The distillers had invested their capitals long before the exportation of their manufacture was allowed, or thought of: and this bill only went to regulate the duties to be paid on spirits when brought to this country.—After some observations from Col. Longfield, Mr. Ward, Mr. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Ker, the bill was read a 2d time, and ordered to be committed on Monday.

[STAMP DUTIES BILL.]—On the motion that the house do resolve itself into a committee on this bill,

Mr. *Sheridan* rose merely to ask a question relative to a point to which he should feel himself bound to call the attention of the committee, if the answer should not be satisfactory. The preamble of this bill stated, that it was to repeal all the existing duties on stamps, for which those contained in the subsequent schedules were substituted. The point on which he wanted explanation was, whether it was proposed to increase the stamp duty on newspapers. He supposed it was not intended, but until the matter should be explained, the bill appeared to have that effect. The discount for prompt payment was at present 16 per cent. and there was also an allowance of 18s. made to newspaper proprietors, as an equivalent for the rise in the price of paper, when the additional duty had been laid on paper. The 16 per cent. discount was inserted in the schedule of the bill, but there was no mention of the allowance of 18s. and it would be manifest, that if the bill were to repeal the act by which that allowance had been made, without re-enacting it, the effect would be to lay an additional duty to the extent of that allowance, on newspapers.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, replied, that the allowance was made out of the excise on paper, and that the present repealed only the stamp acts, and left all allowances under any other acts totally undisturbed. The matter, however, should be attended to.—The house then resolved itself into a committee. Many of the clauses of the bill were strenuously contested, more particularly that which tended to impose an additional tax on attornies and proctors, in the form of an annual licence. Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fonblanque, Mr. Serjeant Best, Dr. Lawrence, and others, argued against the clause, both as a stigma on the profession, and as unjust and oppressive.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Attorney General admitted the force of the objections to a certain extent, and consented to modify and reduce the tax in certain proportions, to be calculated from the length of time that the persons concerned were in the actual exercise of their profession. On the clause proposing an additional duty of 3d. on every sheet of paper employed in law proceedings, an opposition of some length ensued, principally on the part of Mr. Sheridan, Dr. Laurence, Mr. Serjeant Best, &c. when a division took place—Ayes 43, Noes 10, majority in favour of the clause 33.—The other clauses and amendments then went through the committee without any material alteration; and the house being resumed, the report was ordered to be received tomorrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, July 14.

[MINUTES.] The royal assent was given by commission to the Irish Additional Force bill, Lady Kilwarden's Annuity bill, the Foreign Soldiers Enlistment bill, the Weedon Beck Compensation bill, the Chatham Ordnance bill, the London Coal Market bill, the Irish Malt bill, and several private bills.—The commissioners were, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Walsingham and Earl Rosslyn. The Ordnance Franking, the Civil List, the Poultry Compter, and the Irish Notes bill, were read a 2d time.—The Irish County Peace, the Malt Duty, and the Hackney Coach bills, were read a 3d time and passed.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, July 14.

[MINUTES.]—The Deputy Usher of the Black Rod attended at the bar, and summoned the house to appear in the house of Lords, to hear the royal assent given by commission. The Speaker, with the house, attended accordingly; and, on his return, he informed the house that he had been in the house of Peers, and heard the royal assent given by commission, to the Kilwarden Annuity bill, the Irish Additional Force bill, the Foreign Enlistment bill, the Clandestine Marriage bill, and the Coal Market bill, with several private bills.—Lord C. Somerset took the oaths and his seat for the borough of Monmouth.—Mr. Alderman Combe brought up the report of the Committe on the Additional Force Amendment bill, so far as relates to the City of London, which was agreed to.——The British Fishery bill, the Leather Manufacturers bill, and the Property Commissioners bill, were severally read a 3d time and passed.—A message from the Lords informed the house, that their lordships had agreed to the Hackney Coach bill, the Irish Counties Peace bill, and the Corn Regulation bill, without any amendments.—The Woolwich Ordnance Lands bill, the bill to obviate Inconveniencies in the Accomptant General's Office in Chancery, the Irish Revenue bill for raising 800,000l. the Nassau Free Port bill, the Loyalty Loan bill, the Tobacco and Snuff Warehousing bill, and the 2,500,000l. bill, were severally reported, and the resolutions agreed to.—A new writ was ordered to be issued for the county of Louth, in Ireland, in the room of the right hon. J. Foster, who, since his election, has accepted the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland.—The Consolidated Fund bill, and the Irish Revenue Regulation bill, were severally committed.

[IRISH REVENUE BILL.]—On the question that the house should go into a committee upon the bill for regulating the revenue of Ireland,

Col. *Hutchinson* said, it was impossible that he could consent to such a motion, without previously making a few observations upon a bill, which went to raise no less than 400,000l. in addition to the revenue, so as to occasion double the amount of taxes to be paid by the people of Ireland. The house seemed already to have decided a very important question, as to the distillers in that country, by discontinuing the allowance of 8 and 16 per cent. on the exportation of their spirits; for although there would be another opportunity to argue the matter, yet he was afraid it would end unfavourably towards them. He felt it, therefore, to be consistent with his duty to his constituents, to entreat the house, previous to their going into a committee, that they would endeavour to make additional burdens press as little as possible upon that description of persons. He really believed, that the proposals contained in the bill were not sufficiently known in Ireland by those whom it materially concerned, he meant the distillers, the barley growers, and the landed gentlemen of that country. To all of these people it must create considerable uneasiness. The distiller was one of the most useful members of that part of the united kingdom, on account of his employing several thousands of people, who otherwise would not procure a livelihood. He hoped such considerations would have some weight upon the house, and prevent them from imposing additional burdens upon distillers, which they were by no means able to sustain.—After a few observations from Sir E. Nepean and Mr. Beresford, relative to the policy of obliging the distillers to perform a certain portion of work in a certain number of days, the house went into the committee. Several amendments were therein made relative to the distillers. The report was brought up, and ordered to be received on Monday next.

[FINANCE RESOLUTIONS.]—Mr. *Johnstone* submitted to the consideration of the house, a string of resolutions respecting the finances of the country, which, he admitted, he had taken up on the same ground as a right hon. friend of his (Mr. Tierney) had formerly done. He wished to proceed in the same way, which was, that the 1st resolution should be read, and the debate adjourned to some future day. The 1st resolution was then read. The resolutions were then ordered to be printed, and, on the motion of Mr. Huskisson, the debate thereon was adjourned to Tuesday. The resolutions moved by the hon. gent. are as follow:

I. That the total amount of the public funded debt of Great Britain was, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, 567,008,978l.; of which 67,255,915l. had been purchased by the commissioners, and 19,180,587l. had been transferred to them on account of land tax redeemed, leaving a funded debt of 480,572,476l.; and that the amount of annuities charged on G. Britain (after deducting what have fallen in) was, on the 1st of Feb. in short annuities and for lives, 539,979l. and in long annuities, 1,015,410l.

That the total amount of public funded debt, chargeable on G. Britain for account of Ireland, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, 22 346,000l. of which there had been purchased by the commissioners 1,123,415l. leaving a funded debt of 21,224,585l. together with long annuities to the amount of 9,791l.

That the total amount of public funded debt, chargeable on G. Britain for account of the Emperor of Germany, was, on the 1st of Feb. 7,502,633l. of which 375,137l. had been purchased by the commissioners, leaving a funded debt of 7,127,496l. together with annuities to the amount of 230,000l. which will expire in 1820.

That under the heads of treasury, ordnance, barracks (and including 171,431l. deficient in the ways and means of 1802), outstanding demands, as far as the same can be made up, remained to be provided for on the 5th Jan. 1803, to the amount of - - - -	762,867
That the unfunded debt in Exchequer bills unprovided for was, on the 5th Jan. 1803 - - - -	9,500,000
That the debt of the navy was, on the 5th Jan. 1803 - - -	3,105,648
Making the total amount of unfunded debt - - - -	13,368,515

That the total debt may be stated as follows:

Funded debt unredeemed of G. Britain	480,572,476
Funded debt unredeemed of G. Britain for account of Ireland - -	21,224,585
Funded debt unredeemed of G. Britain for account of the Emperor of Germany - - - -	7,127,496
besides short annuities to the amount of 230,000l.	
Long annuities, value at 16 years purchase, 1,015,410l. for G. Britain; 9,791l. for Ireland - -	16,403,216
Unfunded debt - - -	13,368,515
Leaving a total sum charged or chargeable on G. Britain (exclusive of 539,979l. and 230,000l. short annuities) of - - -	558,696,283

II. That the total amount of the public funded debt of G. Britain (including the amount created by the sums borrowed in the present session) was, on the 1st Feb. 1804, 601,208.978l. of which 77,698,467l. had been purchased by the commissioners, and 21,147,888l. had been transferred to them on account of land tax redeemed; leaving a funded debt of 502,362,622l. and that the amount of annuities charged on G. Britain (after deducting what have fallen in) was, on the 1st Feb. in short annuities and for lives, 516,383l. and in long annuities, 1,047,494l.

That the total amount of public funded debt chargeable on G. Britain for account of Ireland, including the amount created by the sums borrowed the present session, was, on the 1st Feb. 1804, 33,738,000l. of which there had been purchased by the commissioners 1,595,671l. leaving a funded debt of 32,142,329l. together with long annuities to the amount of 16,208l.

That the total amount of public funded debt, chargeable on G. Britain for account of the Emperor of Germany, was, on the 1st Feb. 1804, 7,502,633l. of which 459,828l. had been purchased by the commissioners, leaving a funded debt of 7,042,805l. together with annuities to the amount of 230,000l. which will expire in 1820.

That under the heads of treasury, ordnance, barracks, and civil list advances, after deducting 1,370,664l. surplus, in the ways and means of 1803, outstanding demands as far as the same can be made up, remained to be provided for on the 5th Jan. 1804, to the amount of - - -	653,421
That the unfunded debt in Exchequer bills, unprovided for, was on the 5th of Jan. 1804 - - -	15,390,800
That the debt of the navy was, on the 5th Jan. 1804 - - -	4,037,307
Making the total amount of unfunded debt - - - -	20,081,528

That the total debt may be stated as follows:

Funded debt unredeemed of G. Britain	502,362,622
Funded debt unredeemed of G. Britain for account of Ireland - -	32,142,329
Funded debt unredeemed of G. Britain for account of the Emperor of Germany, besides short annuities to the amount of 230,000l. - -	7,042,805
Long annuities, valued at 16 years purchase, 1,047,494l. for G. Britain, 16,203l. for Ireland - -	17,019,232
Unfunded debt - - -	20,081,528
Leaving a total sum charged or chargeable on G. Britain (exclusive of 516,383l. and 230,000l. short annuities) of - - -	578,648,516

III. That the annual charge for account of the funded debt of G. Britain was, on the 1st Feb. 1803, 23,510,967l.; and on the 1st Feb. 1804, including the charge incurred by the loan of the present session, was 24,346,665l.

That the sum applicable to the reduction of the funded debt of G. Britain was, on the 1st Feb. 1803, 5,834,986l.; and on the 1st Feb. 1804, including one per cent. on the stock created by the loan of the present session, was 6,493,626l.

That the net produce of the permanent taxes was, in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, 27,531,358l.; and in the year ending 5th Jan. 1804, 30,710,747l.

IV. That the total official value of all imports into G. Britain, in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1803, was 31,442,318l.; and on the average of 6 years, ending 5th Jan. 1803, 28,419,625l.

That the total official value of all imports into G. Britain was, in the year ending 5th Jan. 1804 (supposing the imports from the E. Indies, of which no account has been made up, to be the same as in the year preceding) 27,441,874l.; and on an average of 6 years, ending 5th Jan. 1804, 29,490,945l.

That the total official value of British produce and manufacture exported, in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, was 26,993,129l.; and on an average of 6 years, ending 5th Jan 1803, was 22,942,810l.

That the total official value of British produce and manufacture exported in the year ending 5th Jan.

Jan. 1804, was 22,252,103l., and on an average of 6 years, ending 5th Jan. 1804, 23,834,339l.

That the total official value of foreign merchandize exported from G. Britain in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, was 14,418,837l; and on an average of 6 years, ending 5th Jan. 1803, was 11,651,333l.

That the total official value of foreign merchandize exported from G Britain in the year ending 5th Jan. 1804, was 9,323,257l.; and on an average of 6 years, ending 5th Jan. 1804, was 11,636,441l.

V. That the total sum to be raised in G. Britain in the year 1804, may be estimated as follows:

Interest of the public funded debt, charges of management and sinking fund, on the 5th Feb. 1804 -		24,110,475
Interest, charges of management, &c. to be paid between the 5th Feb. 1804, and the 5th Jan. 1805, on stock created by loans of the present session, to the amount of 18,200,000l. - - -		534,190
Interest on Exchequer bills, the amount issued and bearing interest, exceeding 20,000,000l. - -		1,000,000
Civil govt. of Scotland, pensions on revenue, militia and deserters' warrants, bounties for promoting fisheries, &c. &c. estimated to be the same as in the year ending 5th Jan. 1804 - - - -		723,056
Charges of collecting and management of the revenue, estimated to be the same as in the year ending 5th Jan. 1804 - - -		1,955,368
Proportion to be defrayed by G. Britain, of the civil list and other charges on the consolidated fund of G. Britain (the charges on the consolidated fund of Ireland, which is likewise a joint charge, being included in the supplies) 15-17ths of 1,346,043l. - - -		1,187,690
Supplies voted in 1804 for G. Britain exclusively -	2,292,000	
Supplies voted in 1804 for G. Britain and Ireland, proportion to be defrayed by G. Britain, 15-17ths of 40,572,380l.	35,799,159	
		38,091,159
Advance to Ireland - -		4,500,000
Interest for loans to the Emperor of Germany - - -		497,735
Sums to be raised parochially for the maintenance of the poor, estimated to be the same as in the year ending Easter, 1803 - - -		5,216,506
Making in the whole the sum of -		77,846,179

That the funds applicable to discharge the sum required for the service of the year 1804, may be estimated as follow:

The gross receipt of the permanent revenue, after deducting the re-payment of over entries, drawbacks, &c. estimated to be the same as in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1804	36,139,171
Estimated produce to the 5th Jan. 1805, of the permanent taxes imposed in the present session -	400,000
Carried forward	36,539,171
Brought forward	36,539,171
Small branches of the hereditary revenue and imprest monies repaid, estimated to be the same as in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1804 -	228,253
Lottery, after deducting the proportion of Ireland - - -	250,000
War taxes, estimated produce to the 5th April, 1805 - - -	15,440,000
Surplus of the ways and means for the year 1803 - - -	1,370,664
Loan constituting an increase of funded debt - - - -	14,500,000
Loan by Exchequer bills, charged on the supplies of the year 1805 (V. C.)	2,500,000
Sums to be raised parochially for the maintenance of the poor, estimated to be the same as in the year ending Easter 1803 - - -	5,246,506
Making in the whole the sum of	76,074,594
And leaving a deficiency of -	1,771,585

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 16.

[Minutes.]—In the appeal, Hogg *v.* Lashley, judgment was given: the judgment of the court below was affirmed.—The bill for the relief of the incumbents of certain livings in the city of London, went through a committee of the whole house; the report was received, and, on the motion of the Lord Chancellor, the bill was ordered to be read a 3d time on Thursday next.—Mr. Williams, from the commissioners of Naval Inquiry, presented the 7th and 8th reports of the said commissioners.—Mr. F. Thompson was examined as to his knowledge of the present residence of Mrs. Lingham. He said, he had examined the contents of three letters, by which it appeared, that she resided in Paris, or within three miles of it. Being asked by the Lord Chancellor, if that was all he had learned, he said he had learned no more.

[Corn Trade Bill.]—Lord *Walsingham* presented a petition from the royal burghs of Scotland against the Corn Trade bill.

The *Lord Chancellor* observed, that the petition prayed that their lordships would postpone the consideration of the bill till next session. That their lordships would not pass a bill, was a proper petition; but it was only for one of their lordships to make a proposition of this kind to the house.

Earl *Stanhope* thought the petition ought to be received, and to lie on the table.

The Earl of *Roslyn* said, there was much sound sense and good matter in the petition, but thought it could not be received.

Lord *Walsingham* accordingly withdrew the petition with their lordships' consent.

The Duke of *Montrose* said, he held a petition in his hand against the bill, from persons of sound understanding, yet a similar objection might be made to it; but he thought it his duty to present it. The petition, which was from the chamber of commerce in Glasgow, being read,

The *Lord Chancellor* said, this petition prayed, that their lordships would give the bill a cool and deliberate discussion. Their lordships, he hoped, would give every question a cool and deliberate discussion; but this was language that could not be permitted in a petitioner to that house.

The Duke of *Montrose* moved for leave to withdraw the petition.

Earl *Stanhope* said, the noble lord ought not to present a petition that he did not think proper to lie on the table; if he presented it, he ought to maintain its claim to be heard. He thought this the cleft stick of a dilemma into which his lordship had thus brought himself. The petition, he thought, might be permitted to lie on the table.

The Duke of *Montrose*, on leave being given, withdrew the petition.—The order of the day for the 2d reading of this bill being read,

Earl *Stanhope* rose. He said, he should have been glad to have heard any thing that a noble sec. opposite to him (Lord Hawkesbury) had to offer on the bill; but as his lordship was silent, he would state his objections to it. This was a bill directly and professedly to raise the price of corn and bread. He did not merely say it was the tendency and probable operation of the bill to do this; but he declared, that this was the professed object of the framers of the bill, and of the committee of the other house. Their language was, that the price of corn might decrease by a plentiful season, so as not to repay the grower. He was a friend to the farmer. He knew, that unless the grower was induced by a liberal profit, scarcity would be the result; and therefore he was against additional burdens on the farmers. If he could not shew that the grower could sell his corn at a fair profit, when there should be a year of plenty and a surplus, he would consent to this bill, great as his objections to it were. But he was not reduced to this extreme, as he would afterwards shew, by proposing a plain and simple plan. But what do the framers of the bill and the committee say? They speak of the blessings of heaven, and the providence of God, in giving a plentiful season, as a thing to be dreaded, and as a curse. And what is the remedy they apply? They will raise the price of corn by forced and artificial means. This was the object of the bill. But to raise the price of corn, was to excite the people to discontent: it was to raise the price of labour, and so to depress the sale of our manufactures in foreign markets, of our manufactured iron, our manufactured wool and cotton; it was to raise the expences of govt. it was to cripple us in the most effectual manner. And what were the pretences of the committee for adopting this measure, to raise the price of corn? The enormous importations we have made of corn, and the enormous sums they have cost us. The committee states, that we formerly exported annually 600,000l. worth of corn; but that since, in 13 years, we paid 30 millions sterling for corn imported. They therefore argue thus: we must give encouragement to the farmers to grow corn, that we may not be compelled to import it; and we must do that by bounty on exportation, when corn is at a certain reduced price. But the reason why we have paid such enormous sums for corn is, that we can buy it in foreign markets cheaper than we can grow it, because of the excessive price of labour. And what is the bounty given for exportation when reduced to plain language? It is, that the price of labour here is so great, that our merchants cannot sell our corn in foreign markets, since corn growing in other countries costs less in the labour, and the price of it is lower. Something is wanting, therefore, to put into the scale, to enable our merchant to sell at the foreign market, and that something is the bounty. The price of labour is therefore the evil to be remedied. But the bill increases the evil, for it is the direct means of increasing the price of corn, and consequently the price of labour; so that we must import corn in a still greater degree, if we continue to pursue a policy, whose inevitable effect is to raise the price of labour. He would call on their lordships to take into consideration the state of Ireland. He would not then advert to the causes, whatever they might be; he would consider the subject only as it was connected with this question. The distress of that country is prodigious, and daily increasing. Would their lordships add to it by increasing the price of corn? The state of that country is not known. Its debt was lately only two millions and a half. It is now between 50 and 60 millions.—Such was the principle of this bill. But he would say a word or two on the real remedy of the evil this bill would heal; he would shew, as he promised, that the farmer might always have a liberal profit for his corn, and that we need not go to foreign countries with millions of money, to purchase grain in years of scarcity. The small state of Geneva, before it belonged to the French, had granaries with corn for 7 or 8 years consumption. The apparatus by which it was preserved sound, was simple; it was nothing more than 4 walls, with shelving chambers for the corn, and charcoal in the centre. Corn thus dried, to a certain degree, has been kept 100 years. He had got some kept that time, to make a trial of it, and never ate better bread in his life. Let the govt. buy the corn when it is cheap, and lay up in granaries sufficient for years of scarcity. Farmers will thus have a motive to grow for the average consumption of corn, because they will always have a fair profit and a sale; many millions sent out of the country for corn, will be kept at home, and the price of labour will be prevented from rising to that excess which drives our manufactures from foreign markets. Without adopting this policy, we may be starved in a time of scarcity, with such a man as Buonaparte to oppose us. He has only to buy up all the corn in foreign markets; and this he may do, for price is nothing to him. Let us learn policy of other states. But if we will not, let us learn of the bees and ants, whom instinct has taught to provide for a time of want, when they can resort only to their own stores for food. But govt. will not only decline building granaries themselves, but they prevent others from storing corn. They would not permit the warehousing of it when it was demanded, not for sale at home, but for speculation to be sold abroad; yet always forming a store that, in case of scarcity, might be permitted to be sold here. The people are taxed for the light, for their shoes, for every necessary, and to do what? To provide corn for a time of scarcity? No! to pay a premium for sending it out of the country, for increasing its price, and incurring the hazard of scarcity. The absurdities of the bill in its drawing up were endless. Whether the committee did not choose to tell all they knew, when they talked of 30 millions being paid for corn imported in 13 years, or it was their ignorance, he could not tell. But it was 54 millions, that the importation of corn in 13 years had cost. The bill in one part refers to the schedule, as to a regulation about barley; and the word barley is not mentioned in the part referred to. The house had heard of "giants refreshed." They who drew up this bill must have been "refreshed" with barley when they did so. Et cetera had been made legally to mean biscuits. They had taken into their heads to settle the relative value of English and Irish currency. They first declare that to be as 12 to 13, and then they find that 12 to 13 is as 9 to 9; afterwards as 10 to 10, and then as 14 to 16, and lastly as 16 to 18. The learned lord on the woolsack could do nothing with this heap of absurdities, with all his ingenuity; and if he could amend it, it would be kicked out of the other house; and he would rather their lordships had the honour of kicking it out. He would not compliment the bill by the delicacy of postponing it till this day 3 months. He would move that it be immediately rejected. He implored their lordships not to pursue this measure. Two objections had been raised against granaries for corn. They might be burned, it was said; but he had invented a means that rendered that impossible, and it was open to all the public. The expence of building granaries was another objection. He did not want govt. to sell at a loss, but at a small profit, which might be a revenue, and yet corn on the average cheaper. Beside, let govt. turn the barracks into granaries. There was no longer any use for them. The system of vigour beyond the law, and of making the people dumb, and the soldiers deaf, was done with. The people could not be made dumb on the subject of corn. The father, when he sees his wife dying for want, and his children crying for bread, cannot be dumb. And the soldier cannot now be made deaf, for, thank God! the people themselves are now soldiers.—His lordship concluded with moving, that all the words after "be" should be left out, and the word "rejected" inserted.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he would not take up much of their lordships' time, but he trusted that they would indulge him in making a few observations on what fell from the noble Earl. Much of what he had addressed to their lordships was wholly irrelevant to the bill before them, and it would neither be proper in him, or respectful to their lordships, to follow the noble Earl through many of the topics that he had so unnecessarily introduced, and the mention of which he was convinced was not calculated to afford great satisfaction to many noble lords who heard him. The noble earl had appeared disposed to hear his sentiments on the bill, before he had commenced the very extraordinary speech which he had just concluded. Had the measure now before the house been originally introduced or recommended by the govt., he would have thought it his duty, or that of some of the noble lords around him, his colleagues in office, to explain the principles and grounds upon which they proposed it. But when it was a measure growing out of a common and general interest, which many persons of great respectability in another house felt upon the subject, he did not think that it could with decency be required of him to give any further support to it, than what was due from him, as an individual in the legislature, to the principles of a measure that he approved. His lordship would not then go into an examination of what he knew some of the most respectable and enlightened men in the country maintained, namely, that it would be wiser in the legislature to abstain from all legislation upon the article of corn, and to leave the trade respecting it as free as it was in any other commodity. He also knew many intelligent men who maintained the contrary position, and insisted upon the necessity of the principle of regulation. He would not venture to give, at that moment, any opinion upon so difficult and important a question, but content himself with briefly stating the objects of the bill as they appeared to him. The great object of the bill was first to render the prices of corn steady, and to counteract, as far as legislation could effect it, the dangers and inconveniences of frequent fluctuation; that was one object of the bill. The next was to encourage agriculture, by adopting such measures as may afford the farmer an opportunity of obtaining a fair profit for his labour and his capital. Their lordships, from recent experience, must be deeply impressed with the great disadvantages arising from fluctuations, which, in the course of a few years, prevailed to the enormous disproportion of between 43s. and 156s., the prices of the quarter of corn at two periods. The best security that the country could have against famine, laying out of consideration the accidents of seasons, against which human precaution was of no avail, was to encourage the farmer to cultivate as much of the soil as he could. If he had an opportunity of disposing of that surplus produce which he drew from his farm in a year of abundance, the consequence would be, that he would not cultivate to the same extent the next year, and thus out of plenty would arise the causes of future scarcity. To prevent the possible recurrence of those calamities was the real object of the bill, and not, as the noble Earl had stated, to raise the price of corn by creating an intentional and artificial scarcity. As to the noble Earl's idea of establishing warehouses, as he had not gone sufficiently into the details of his plan, it was impossible for him either to disagree or coincide with him. Possibly such a system might have been advantageously employed in Geneva, in Switzerland, in Holland, or in other small states, but he was apprehensive it would not answer in a country possessing the wealth and population of England. It was proposed by the bill, that a bounty should be granted on the exportation of corn, when the average price of it should be unreasonably low; that the exportation of it should be permitted when the average price even became higher; but that whenever it should attain a certain price, which was considered as tending to scarcity, then exportation should be absolutely prohibited. Again, whenever it should get up to that price, importation should be permitted. By those regulations, it was to be hoped that the prices would be kept tolerably steady; that great fluctuations would be prevented; that the farmer would have a reasonable chance for a fair profit upon his industry; and that agriculture would be encouraged, which experience had shewn to be the best security against scarcity. The present was not the time to disturb our whole internal system, and to make innovations upon the corn laws; which, whether wisely or not, he would not then debate, had grown up within the last 100 years, and were considered by many as the immediate cause of the national prosperity.—His lordship then combated the argument of the noble Earl, that scarcity had been produced by the wars in which the country had been engaged, and endeavoured to prove, by a reference to the report of the committee, that the average prices of corn, for the last 30 years, were not greater in time of war, than in the corresponding years of peace. His Lordship concluded, by voting for the 2d reading of the bill, which he regarded as a most important improvement upon the system of laws for the regulation of the corn trade.

Earl *Stanhope* said, he would not, by a round-about way, move as an amendment, "that this bill be read a 2d time this day 3 months," but such was his abhorrence of it, that he would move, "that it be rejected."

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he did not see how this question could be put without moving that the other words be left out.

Earl *Stanhope* said, there were two ways of making an amendment, which he could shew, from the journals of the house, he had antecedently proved. The one was by leaving out words for the purpose of inserting others; the other, by inserting words in order that others might be left out. He moved, therefore, that the word "rejected," be inserted after the word be."

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he now understood the meaning of the noble Lord, and read the question as moved.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* then rose, and spoke to the following purport:—"My lords, I am one of those who think we have been induced to legislate further in the case of corn than is consistent with true policy, or calculated to promote the real interests of the community, I think that the legislature would in this case, as in all others which concern matters of trade, act most wisely by leaving corn, like all other articles, to find its own level. The only difference lies between the two extremes of very low prices, and of very high prices. In the latter case, the lower classes of the people suffer extremely; in the former, the farmers or growers of the corn are the sufferers. I admit it is extremely desirable, both these extremes should, if possible, be avoided; but I think that neither of them can be fairly deduced to be of a permanent nature. In some years we have certainly seen instances where the price of corn was so very low, that it was scarcely worth the labour and expence attending it, and as such the farmer had no inducement to cultivate it. In other years, we have again seen corn, particularly wheat, at so very high a price, that the farmers must have derived very considerable profits from it, and, taking these, one against the other, I conceive that the average will be found to be such as not to discourage the farmer from his accustomed pursuit of cultivating the growth of corn. My lords, where there are a great many mouths that have been accustomed to eat bread, there must be a correspondent demand for corn; and therefore the legislature ought to be particularly careful, that in any acts they pass on this subject, they do not take any step which may tend to drive the corn out of the country. In my opinion, my lords, they should rather endeavour to devise means of preserving the superabundance of a plentiful year, in order to answer the failure which may take place in the case of a year of comparative scarcity. And here, my lords, I cannot but notice that the observations of the noble Earl (Stanhope) respecting public granaries have not, in my opinion, been sufficiently answered by the noble sec. of state. The noble sec. of state has said, that the example of such a state as that of the small republic of Geneva could not be adopted to the interests of a great nation, like the united kingdoms of G. Britain and Ireland. In this respect, I must, my lords, incline to the opinion of the noble earl, for we have no occasion to confine ourselves to the modern example of Switzerland. If we look to the practice of the ancients, and resort to the authority of the most eminent writers on the *re rustica* of the Egyptians, we shall find that they made use of the same practice of storing and preserving their corn in granaries. We shall find, that great care was taken in this respect, that the corn was deposited in a state of perfect dryness in the ear, and in the granaries, the walls of which were very thick, and the roofs proportionately secure from the effects of bad weather; and thus defended, the corn was kept for 50 and even a 100 years, in as perfect a state as when it was first put there for the purpose of preservation. I will, however, allow that this argument, applied to this country, is an entire new system, and so far I agree with the noble sec. of state, that it is not strictly applicable to the present bill. I am, however, of opinion that we should be extremely cautious how we attempt to interfere in making parliamentary regulations, as to the price of corn, and, from that, adopting a system of exportation and importation. I am afraid, as I said before, that we have gone too far on that subject, and I have, therefore, thought it necessary to trouble your lordships with these observations.

The Duke of *Clarence* said, he had listened with particular attention and satisfaction to the noble sec of state, while he detailed those observations which he might recollect, became the subject of his conversation more than once with the noble lord and a noble earl, a near relative of his (the Earl of Liverpool), whom he now regretted he did not see in his place. He was proud to hear the noble sec. convey to their lordships, in so clear and impressive a manner, sentiments in which he concurred respecting one of the most important interests of the country. Every syllable the noble lord had uttered, he fully coincided in, and he was persuaded, that it was only by acting upon those principles, that the subsistence of the people of the united kingdom could be secured beyond all risks, but those that might be produced by the vicissitudes of bad seasons.—The question was then put on the amendment, when the contents were, 1—non contents 21. The original question was then put and carried, and the bill was ordered to be committed to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 16.

[Minutes.]—Lord Marsham presented a petition from Cyprian Willock, who had been committed to Newgate, for prevarication before the Middlesex Election committee, expressing contrition for his offence, and praying to be discharged out of custody. On the motion of Lord Marsham, he was ordered to be brought up on Wednesday, in order to be discharged.—The house, in a committee, heard witnesses on Tighe's Divorce bill; when the Speaker observed that there were certain parties concerned in that bill, whose presence was necessary; that the notice requiring their attendance had not been sent off till Saturday; and that, as they had to come all the way from Chester, it would not be possible for them to be present that day; he therefore moved, "that the chairman report progress;" ordered, and the committee was ordered to sit again to-morrow.—The Woolwich Ordnance bill; the Accountant General's bill; the English Vote of Credit bill; the Irish Vote of Credit bill, and the London Docks bill, were read a 3d time, and passed.—A person from the Mint, brought up an account of the quantity of silver bullion brought there, and the quantity of silver coined there, from the 19th of March 1797, to the 25th of Dec. 1803. Ordered to lie on the table.—The Consolidated Fund bill, and the Bahama Islands Salt Exportation bill, were reported, and ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—In considering the amendments made by the Lords in the Felons' Apprehension bill.—The Speaker observed, there was one in that clause of the bill which went to regulate the mode of defraying the expences of apprehending felons who should pass from Ireland to G. Britain. The amendment was to defray the expence of apprehending those passing from G. Britain to Ireland, and it was one of such a nature, as infringed on the privileges of the house. But it appeared from the preamble of the bill, that such a provision was to have been made: and if the house thought that what the Lords had done was in furtherance of the intentions of the commons, they would then agree to the amendment.—The question was then put, and the amendment was agreed to. The Speaker then observed, that this proceeding was conformable to the rules and usages of the house; but that in order to guard against any apprehension or error, it would be necessary to make a special entry of the case on the journals.—Mr. Williams, from the Board of Naval Inquiry, presented the 8th report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.—On the motion of the Attorney General, the bill for the more effectual administration of Justice was read a 2d time, and ordered for commitment to-morrow.—On the motion of Lord Castlereagh, the order of the day for taking into farther consideration the report of the Committee on the E. India Accounts, was postponed till Thursday next. The reason of his postponing this order, his lordship said, was, that there were certain papers he would move for to be laid before the house, which would, he was persuaded, satisfy an hon. gent. who had differed from him on this subject, and who was not now in his place. His lordship gave notice, therefore, that on Thursday next he would move for certain accounts relative to India.—Mr. Huskisson presented an account of the balances in the hands of the Receiver-General of the Assessed Taxes of G. Britain on the 5th of July, 1803, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.—On the motion of Mr. Huskisson, the house took into farther consideration the report of the Stamp Duties bill. The several amendments were agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—The London Dock Warehousing bill was read a 3d time, and passed.—The Irish Treasury Bills bill was read a 3d time and passed.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the Irish Revenue Regulation bill. On the question being put that the amendments be read a second time,

Mr. *Hutchinson* rose to object to the measure as one that had, he conceived, no tendency to promote the interests of Ireland. It would bear hard, he said, along with another bill now before the house, on the Irish distillers. He complained also, that the Irish distillers had not had time to remonstrate against those measures, they having been taken, in some degree, by surprise. He complained also, that the exportation of spirits was not permitted from Ireland in vessels of less than a hundred tons, whereas in Scotland, it was permitted to export in vessels of from seventy to a hundred. The distillers, he contended, should be permitted to import into this country any quantity. They had expected, he said, this advantage from the union, and a greater capital had been consequently engaged in that trade. Should any loss, therefore, be occasioned by subsequent regulations, some provision ought to be made for compensation. He submitted to the hon. gent. who had brought forward this measure, how far it might be proper to delay the period of its commencement.—The amendments were then read a 2d time, and the bill ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.

[ADDITIONAL FORCE AMENDMENT BILL]—On the motion that this bill be read a 3d time,

Col. *Crauford* rose, he said, in order to ask a question of the right hon. gent. opposite to him. This bill had been introduced in order to remove all doubts existing in a former act relative to purchasing lands for the purpose of erecting fortifications; he wished, therefore, to know if, by the introduction of such a bill at this late period of the session, it was intended to proceed to the erection of any particular fortifications or military works, against the next session of parliament?

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the legislature had already thought proper to grant powers for that purpose; but these not being sufficiently explicit, the present act was intended to amend and render this more effective. These improvements were therefore introduced upon general grounds, and had no reference to any particular procedure.

Col. *Crauford* then said, that if his Majesty's ministers had any object in contemplation, he should certainly think it his duty to move, that an account of the expences thereof should be laid before parliament. It was certainly the duty of ministers to inform the house of their intentions, in order that the necessary expence might be provided, and the public money not voted away without the consent of parliament, upon a proper estimate, so far as the same could be made up. He suspected that some works of that nature had already been erected during the present war, without any such estimates being put in.

Sir *W. Pulteney* said, that as his Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer had just now told the house, that the present bill was brought in only upon general grounds, he was led to imagine, that no particular exertion was to be looked for before the meeting of parliament next session. He thought, that from the conduct of ministers themselves, the general opinion of the country had been of late greatly relaxed, as to the apprehension of invasion. His Majesty's ministers, unless they had really good reasons for thinking the dangers not so pressing, ought, on the contrary, to have endeavoured to have kept up the zeal, public spirit, and energy of the country. We certainly had already been making great prepartions, but he might ask, had not the enemy also been making vast preparations, so as to keep pace with us in every particular? On the whole, he was led to imagine, that the country was not at this present moment properly awake to a just sense of its dangers.

Dr. *Laurence* said, that he understood some months ago that fortifications were to be made, and he thought them very necessary for the defence of the country. He would wish to know why such plans as had been formerly approved of by the right hon. gent. himself, had not been carried into effect.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he had never meant to assert, as the hon. bart. insinuated he had done, that all danger of invasion was over. He certainly thought that considerable progress had been made to bring forward our force to a state of as great perfection as possible; and he trusted, that our means of doing so were yet increasing. He should be sorry to find any person imagine that our present situation did not still require our utmost energy and exertion. Upon the very last application for a vote of credit, the country had been represented as in very great danger. He could assure the hon. gent. opposite to him, that he had not changed his mind as to the necessity of using every means he had formerly approved of for the defence of the country, and that every thing that could possibly be suggested by the most skilful military men would be attended to.—The bill was then read a 3d time and passed.

[IRISH SPIRITS WAREHOUSING BILL]—On the order of the day, for the committee on the Irish Spirits Warehousing bill,

Col. *Hutchinson* said, since this subject was discussed before, he had received communications from distillers in Ireland, stating, that they were liable to be aggrieved by the measure. Many had, since the union, speculated on those advantages which were now about to be taken away; and one house had vested the sum of 3000l. in such a speculation; perhaps it might hereafter be fit to consider how far these parties were entitled to a compensation.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, if persons had thought proper to speculate in sums of money, on the strength of what they might gain in consequence of the act of union, that was no ground why any unreasonable advantages, which they might have enjoyed, should be continued any longer.—The house then resolved itself into a committee on the bill.

Col. *Hutchinson* wished to put off for 6 weeks longer, the period at which the bill was to take effect. This was opposed by

Mr. *Ormsby*, who observed, that the advantage to the distiller, of warehousing his spirits, was one which ought not to be delayed a day longer than could be avoided. —The bill then passed the committee, and the report was ordered to be received tomorrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 17.

[MINUTES.]—The Civil List, Ordnance, and Adjutant General's Office Franking, and the Poultry Compter bills, were read a 3d time and passed.—The London Defence bill, and the Irish Vote of Credit, with several private bills, were brought up from the Commons, and read a first time. —On the motion of the Duke of Clarence, the order of the day for going into a committee on the Insolvent Debtors' bill, was postponed until Thursday next.—The Lord Chancellor, in the appeal from the court of sessions in Scotland, brought by Arrot *v* Keir and others, after a few observations, moved that the judgment of the court below should be affirmed.

[CORN TRADE BILL.]—The order of the day being read for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house on the Corn Trade bill,

Earl *Stanhope* moved, according to the prayer of the petition of Mr. Chalmer, which had been on their lordships' table some days, that the said Mr. Chalmer be heard by himself or counsel.

Lord *Hawkesbury* opposed this, on the ground, that no individual had a right to be heard against a bill, merely because his interest was affected, without stating how his individual interest was likely to be injured by the operation of the bill. It was not enough for any one to say, that his interest was affected, because it affected the trade in which he was concerned. If this was allowed, it would be impossible to bring forward with effect any bill of regulation, because the interests of one person or another must always be affected by such bills in a certain degree.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, it was his wish, in all bills which passed through that house, the utmost latitude should be given, that could with propriety, to every person being fairly and impartially heard against a bill by which his individual interest might be affected. In the present instance, he did not think it would be proper to hear the petitioner, either by himself or counsel, in the stage in which the bill then was. He thought, however, there was a middle path which might be pursued, by which the petitioner might have the same advantage as if he was heard now. The house might agree that he should be heard in some future stage of the bill. On the report, for instance; and he might in the mean time present a supplementary petition, stating how, and in what manner, his individual interest was affected by the bill.

Earl *Stanhope* objected to this. He saw no reason, he said, for deferring the hearing of this petition to a future stage of the bill. He had a positive objection to it; for, as the matter now stood, if the petitioner was heard, it might be that his case would warrant an alteration in the bill; whereas, if it was postponed to a future stage, such alteration could not be made; besides, he had a right, if the present petition was not heard, or produced no effect, to offer another petition in a subsequent stage of the bill, and he could derive all the advantage which the noble and learned lord meant to give him, even after the present petition should be heard. He wished, however, to take the sense of the house on this matter, as it would enable him to regulate his proceeding next session on the question of the slave trade; and, therefore, though he would not divide the house, he would take the sense of it on the question.

The Duke of *Clarence* said, he had paid the utmost attention to this business, and was surprised to find that the noble earl had not brought it forward on the 2d reading of the bill. The petition, he found, went directly against the principle of the bill, and, as such, was not proper to be brought forward in the committee. It should have been on the 2d reading, or it might be heard either on the report, or against the 3d reading of the bill. He should, therefore oppose the petition being heard in the present instance.—The question that the petitioner be heard by himself or counsel, was then put and negatived. After which the house resolved itself into a committee on the bill, in the course of which several amendments were made to the bill. The bill was reported with the amendments, and the report ordered to be taken into consideration to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 17.

[MINUTES.]—The bill to regulate the issue of *Habeas Corpus ad testificandum*, was reported, and ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—The Nassau Salt Exportation bill was read a 3d time and passed.—Tighe's Divorce bill went through a committee, in which witnesses were examined, and counsel were heard as to the adultery. The report was received, agreed to, and the bill read a 3d time and passed.—A message from the Lords stated their lordships' assent to the Civil List bill, the Quarter-master General, &c. Franking bill, the Irish Small Notes Regulation bill, the Poultry Compter Prisoners Removal bill, and the Southwark Lighting and Paving bill.—The Irish Offices Fees Regulation bill was committed, and the report was ordered to be brought up to-morrow.—Lord Marsham moved the order of the day for the farther consideration of the report of the committee upon the last Middlesex election. Upon the order being read, the noble lord stated, that as the minutes of the evidence taken before the committee, relative to the conduct of the sheriffs, were not yet printed, and as it was impossible that they could be ready in due time at this late period of the session, to enable the house fairly and fully to examine this important subject, he would propose to postpone the farther consideration of it till the next session. The noble lord then moved the following resolutions: 1st, "That it appears to the house, that it would be too late to proceed to the farther consideration of this report in the present session of parliament. 2d, That it will be highly expedient to proceed to the farther consideration of the same as early as possible in the next session." These resolutions were adopted, and the order of course discharged.—The Irish Revenue Regulation bill was read a 3d time and passed.—The report of the committee upon the Irish Warehousing Spirit bill was brought up, agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—Mr. Huskisson moved, that the adjourned debate on the finance resolutions should be farther postponed to Thursday next. Ordered.—Mr. Huskisson presented a return of the qualifications of deputy lieutenants of counties, pursuant to act of parliament. Ordered to lie on the table; also, accounts of the number of captains in the militia not qualified; also, an account of the arrears and current balances of the excise, from Jan. 1803. Ordered to lie on the table.

[INDIA BUDGET.]—Mr. *Princep* seeing the noble lord in his place, to whom the principal direction of the affairs of the E. India Company were committed, rose to ask, whether it would not be for the convenience of the house, and the full understanding of the subject, that the papers which were necessary to the farther discussion of the India budget, should be laid on the table before Thursday, the day on which that discussion was fixed, in order that those papers should be in the contemplation of the house, and that members who were disposed to deliver their opinions upon the interesting question to which they referred, should come forward prepared to speak upon their merits. With a view to this he submitted it to the candour of the noble lord, whether it would not be right to present these papers this evening?

Lord *Castlereagh* stated, that the papers relative to the subject to which the hon. member alluded, were not quite ready. He had also to mention that his mind was not yet made up as to the precise accounts which ought to be submitted to the house upon this occasion, but on Thursday he should be prepared to bring them forward.

[Volunteer Officers Bill.]—The *Attorney General* said, that as an opinion had gone abroad, justified, in a great measure, by the words of the late Volunteer Consolidation act, that officers of volunteer corps, who received the marching guineas for men going on permanent duty, &c. were to be considered as public accomptants, and therefore liable to be called on by the commissioners for auditing public accounts, which must be attended with great inconvenience to those gent. he felt it his duty to move for leave to bring in a bill to explain the act alluded to upon this point.

Mr. *Giles* suggested to the learned gent. the propriety of introducing into this act some clause to remove the doubts which prevailed as to the power of assessing the quota to be furnished by each parish under the Additional Force act. According to the provisions of the supplementary militia, and army of reserve acts, a deduction was to be made in the quotas of parishes, according to the number of balloted men belonging to volunteer corps in each parish. The Additional Force act, which professed to be founded upon a similar principle, although it superseded the operation of those acts, was in his judgment defective, and required an alteration upon the point he referred to.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* thought there was no necessity whatever for the alteration which the learned member recommended, as it must appear, from a full consideration of the terms of the act, that in fixing the quota for each parish, reference was to be always had to the number of volunteers it furnished.—The motion was agreed to, and a bill brought in to explain the said act, so far as it relates to money received by the officers of volunteer corps, for the use of such corps, and that such officers shall not be deemed public accomptants, &c. The bill was read a 1st and 2d time, and committed for to-morrow.

Stamp Duties Bill.]—On the order of the day for the 3d reading of the Stamp Duties bill,

Mr. *Fonblanque* rose to state, that he had heard nothing advanced during the progress of the bill, which could induce him to think the measure could in any respect be justified, especially that part of it which relates to the tax on law proceedings. He thought, therefore, he was bound in duty to oppose it in this its last stage. The hon. and learned gent. then went on to recapitulate the arguments he had several times used against the bill, and concluded by giving it his decided negative.

Mr. *Wilberforce* stated, that he had received a petition from some of his constituents to present to the house against the provisions of this bill, respecting promissory notes and bills of exchange of a small amount; but he was aware that he could not present any petition against a tax bill. He would, however, read this petition as a part of his speech.

The *Speaker* submitted to the judgment of the hon. member, whether it would be competent to any member, according to established usage, to read a petition which he was not permitted to present. Such a proceeding did not appear as at all consonant to the substance of the order which precluded the admission of such petition.

Mr. *Wilberforce* resumed and stated, that the petition he referred to was from the traders of Yorkshire, whose capitals were small, and whose transactions would be much impeded and injured by the proposed advance of taxation; an advance which by no means applied fairly, as the tax upon bills from 100l. to 200l. was to be only 4s. while that upon bills of from 5l. to 30l. was to be 1s. 6d. The hon.

gent. strongly recommended to ministers to re-consider this subject, and not thus to aggravate the difficulties which the small capitalists in the woollen trade had to contend with.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* was sure that, upon a farther consideration of this subject, the objections stated by the petitioners alluded to, however respectable they were, would be found erroneous. Promissory notes, he said, would not be affected, as would appear from a review of the schedule, to a just examination of which he referred those who were disposed to object to the measure.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, that the apprehension of the mischievous tendency of the tax he referred to, was very generally felt among the industrious and respectable persons to whom he alluded.

Mr. *Windham* argued against the bill on the same grounds as on a former occasion, and expressed his regret that he had not been able to procure a copy of the treatise (Mr. Bentham's) to which he had before adverted, and where he was sure, both from what he remembered of the work, and what he knew of the writer, there would be many good arguments to this point, beyond those which he or others had urged. These were indeed sufficient fully to decide his opinion, and to make him glad to avail himself of this opportunity, as he had done of a preceding one, to mark his hostility to the measure. There were two parts of the bill to which he meant particularly to object: that which levied a tax directly upon one class of people, the attornies; and that which went generally to tax law proceedings. To tax a particular class of people, except upon the idea that the tax was not to rest with them, but through them to pass to the community at large, was so repugnant to every principle of justice or policy, that it was unnecessary to argue against it. It was a mere robbery, and could proceed upon no principle but that of *there* is the money, and *there* we will go to get it. The only pretext for the tax could be, that it would be levied upon the clients; and that as all men were liable to become clients, it was, in fact, a general tax. In this view it came under the other general head of a tax on law proceedings; where certainly the character of it was not much mended; for any thing more unjust or impolitic, more contrary to all principle, than a tax upon law proceedings, could not be conceived. The only possible case in which such taxes could be justified, was that in which they were matters of regulation. This might sometimes be necessary, though it was always to a degree objectionable. It was never good, as he had had occasion to remark lately on a different subject (the bill for the disfranchisement of the borough of Aylesbury), to mix in legislation objects of a separate and independent character, so as to leave the motive of the legislature doubtful. It was desirable to have it known, how much was done for tax, and how much for regulation; that what might be called the public motive, might stand clear of that which might be called the interested one. But in this instance, there was not a pretence for talking of regulation. By whom had the happy discovery been made, that law proceedings were too cheap? He could understand the possibility of such a case; or rather that if the case existed, the inconvenience of it would be great. No greater evil could be conceived, than a state of things in which every man might institute suits against his neighbour at no expence or hazard. No man's property would be at rest for a moment. Twenty Westminster Halls, sitting every day, and all day long, would not suffice for the litigation of London alone. But surely this was a state of things of which we were in no great danger. What had been done by the legislature already, what was sure to be done at all times by others without that assistance, might exempt us from the apprehension of being ruined by the cheapness of law. We might safely trust ourselves, in that respect, to the learned profession itself, which would take ample care that men should not go to law for nothing. It was perfectly idle to say, therefore, that any interference of the legislature was necessary in that view. But if a tax upon law was not necessary to guard against the danger of law becoming too cheap, was there not a fear that such an addition to the expences already attending these proceedings, might render them too dear? It was notorious that it must be so. The evil existed to a degree already which required no new circumstance to inflame it. The expences of law were already a denial of justice in many instances to the poor, and sometimes, it was to be feared, a means of oppression in the hands of the rich. This, to a certain degree, was unavoidable. It was inherent in the nature of things, and could be no subject, therefore, of rational complaint: but it might well be a subject of complaint, if we wantonly and unnecessarily should think fit to aggravate the evil. It was quite ridiculous, if, while we were boasting that in this country the courts of law were open to every one, we should be fortifying the reply that had been made to that observation, "aye, so is the London Tavern, to those who are not afraid of the bill." This was conclusive as to the propriety of such a tax, even supposing it to be in other respects right. But the whole principle of it was wrong, independent of the degree, and of the effects which it might incidentally produce. To tax law was, as had been well observed, to tax necessaries. It was to tax, not the property, but the means by which the property was to be acquired. This in a degree, and indirectly must, to be sure, often be done. A tax upon one thing might be said to affect indirectly the price of every other. But in general, the object of taxation was to levy a contribution on the property when possessed, and not to bear upon the means of acquiring it. You did not directly tax the smith's hammer, or the carpenter's saw, though a tax upon iron, or upon shipping, might indirectly, and in some degree, affect the price of those articles. This was an argument which he had used many years ago upon the shop-tax, and which, he must still think, was well founded. A man's shop was the implement of his trade. Though law was not, strictly speaking, the implement of trade to any but lawyers, it was to many the means or implement of acquiring that which ought, above all things, to be considered, namely, the property to which they already possessed the right. It was no answer to this to say, that the tax fell only on those who had not the right, namely, on the party who lost his suit, that the expences of the other were paid out of the costs: besides that the costs granted never covered the whole expence, who could mean to assert, that the merits of a cause, and its success, were to be considered as one and the same? Our law supposed no such thing. We had the institution, as all other countries had, of tribunals of appeal, being tribunals founded on the supposition, that former decisions, however cautiously and conscientiously made, might be wrong. This might happen even where the questions, submitted successively to the two tribunals, as in the case of appeal, were precisely the same: but how often must the fact be, that from accident or mismanagement, from the defect of evidence, from the absence of witnesses, from the loss of papers, from want of timely information or of judicious advice, the case submitted to the tribunal in the first instance was not the true one, and could not decide, therefore, on the real merits of the cause. After all, was no cause fit to be tried, that was not found ultimately to have the merits on its side? Were the parties to be bound under a penalty rightly to decide on their imperfect and partial information and with their defective judgments, that question on which men the most enlightened, after a hearing of both sides, were found often to differ in their opinions? Every man, it was true, came into a court of justice under that risk; but was it fit, that that risk should be unnecessarily aggravated? It was the case of the old tribunal at Lyons, mentioned by a classical author, where the penalties were such, as to make the situation of a suitor there a proverbial instance of fear.

——————————— Sic
Palluit, ut nudis pressis qui calcibus anguem,
Aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.

How many must be deterred from entering into a court of justice under such risks, even with all the merits of the cause on their side; and, what was not less to the purpose, how many even of professional men (attornies he meant), who would now sometimes undertake a cause, which they thought well of, at their own risk, would be deterred from the undertaking, when the loss on failure must be so very heavy? But of all the extraordinary justifications or apologies for this measure that were ever thought of, was that of a learned gent. the other night, who bid us recal to our recollection, that the tax in question did not extend to that part of our law which was vested in the hands of justices of the peace and other magistrates! We were to be reconciled to the obstruction of justice in civil suits, by the facility of its execution in the case of penal statutes! A man was to console himself for the loss of his estate, by the reflection that another might with great facility be committed to prison! Nay, the merit of the idea did not stop even there, for as the person himself might be the object of the law in both its operations, the real state of the case was, that a man should be consoled for the loss of his property, by reflecting that he himself might with great ease be committed to prison. The case was not unlikely to happen; for the very want of that property, which these increased expences made it impossible for the owner to recover, might be precisely the means of plunging him into distress, and thereby procuring him the benefit of that free operation of the law in other respects, which the hon. gent. held out. "Don't be cast down," he would say; "you have lost the hope of trying your cause, and with it that of recovering the little property which you think you have a claim to; but should you, in consequence, and from the distress in which you are now left, be led into any offence against the revenue or game laws, or be guilty of any other irregularity, you will find that, however difficult or expensive the law may be in enabling you to obtain your own, it will furnish the means of sending you to prison in the easiest and cheapest manner possible." There really seemed, therefore, to be no one ground which this measure had to stand upon. It was a mere determination to get so much money; for which nothing could be pleaded, but that the money was wanted. The reality of this plea he could easily understand, and readily feel for. He could conceive what was the situation of the right hon. gent. tormented perhaps with the cravings of an empty exchequer; and could sympathise with him accordingly: but so he could with a man who, in compliance with the cravings of an empty stomach, should rob a butcher's shop; yet without being able to pass over the offence, or to say that people's property could be left open to such depredations. In the present instance, there was far less excuse. Though the pressure might be nearly as urgent, there was not the same impossibility, as might exist sometimes in the other case, of procuring relief by better and honester means.—The bill was then read a 3d time, after which,

Mr. *Huskisson* proposed a new clause, "providing, that from the time of passing the act, no stamp duty shall be chargeable on the commission of any officer of a volunteer or yeomanry corps." This clause was brought up, read and agreed to, and the bill passed.

[Loyalty Loan.]—The report of the Loyalty Loan bill was brought up, and, on the motion that it should be agreed to,

Mr. *Huskisson* rose and stated, that since this bill had been in the committee, it had been found advisable to alter the arrangements respecting the time at which the holders of the Loyalty Loan should declare their wish to avail themselves of the terms of this bill, and the period when the lords of the treasury should signify the description of stock in which their claims were to be satisfied. In the former case the blank was filled up with the 20th of Aug. and in the latter with the 10th of Oct. It was now proposed, that the lords of the treasury should declare the stock into which the Loyalty Loan should be convertible, on or before the 20th of Sept. and that the Loyalty Loan-holders should have until the 5th of Oct. to signify their assent to the terms proposed. The hon. member concluded with proposing an amendment agreeable to his statement.—The motion was agreed to, and the bill was ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 18.

[Minutes.]—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages, and a committee of their lordships was appointed to inspect the Journals.—Several bills were brought up from the Commons. Among these were the Stamp Duties, the Consolidated Fund, the Loyalty Loan, and the Volunteer Supplementary Regulation bills, which were severally read a 1st time.

[Corn Trade Bill.]—The order of the day being read for receiving the report of this bill, their lordships accordingly proceeded to the consideration of the amendments made by the committee.—Earl Stanhope proposed certain alterations to the amendments made in the schedule C. on the suggestion of the noble sec. of state, with a view to obviating some inconsistencies which he conceived still remained in that part of the bill, and which would throw difficulties in the way of its execution. These principally related to the alterations made with respect to the calculations of the Irish currencies, as applying to the prices, without a corresponding alteration in the measures. The observations of the noble earl were answered by Lords Hawkesbury, Mulgrave, and the Duke of Montrose, who contended that part of the bill, as amended, was sufficiently clear and intelligible, and that no difficulties would obtain in the execution of that part of the bill: their lordships also observed, that the noble earl laid too much stress upon what was set forth in the report, from which even the House of Commons, for whose particular assistance and information it was calculated, had materially deviated in framing various parts of the bill; they thought the farther alterations proposed by the noble lord to be unnecessary at best. Earl Stanhope did not press his propositions, and the amendment, as proposed by the committee, was agreed to. The remaining amendments being confirmed by the house, the bill was ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 18.

[MINUTES.]—On the motion of Sir J. Anderson, the house took into consideration the amendments made by the Lords in the Surrey Paving and Lighting bill, and agreed to the same.—The report of the Volunteer Act Amendment bill was brought up, agreed to, and the bill was read a 3d time and passed.—The Loyalty Loan bill, and the Consolidated Fund bill, were read a 3d time and passed.—On the motion of Lord Marsham, Cyprian Whillock, who had been first in custody of the serjeant at arms, and was afterwards, by order of the house, a prisoner in Newgate for prevarication before the Middlesex election committee, was brought to the bar in order to his being discharged. The Speaker reprimanded him in nearly the following words:—"Cyprian Whillock, a select committee of this house, appointed to try and determine the merits of the Middlesex election, has reported, that you, being called as a witness before the said committee, were guilty of gross prevarication; for which offence they committed you to the custody of the serjeant at arms, and this house did farther commit you to his Majesty's gaol of Newgate. The matter under examination by the committee, when you were called upon to give evidence, was the charge of treating; a practice which, according to the language of the law, is 'in violation of the freedom due to the election of the representatives for the Commons, to the great scandal of the kingdom, dishonourable and destructive to the constitution of parliaments.' Your occupation in life, and your residence at the time of the election, qualified you to have given important testimony upon this charge; the points to which you were interrogated were such as must have fallen within your own knowledge; and yet, in so plain a matter, regardless of the reverence due to the authority of this house, and regardless also of the solemnity of the oath which you had taken, you appear to have incurred the heavy guilt of wilfully prevaricating before God and your country. For this your offence you have most justly suffered disgrace and imprisonment: but this house, considering the penitence you have since expressed, and hoping also, that the example of your punishment may sufficiently ensure a better execution of the writ issued for a new election, has ordered that you be now discharged; and you are discharged accordingly, paying your fees."—The prisoner was then taken from the bar, and, on the motion of Lord Marsham, the reprimand was ordered to be entered on the Journals.

[SCARCITY OF TIMBER.]—Sir *W. Dolben* gave notice, that early in the next session of parliament it was his intention to call the attention of the house to the subject of inclosures, in order that some provision might in future be made for causing trees to be planted in lands hereafter to be inclosed. There was not a tree now to be found in any inclosed lands; and the scarcity of timber was so great, that farmers, in many places, could not get enough for their private use. Even in a national point of view, this was a subject of great importance, and well worthy the consideration of parliament. He hoped the right hon. gent. who was now minister, would turn his thoughts to it during the ensuing recess, and that he would renew the commission which had been appointed some years ago for examining into the state of his Majesty's forests; or carry into effect some plan similar to what had been intended by the appointment of that commission. Unless some plan of this kind, and that upon a very large scale, was adopted, we should be obliged to go to foreign countries for supplies of timber.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 19.

[MINUTES.]—The Corn Bounty Regulation bill was read a 3d time, passed, and sent to the Commons.—The bills on the table were passed in their respective stages.—The order of the day for going into a committee on this bill, was, on the motion of H. R. H the Duke of Clarence, discharged, and the same was ordered to be taken into consideration on Monday.

[LONDON CLERGY INCUMBENTS BILL.]—The order of the day being moved for the 3d reading of this bill.

The Duke of *Norfolk* rose and said, that it was impossible that any man in the country could be more solicitous than he was that an adequate and honourable provision should be made for the clergy. But from all the consideration that he had been able to give to the bill before them, he must say, that the principle upon which it professed to effect that desirable object, was one wholly inconsistent with the principles upon which that house had hitherto legislated in whatever affected the rights of private property. He would call upon their lordships to say whether they could, in honour and conscience, pass the bill, except the previous consent of every person upon whom it would operate as a tax, had been obtained. The clergy of London, from the time of the reformation to the reign of Charles II. was maintained by a certain poundage upon the rental of houses. After the great fire, by a statute of Charles II. that poundage was commuted for a sum certain, and at that proportion it had continued until that moment. He would freely admit, that salary was by no means adequate to the proper maintenance of the clergy, and much as he was inclined to concur in any measure that should enable them to support their due rank, yet he could not bring himself to consent to this bill. He did not object to the principle of increasing their allowance, but to the mode of doing it. The bill went to impose a tax upon private property, upon property which, for upwards of a century, had undergone frequent transfers, every one of which was entered into upon the faith that no particular burdens, distinct from the necessity of general taxation, should be imposed on it. He could not consent to such an outrage upon those rights which every private man was supposed by law to have in his property.—The noble Duke urged many other objections to the bill, and insisted particularly upon the advanced period of the session at which it was brought forward. Although it might be sometimes necessary to bring forward bills of revenue and general defence, under those circumstances, yet he did not think the 19th of July was a proper moment for preferring a bill so important and delicate as that before their lordships. He would repeat, that no one was more anxious for the honourable maintenance of the clergy, not only in London, but throughout the whole of the kingdom, than he was; but he would put it to the conscience of the reverend prelates (no person respected them more, and he was convinced they could not act improperly) whether they could at the present period, and in so thin an attendance, press so important a bill upon the house. For those reasons he would move, that instead of "now," the bill be read a 3d time "this day 3 months."

Lord *Grantley* observed, that in considering the case, the comparative value of money at the time the stipends of the London clergy were fixed, and what it was at present, should be seriously considered; as well as the circumstance of the great increase in the value of that property whence the stipends in question were derived.

The Bishop of *London* rose to support the bill. He began with a most eloquent description of the worth and merits of the clergy of the city of London. He maintained, that their incomes were not sufficient to support them with that decency that became their situation: there were 50 livings, the highest of which was 200l. per annum; others were of 150l. and many only of 100l. per annum. An act had passed their lordships' house, to enforce the residence of the clergy. Many of the London clergy had no house on their livings; others had houses not inhabitable, fit only for green-grocers and coblers. It was his duty to enforce residence within the city. From the population and the value of houses, a clergyman could not get a house for less than 180l. or 150l. per annum. How was this to be done with their incomes? It was all that most of them had. He could not enforce residence. It would be ruin to the clergy of London, while their incomes remained as at present. They were, therefore, placed in a situation of peculiar hardship. In the 17 years that he had the honour of presiding over the diocese, he had seen that no men's conduct could be more exemplary than that of these clergymen. He could not, therefore assent to the proposition of the noble duke.

The Duke of *Norfolk* begged leave to assure the right rev. prelate, that he never entertained the idea of resisting the allowance of an honourable provision for the clergy. On the contrary, he would give such a proposition his most cordial support, whenever it should be brought forward upon the principles, that private property was not to be invaded, but that the fund for maintaining it should be created by parliament from national taxations.

The *Lord Chancellor* said he was not willing that the bill should be read a 3d time now, nor postponed for 3 months. He would propose, that it be deferred a few days only, till Monday, that he might satisfy his mind, if possible, that the object of the bill, and the rights of private property, were reconcileable in the mode taken by the bill. He had traced the history of the revenues of the London clergy They were, at first, in the shape of offerings on saints' days; and were, on the average, about 2s. 9d. in the pound, on rateable houses. That was commuted for the present fixed income. In following this history, he had found that the legislature had dealt by the clergy of London on principles peculiar to that part of its legislation. He did not know that it might not turn out that this bill might be adopted on principles that should not extend to, nor be claimed by clergymen generally. He wished for time to examine further into that. If he could reconcile his wishes for the object of the bill, with his regard to the principle of legislation as to private property, he should be glad. One clause in the bill, however, he was surprised at. How it could gain admission into it, he could not conceive. It was that which exempts the additional revenue of the London Clergy from all parochial and parliamentary taxes. He never knew so absurb a proposition submitted to parliament, and was surprised how it could have crept into so important a bill. He wished to delay for further consideration, for he was really a friend to the principles of the bill, as far as it proposed to make a more equitable provision for the clergy, and would therefore prefer that the bill be read a read a 3d time on Monday, to the noble duke's amendment.

The Duke of *Norfolk* professed his readiness to withdraw his amendment, and suggested whether it would not be better to move that the debate should be postponed until Monday.

Lord *Grantley* maintained that it was but equitable that the incomes of the clergy should bear a reasonable proportion to the increased value of that property upon which they were originally chargeable.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* supported the arguments of the Bishop of London, and contended that the bill was not liable to the objection, that it was a violation of private property. It was but fair, he asserted, that the clergy should derive a reasonable compensation from the proprietors of property, the value of which had been increased a hundred fold, in many instances, since the period at which their salaries had been established.—After some farther observations from the right rev. prelate, the motion for postponing the debate until Monday, was agreed to.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 19.

[MINUTES.]—A message from the lords announced their lordships' assent to the Cotton Manufacturers, the Isle of Man Trade, the Leather Trade, the Property Commissioners, the Accountant General's, the Lottery, and the Vote of Credit bills without any amendment; and to the Woolwich Ordnance and Corn Trade bills with some amendments, to which they desired the concurrence of this house. The amendments in the Woolwich Ordnance bill were read and agreed to.—The Irish Revenue bill, the Irish Revenue Regulation bill, the Irish Spirits Warehousing bill, the Irish Commissioners bill, and the Habeas Corpus bill, were each read a 3d time, and ordered to the Lords.

[CORN TRADE BILL.]—Mr. *Western* moved, that the amendments made by the lords, in the Corn Trade bill, be now taken into consideration. The amendments were accordingly read.

The *Speaker* said, that on the first reading of these amendments, he felt it his duty to call the attention of the house to them. Several of them were such as to make it doubtful, whether the house ought to agree to them; but the last was such as he could not by any means pass over. It was in schedule D, relative to the regulation of the export and import of corn, and the duties to be paid thereon. The bill as sent from that house, had fixed that the price should be regulated by the joint prices of England and Ireland. The lords had struck out of the bill the Irish price, and made it to be regulated by the price of England alone, which was an amendment which that house could not, consistently with its privileges, agree to. It would therefore be necessary, that some member should move, that the consideration of the lords amendments should be adjourned to some future day.

Mr. *Western* moved, that the consideration of the lords' amendments be adjourned to that day 3 months,—Ordered; by which the bill is of course lost.—The same hon. gent. then moved, that the several reports of the committees respecting the Corn Trade, be referred to a committee of the whole house. The Speaker asked the hon. gent. for what purpose?

Mr. *Western* said, it was his intention to bring forward another bill on the same subject. He then moved "that the house do to-morrow resolve itself into the said committee." Ordered.

Mr. Alderman *Combe* reminded the hon. gent. of the lateness of the session, observing, that it would most probably be closed early in next week. He could not see any possibility of such business as the hon. gent. alluded to, being gone through in so short a space of time.—The question was then put and carried.

[FINANCE RESOLUTIONS.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that having looked over the resolutions of the hon. gent. opposite to him (Mr. Johnstone) relative to the public finances (See p. 1038,) there were some particular statements of his own which he wished to have printed, so that they might come into the hon. gent's hands, and into those of the house, in the same shape as his own. He proposed, therefore, that the matter should stand over to Saturday, by which day they would be printed; and, that the house might have time to consider them, they might go into consideration on Monday.—Mr. Johnstone bowed his assent, and the business was postponed to Saturday.

[INDIA BUDGET.]—Lord *Castlereagh* said, that before he moved for the papers, he was desirous to have laid before the house, he wished shortly to state the motives which had induced him to bring forward the measure he intended to submit to their consideration. He believed there was in fact very little difference of opinion between the gent. on the opposite side, and those who brought forward the India Budget. Only the gent. opposite had always taken occasion to travel into other years of accounts, than those which were immediately before them, by which means they were enabled to make particular statements, and to seize on some particular items, which seemed to militate against the statements brought forward in the Budget of the present year. His object was to bring into one account all the accounts which had been made out since the renewal of the charter, or for the last ten years; by which means it would be easy, at one view, to see the whole of the statements, and to check such errors as they might at any time attribute to him. The gent. on the other side the house had given him an additional desire to have this account, from their having broadly insinuated, that he and his predecessors had stated matters in some instances more favourably than they really were, and in other instances had formed predictions, and given pledges of the flourishing state of the company's affairs which had never been realised. He was, therefore, desirous to put into one clear concise account, the estimates and results of the last ten years. The accusation they had held out was, that both he and the noble lord who preceded him, had held out great promises as to the revenues of the company, and had formed and raised in the minds of others, the most flourishing state of the company's affairs; and had given repeated pledges that the revenues of India would sooner meet the public expenditure of the country, than this country would be called on to pay any part of the expences of India. This, he contended, had been already verified. As to the assertion made by his noble predecessor (Lord Melville); it was true the gent. opposite had always pertinaciously said, that his predecessor had given a pledge, it would be so, in case of either war or peace; but the contrary was the fact. His noble predecessor had expressly made the assertion, on the supposition of the continuance of peace; and had said, that in case of a war intervening, it might cause a considerable alteration in the finances of the company. To the war, therefore, it was fairly to be attributed, that this prediction of his noble predecessor had not been fulfilled. Not only the European war must necessarily have had considerable effect on the company's finances, but the Mysore war was attended with such considerable expence, and with such difficulties as could not fail to inpede and interrupt events and occurrences of the highest importance, which might otherwise have been expected. To this cause it was owing that the participation did not take place, and surely nothing could constitute a more ample excuse, than a war of so much magnitude and importance, unexpectedly arising at the very time, when the affairs of the company wore so pleasing and promising an aspect, as to draw from his noble predecessor, a prediction founded on the fairest and most promising prospects.—His lordship then adverted to the charge, that the estimates and revenues were by no means commensurate. In this he appealed to the candour of the house. The estimated revenue was upwards of 91 millions, and the actual produce was 94 millions. The estimated expence had been about 74 millions, and the actual expence, owing to unforeseen accidents, had been about 83 millions. Taking then the statements that had been made, the only difference that would be found between these and the actual produce during an average of 10 years, would be found only to be a small error of 3 millions, which was truly surprising considering the wars that had taken place in India, upon the expence of which no clear calculation could have been made before they happened, and also, considering that India had not the advantage of the peace in Europe for above 3 months. There was, however, a net surplus of 2 millions, even during this continued period of war. But then a debt of 11 millions had arisen, which was to be accounted for. The expences of St. Helena, and other settlements, the interest of 5 millions of debt, and a million of money that had been paid to this country, swallowed up 4 millions, which accounted for the expenditure of the surplus, and two millions more.—But, 9 millions still remained, and what was become of this sum? Part had gone to defray an old charge in the Carnatic; part had been paid in participations to this country, and part was retained as a balance in the Indian Treasury, a practice that was always found convenient. Still, however, there was a debt of 11 millions at this moment existing. But the interests of the company were not particularly injured by this, as the debt at home had diminished 3 millions, which reduced the whole debt to 9 millions. The company had goods and assets in their commerce to the amount of 21 millions, so that they were in fact in possession of a surplus of 3 millions. He did not wish, he confessed, to see the debt abroad accumulating, as it appeared on the accounts, but peculiar circumstances had rendered this unavoidable. His lordship concluded by declaring his hopes that the house would be of opinion that no imputations of having deceived the house could attach to him or his predecessor. He then moved "That the proper Officer should be directed to lay before the house an account of the revenue and charges of India for the last 10 years, distinguishing each year."

Mr. *Johnstone* said, that notwithstanding all the statements made by the noble lord, he could not but contend, that the whole shewed that every thing he had advanced on the subject was strictly true. After the noble lord, had made his annual statement in the form of an Indian budget, he now came forward with a new set of accounts unknown to any one but himself, with which he most ingeniously pretended to combat arguments urged against the old ones. He thought such a mode of proceeding was unparliamentary and uncandid. It was also unprecedented, except in one instance, and that was of his predecessor, who came to the house and argued strenuously from a letter of the Duke of York, which he had in his pocket, and which nobody had seen but himself. He maintained, that the florid pictures of the state of the company's affairs which had been drawn formerly by the predecessor of the noble lord, and were now presented to the house by the noble lord himself, were fallacious, and consequently delusive to that house, and to the public. When these statements were annually given into parliament, the same promises of reduction of debt, and increase of revenue above the expenditure, were uniformly made by the person, whoever he was, whose duty it was to open the India budget to the house. The noble lord had evidently changed his ground, by bringing forward new statements for ten years after he had given in the usual annual accounts. He thought therefore, that the noble lord should perform the promises which he had already made, and make good his former estimates, before he laid any new accounts before parliament.

Lord *Castlereagh* denied, that in what he had said he was either unparliamentary or uncandid. He would have thought he was uncandid, if he had moved for the accounts without explaining why he had done so. The gent. opposite had all along complained of the inaccuracy of the accounts, and he wished to have one where the whole might be seen together, and errors, if any there be, more easily detected. His lordship, in explanation, then recapitulated several of his former statements.

Mr. *Wallace* begged leave to say a very few words, relative to one assertion which had been made of the noble lord's predecessor having said, that at a particular time the public had a right to a participation of the Company's revenues, under all circumstances, whether there was war, or whether there was peace. He had taken the trouble to investigate this point, and he found, on referring to a speech of the noble lord's predecessor, which he delivered in 1796, in which he then referred to another speech made by him in 1794, these words, "it may be asked, if there be such improvement in the Company's revenues, why does not the public participate?" He answered, because no such promise was made but under certain conditions; and in his speech of 1794, he had expressly excepted the interference of war. He had, in short, uniformly contended, that the participation in a considerable degree depended on the continuance of peace. He was surprised, he said, the hon. gent. should maintain the contrary; it was impossible the noble lord should have used such an argument as, that war or peace would make no difference in the affairs of the Company. He was a man of too much good sense to entertain such an idea for a moment, and he hoped that assertion respecting him would no more be resorted to.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he should only trouble the house with a very few words. His noble friend (Lord Melville) had stated, that his expectations respecting the participation were not likely to be disappointed, unless there should be a war on the Continent; but he had said, at the same time, that to a certain extent they would. It was for the house, therefore, to consider how far circumstances had happened, which had a tendency to affect materially the Company's revenues. All the declarations and promises of Lord Melville were made expressly exclusive of a war in India. It was now 10 years since they were made, and there had been a rebellion fully as expensive as a war; besides the different expeditions fitted out by the Company in aid of the public service, there were the expedition to Manilla, and the expedition to Egypt, the last of which cost upwards of two millions, and for both of which the Company have an unsettled account, and claim against the public. The present object of his noble friend was not to bring forward new accounts. It arose from the gent. opposite having taken occasion to compare the different accounts of 10 years, and to urge them in argument, as best suited their purpose. His noble friend wished for such an account as would give a recapitulation, in a clear point of view, of the different accounts it referred to.

Mr. *Princep* then rose and entered into a long detail on the state of India affairs for several years past. His remarks were directed not only to the policy, but the commerce of the Company in its different relations. They were so minute and circumstantial, however, and so closely connected with the history of the Company, that we cannot pretend to enter into them at any length. He particularly stated, that the sanguine hopes held out to parliament and to the country, of the Company's being not only able in time to defray their territorial expences, but to contribute also to the strength and resources of this country, had been hitherto illusory. The language used by the noble lord's predecessor had been as flattering as that of the noble lord possibly could be. When that noble lord presided at the head of India affairs, he had made a supposition, that even with 15 millions of debt, the affairs of the Company might be conducted with advantage. This the hon. gent. said, had merely been stated as a supposition, and of what might be done in case of the worst, but not with any idea that the debt would ever amount so high. What conclusion, then, he asked, must we form now, that the debt is accumulated to a much greater sum, and is so far beyond an amount which that noble lord had calculated on as the highest possible? If in the course of 10 years we had increased the debt from 7 to 21 millions, what expectation could we form of diminution in future? The noble lord's predecessor had looked forward to a period of 10 years, and had given a statement of what he thought would then be the case; but if they might judge from facts, he had been very much mistaken indeed. The noble lord now at the head of India affairs, the hon. member thought, was proceeding in nearly a similar manner; he was holding up hopes to the house which, if any judgment might be formed from the past, would never be realized. It was not his design, however, to attach any particular blame to the measure now proposed by the motion before the house. The debt of the govt. formed a part of the assets, but he would have had those, he contended, independently of that debt. It was not his design to move for any committee of inquiry; he wished only for farther explanation, which was certainly not by any means unparliamentary. He did not wish either that it should be understood as his opinion, that the validity of the Company's credit was not good. On the contrary, he looked forward to years of prosperity. If properly conducted, he thought India presented a glorious prospect. It was able, as the noble lord had truly said, to support its own wars; and though it created a million of debt annually, it was still productive of very great advantages. The commercial returns, however, to this country he thought were considered as an object of too great importance. There was no policy, he insisted, in increasing those returns, in many instances, to a useless degree, by the system of borrowing in India. To proportion the commerce to the actual capital, would be every way more advantageous, as by this means also more attention could be paid to the carrying trade, which he thought the most profitable. Instead of this, however, the carrying trade was discouraged, or at least was permitted to go into the hands of foreigners, as the Americans had chiefly now engrossed it, and by this means a portion of British capital that might be very usefully employed, was lost to the country.

Mr. *Grant* began by observing, that the topics which the hon. gent. (Mr. Princep) had been pleased to bring before the house, (relating chiefly to the sources and effects of the company's commerce,) were certainly of great importance and difficulty; he was unwilling at so late an hour, and with so thin at attendance, to go at large into the various points which the hon. gent. had touched upon, but something might naturally be expected from him in reply to the extraordinary assertions advanced by that hon. gent. assertions with which he totally disagreed; and which he hoped to shew were totally unfounded. In the complex system of the company, comprehending both large revenues and extended commerce, it was indeed hardly possible always to discriminate accurately in their Indian accounts, what exclusively belonged to the one, and what to the other. Both revenue and commerce having been considered in India, as the united concern of one and the same body, the receipts for each went into the same fund; the issues for each out of the same fund, without distinguishing exactly how the accounts stood between the two branches. And without knowing this, how could it be known what part of the loan of any year should be charged to commerce, what to general purposes? It was, however, very practicable to bring into one view what had been for a course of years the receipts and the issues on account of commerce, and thereby to determine what assistance it had on the whole received during that period from the revenue. Such an account he had made it his business to form; and he hoped it would, with other documents, also prepared by him, and of the accuracy of which he was well persuaded, serve to confute the positions advanced by the hon. gent. The hon. gent. had maintained, that the revenue of the company had been applied to their commerce, that the commerce had in the last ten years, ending with 1803, occasioned loans in India to the amount of 16 millions sterling—that unless the commerce had taken this money, it need not have been borrowed; that the interest of the Indian debt is therefore chargeable to the commerce; that moreover, the commerce of its accounts were stated in a mercantile way, would be found to have been a losing one, so that instead of a profit of 7 millions in six years, as the directors state, if interest, charges of merchandize, and insurance be deducted, there will be in those six years a loss of 2 millions and a half, whilst by reason of this preposterous mode of carrying on trade by Indian loans, the debt has in ten years increased from 7 millions to 21 millions. Sir, (continued Mr. Grant,) I have now in my hand an account stated between England and India, (so far as relates to the company's concerns,) for 15 years, from 1788-9 to 1802-3, wherein on the one side, India is credited with all the investments sent within that period from thence, and from China to England, (including the cargoes which may have been lost on the way home,) and with the Indian charges, merchandize, not inserted in the invoices, which the hon. gent. supposes to be left out of view; and on the other side, India is debited for the proceeds of all the exports, stores, and bullion received in India and China, (not for any that may have been lost on the way out,) and for the amount of bills drawn from both countries on England, within the same period, the result of which account is this:

Total amount of cargoes from India

and China, including Indian charges and merchandize - - - - - -	46,973,820
Total amount of goods, stores, and bullion sent out, 25,279.808. Bills drawn from India and China, 18,074,029. - - - - -	43,353,837
Balance -	£.3,619,983
Deduct further balance of political receipts and disbursements in England, on account of the territory in India - - - - - - - - -	3,231.899
Remaining balance against England, or the commerce in 15 years only -	£.388,084

I have another account, Sir, stated exactly in the manner of the former, for ten years from 1793, the same period the hon. gent. has chosen, the result is not quite so favorable for the commerce; (which in the five years preceding 1793, paid to India and China more than it received,) but the balance against it in these ten years, after all the items on both sides are fairly stated, is only - - - - - - - - - 2,228,549l.

And on the other hand there were in the last and present season, exports of goods, stores, and bullion, not brought into these accounts, to the amount of - -	5,599,297
Which will leave at the present moment, a balance in favor of England - - - - - - - -	3,370,748

These statements, Sir, entirely overturn the assertions of the hon. gent. that the commerce has been carried on by a revenue capital, that it has occasioned loans to the extent of 16 millions, and is therefore chargeable with the interest of those loans. But it may be said, that as the revenue accounts laid from time to time before parliament, shew on the whole a surplus in the last ten years, after defraying civil and military charges and interest, where then could be the occasion for borrowing, unless to carry on the commerce? In answer to this, it is to be observed, that there are a variety of disbursements not included under the head of charges on the revenues. To enumerate all these exactly, would require an analysis of all the payments made in India for the period mentioned, which would be a work of labor and research, but from an account recently made up with care, though for want of time not carried into every minute particular, we are able to account within 2 millions and a half, for all the receipts on whatever account in India, for the last ten years.

The amount of the receipts, including surplus of revenue, after defraying charges, goods, stores, and bullion imported from England to India, bills drawn from India on England, and encrease of debt since 1793, (£.11,500,000) is - - - - - - - - - -	30,577,491

The disbursements are all advances for investments and commercial charges, (including the Indian cargoes to Europe) - - - -	18,387,800
Supplies to China, Bencoolen, and St. Helena - - - - - - - -	2,705,677
Encreased assets, supplies to Ceylon, &c. dead stock, and payment to creditors of Nabob of Arcot - -	6,960,000
	28,053,477
Unaccounted for - - - - - - -	£.2,524,000

which may be made up from such heads as the following; losses by captors of ships in India, losses by accidents in the commercial and other departments, supplies to Prince of Wales's island, and the Andamans, &c. whereof the particulars have not for want of time yet been collected. And in this way, the whole encrease of the debt since 1793, (11,500,000l. not 14 millions as the hon. gent. states,) is to be accounted for, without charging it to the commerce, which at the most can only be accountable in the last ten years, to the joint heads of surplus of revenue, and other receipts from loans, &c. in the sum above stated of 2 millions and a half, but that also had been laid in by the balance in favor of commerce in the 5 years preceding 1793, and was further, more than equalized by the exports from England in 1803-4. The hon. gent. has stated the company's commerce to be a losing one. He has supposed the accumulated expences of Indian interest, charges, merchandize, and insurance to attach upon it, over and above the charges exhibited in the profit and loss of account. From what has been already said, it is plain the capital of the commerce is not borrowed in India, therefore Indian interest cannot attach upon it, and the interest paid in England is charged in the home accounts. The charges, merchandize of the factories and establishments in India, (not included in the invoices), are also brought to account; and as to insurance, if it is to be charged on the goods, the company, who are their own underwriters, must have credit for the amount of premiums, which will come to the same thing, as if the insurance were not charged at all. Upon these fair data, the company's commerce will be found to be a gaining one; not the China commerce only, but the Indian. By an account made up for the last 15 years, the profits amounted to - 15,759,734l.

From which dividends having been paid to the amount of	10,216,901	
And for various aids to govt.	285,259	
To commanders of ships - -	355,190	
		10,857,350
There was realized in England - -		4,902,384

Deduct balance due to India - -	368,084
England, better from profit at home in 1804, in 15 years - - - - -	4,504,30

And a similar account made up for the last 10 years from 1793, shews the total profits to have been - - - - 11,656,190 l.

Out of which the same items of deduction for dividends, &c. being made, amounting to - - - -	8,024,987
There was realized in England - -	3,631,203
From which, if the above balance in favor of India in 1802-3 were deducted - - - - - - - - -	2,228,549
England would still be better in 10 years, ending 1804, on home trade	1,402,654

With regard to the account of Stock by Computation, it does contain the result of the general receipts and issues of the company's affairs, and comprehends all their receipts from loans and profits, though they are not, and cannot be exhibited in detail, (it will be found agreeably to what has been above stated,) as the hon. gent. requires, from the nature of that account, which is an abstract account. Passing over other things mentioned by the hon. gent. I shall only say a few words on what he has advanced respecting the carrying trade of India. He complains, that the Parsees, Arabs, and Americans, are engrossing that trade. Should we, Sir, desire to exclude the Parsees and Arabs from the trade of their own shores? They possessed that trade for centuries before us: and now they prosecute it to the benefit of our settlements, where only they can find protection, and where they and their riches must at length settle. With respect to the Americans, certainly the manner in which they conduct their Indian trade, deserves at a proper time serious consideration. The commercial treaty with them, gave them the privilege of a direct trade between America and our Indian possessions; not contented with that, they carrry on a circuitous trade between India and Europe; this is an abuse which ought to be corrected.

Dr. *Laurence* felt it his duty to approve of every attempt to investigate the affairs of that country, as there must, sooner or later, be a period when those affairs would press themselves on the house in a manner that could not be resisted. He thought it ominous, however, that no two persons in the house could be found to agree in their calculations on the estimates laid before the house, or even in the figures that were submitted to them. The revenue and commerce, he thought, were so nearly connected, that no inferences could be drawn from them separately. One point in particular he thought pressed strongly on the house, and that was, whether they should rather leave the trade to others, than borrow to support it. A noble lord had mentioned 14 millions of debt as a very high sum, but even that they might be able to support, provided they had any security that it should not be much more. It was rather extraordinary, the learned member thought, that every thing should be represented in a very flourishing state, and yet that the debt at the same time should be so rapidly accumulating. He regretted the impossibility of moving for accounts to be made out in a certain way, which might render them more precise and intelligible.

Lord *Dunlo* supported the statement, and could have wished that the hon. gent. who undertook to arraign it, had paid a little more deference to candour and to accuracy.

Lord *Castlereagh* stated, that the commerce of India had sustained itself without any aid from the revenue, and that the commerce had derived no advantage from the wars in that country.—The question was then carried, with an amendment by Sir W Pulteney, that the accounts relating to China should be also distinguished from those of India.

Lord *Castlereagh* also moved, "that there be laid before the house an account of the whole amount of the Company's debts and assets at home and abroad, including China, for the last 10 years, from April 1793, to 1803 and 1804, distinguishing such as have been from 1803 to 1804." After several observations from members who had engaged in the previous part of the debate, the motion for the production of all the papers which the noble lord who opened the business had explained, was carried without a division.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 20.

[MINUTES.]—The Civil List bill, Lottery bill, Vote of Credit bill, Irish County Peace bill, Irish Promissory Note bill, Felons Apprehension bill, Isle of Man Fishery bill, Property Amendment bill, Poultry Compter bill, Tighe's Divorce bill, and 17 private bills, received the royal assent by commission. The commissioners were, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Roslyn, and Lord Walsingham.—The London Dock Amendment bill was committed, and Mr. Plummer was heard against some of its provisions, in behalf of the Vintners' Company. The report was received, and the bill ordered to be read a 3d time on Monday next.—The Stamp Duty bill was committed.—The Irish Vote of Credit bill, and the Board of Ordnance Franking bill, were read a 3d time and passed.—The Irish Customs and Excise bill, and the Irish Revenue Regulation bill, were brought from the Commons, and read a 1st time.—The Duke of Norfolk presented a petition from A. R. Bowes, Esq. stating, that he had been confined in the King's Bench 18 years, at the suit of the late Lady Strathmore, and her representatives; that, from the length of the proceedings before a master in Chancery, it might be many more years before the causes pending could be finally determined; that he believed a balance would be found due to him; that he proposed to give security to pay any balance that might appear eventually against him, and that his health had suffered by his confinement. He therefore prayed, that as a bill was before the house for the relief of insolvent debtors, their lordships would grant him such relief as they should deem proper. The petition was laid on the table.

[STAMP DUTIES BILL.]—The Duke of *Norfolk* wished to be informed, if the proceedings under the commission for the redemption of the land tax, were to be subject to the new duties. If they were, it was his intention to move an amendment to the bill.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, that he had made inquiry on the subject, and that he was informed the proceedings under that commission would stand precisely in the same situation that they did previous to the bill before the committee. He would make farther inquiry, and communicate the result of it to the noble duke. The amendment which he intended to propose might be brought forward in any other stage of the bill.

The Duke of *Norfolk*, relying on the declaration of the noble lord, would not propose any amendment. The bill was then reported.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 20.

[MINUTES.]—The Speaker attended in the House of Lords, where the royal assent was given, by commission, to the Civil List bill, the Lottery bill, the Vote of Credit bill, the Property Tax Commissioners bill, the Irish Peace Preservation bill, the Irish Small Bank Note bill, the Offenders Arrest bill, the Bark Importation bill, the Poultry Compter bill, and 17 private bills.—The Hon. Mr. Cavendish took the oaths and his seat for Aylesbury.—A message from the Lords acquainted the house, that their lordships had agreed to the amendments of the house in the Habeas Corpus ad Testificandum bill; also to the 800,000l. Irish Treasury Bills bill, to the Defence Amendment bill, and to the London Permanent Additional Force bill, without any amendments.—The Lords' amendments to the Woolwich Ordnance Lands bill were agreed to, and Mr. Alexander ordered to signify the concurrence of the house therein.

[CORN TRADE BILL.]—Mr. *Western* moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the reports of several committees that had been appointed to examine into the state of the corn trade. And then moved that the Speaker do leave the chair.

Mr. Alderman *Combe* rose to oppose it, because he thought the subject one of too much importance, and too deeply involving the public interest, to be brought forward at so late a period of the session, when it was impossible it could receive the due consideration it required. He had beside to observe, that the measure, with a view to which the hon. member yesterday moved for the committee, was one which ought not to be adopted without the most mature consideration. For even already, and while the bill which had so recently fallen to the ground, was pending in parliament, its operatien upon the corn market was most alarming. The price of bread-corn particularly had a most unusual and enormous rise, from no other public cause, insomuch that the Bakers' Company had yesterday waited upon the Lord Mayor and magistrates, and represented that, owing to this rise, they could not, without a most considerable loss, proceed with their business, unless a very material increase was made in the price of bread, as regulated for the week. The price of corn still continued to rise higher this day, and for this fact he would appeal to his hon. colleague near him (Mr. Alderman Curtis). It was therefore obvious, that the consequences of reviving the measure must be extremely oppressive to the public. He hoped the hon. member would not persist in the measure this session, and should oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. *Western* said, he was sorry to find the hon. alderman object to a measure that had already been discussed in parliament. Should the motion for the Speaker's leaving the chair be now agreed to, it was his intention to move in the committee certain resolutions, which should be the ground-work of a bill he afterwards meant to bring in for regulating the exportation and importation of corn; and which should be similar to a bill lately passed in that house, but which was lost in consequence of the Lords having made in it certain amendments that were incompatible with the privileges of the Commons. He should bring in just such another bill, with the amendments, and then gent. who meant to oppose it, should recollect that it had passed that house without even a division, and that it had passed the House of Lords without any, or with very little opposition.

The *Speaker* here interrupted the hon. member, by observing, that he was not at liberty to take notice of any thing which had passed in the other house of parliament.

Mr. *Western* resumed. He said, he was sorry if he transgressed the orders of the house; but his object was to shew that the bill, of which he meant to move a similar one, had been considered by parliament as a necessary measure, inasmuch as it had passed both houses in the manner he described. He was sure that, upon due consideration, gent. would feel this to be a most important measure. It was nothing less than a measure to prevent thousands of acres of land throughout the country from being deserted by the plough; to prevent farmers from converting their lands to other purposes besides those of sowing corn. It was a measure to prevent the recurrence of that scarcity, which had been felt in so dreadful a manner some years ago; and, ultimately, to make the price of corn moderate and cheap. These things could never be done by importation; they must be done by holding out a sufficient inducement to the farmer to cultivate grain. It was as much for the interest of the consumer, as it was for the grower of corn, that such a regulation as was contained in that bill should take place. He also wished that gent. would, for a moment, look at this measure on the principle of policy, and see how far it was necessary so far as it respected foreign countries. There were some circumstances, which had very recently come to his knowledge, that must render the policy of the measure very apparent. He understood that the govt. of France had lately issued an order for permitting the exportation of corn, with a view that the agriculture of France might not sustain any injury. He hoped, therefore, that parliament would take care that it would not be necessary for us to import any corn into this country, which must operate as an encouragement to the agriculture of France, and as a discouragement to that of G. Britain. This was a very serious consideration, and he hoped it would have its due weight with the house. He was confident, that if some encouragement was not held out to make it more worth the farmers while to grow corn than it was at present, we could expect nothing else but scarcity. The resolutions he now had to submit were so moderate, that no one could object to them. Here the hon. member moved certain resolutions similar to those that had been laid before the house before, and declaring the necessity of certain regulations for the importation and exportation of corn.

Sir *William Curtis* declared that he was equally anxious with the hon. gent. to promote the object of the bill he meant to introduce, as he perfectly agreed with him, that every encouragement should be held out to the growers of corn, to increase the quantity of that article in the country. But he agreed with his hon. friend near him (Alderman Combe), that a farther time ought to be allowed for the discussion of a measure of that kind, which, at the present moment, was likely to do a great deal of mischief in the country. He wished the hon. gent. opposite to him to consider what was the operation of the bill that was already before the house. It had the effect of spreading a general alarm throughout the metropolis, and raising the price of corn and of bread. On the last market day wheat rose 5s. a sack; on the present day it rose 5s. more. All this was in consequence of the bill which had passed that house; and if a bill, merely in its progress through parliament, had produced such an effect, what might not be expected from it when passed into a law? The prices would become so high, that we should be obliged to seek for supplies from foreign countries. For these reasons he was determined to oppose the measure which the hon. gent. meant to bring forward in every stage, and which, he trusted, he would consent to put off till next session.—The motion for the Speaker's leaving the chair was then agreed to, and the house being in a committee, agreed to the resolutions and the report was ordered to be brought up to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, July 21.

At four o'clock, there being no more than 28 members present, the house of course adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 23.

[London Clergy Incumbents' Bill.] —On the order of the day being read for the further consideration of this bill,

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* rose, and said,—My lords, on Thursday last, upon the motion that this bill be now read a third time, an amendment was moved by a noble duke opposite to me, to change the word "now" into "this day three months." And upon this a further amendment was moved, to adjourn the debate till this day; to which the house agreed. I wish, therefore, to know distinctly, what question we are now upon. Does the noble duke persist in his motion of amendment?

The Duke of *Norfolk* then renewed his motion, that the word "now" be changed into "this day 3 months." Upon which,

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* rose and spoke as follows:—My lords, the bill upon which we are to debate, whether it shall be read a 3d time now, or on this day 3 months, is intitled an "Act for the relief of certain Incumbents of Livings in the City of London." My lords, before I go into this bill, I must desire your lordships to remark, that these "certain" incumbents, to whose relief this bill applies, are a great majority of the beneficed clergy of the city of London. A great majority, my lords; I repeat, and insist upon this circumstance, because great misrepresentation is gone abroad. It was lately asserted in a very respectable assembly, and what was asserted in that assembly has found its way into the public prints, that the incumbents to be relieved by this bill, are a minority only of the London clergy. It has been said, that the parishes, to which what is called the Fire Act applies, and to which of consequence, this act, which is an amendment of the Fire Act, applies, are in number only 48; while the parishes within the city, not affected by the Fire Act, nor by this bill, are 51. My lords, this is a most outrageous falsehood. The parishes which fall under the Fire Act, and under this bill, are not fewer than 86; though the livings, it is true, are no more than 51. For after the Fire of London, it was thought proper to rebuild only 51 of the 86 churches destroyed by that calamity, and by uniting, to reduce 69 of the benefices to 34. And thus the 86 parishes made only 51 livings. Still they are 86 parishes. But the parishes which escaped the fire and are not affected by the Fire Act, are 19, and no more. The incumbents, therefore, for whose relief this bill is introduced, are a very great majority of the London clergy.—My lords, your lordships have heard much, I believe, of the opulence of those 19 livings, in which the rights of the clergy were not curtailed by the Fire Act. Your lordships have heard, that the revenues of those 19 livings are immense, enormous, far beyond the proportion of the wants of any private clergymen, too much for churchmen to be permitted to enjoy! My lords, this is another falsehood. One of those livings is said to produce 700l. per annum, another 800l. I speak of reputed values, which are generally beyond the truth. But the average of the 19 is no more than 290l. per annum.—My lords, it may seem strange, that, at this time of day, we should have to provide for the better maintenance of the London clergy. Especially as you will perceive, by the very preamble of this bill, that their maintenance has in former times been the object of parliamentary provision. Your lordships have heard, that their appointments are very inadequate. But you are, perhaps, not informed how they came to be so poor, nor what claim the London clergy have to a better maintenance. I shall therefore endeavour to state to your Lordships, what their situation originally was, and how they were reduced to their present impoverished condition. This will throw much light upon the argument I am about to hold upon the justice and expediency of the bill now before your lordships.—The maintenance of the clergy, your lordships know, derives from two principal sources; tithes and oblations. The streets of London, my lords, or of any great town, produce no tithes. Certainly no prædial tithes, nor any mixt. London can produce no species of tithes, but the personal. Of personal tithes we hear much indeed in the old Canonists, and something we hear of them in the statute book. Yet I am persuaded the claim never was generally enforced; and no where less than in the city of London. The oblations therefore have been, in all times, the principal maintenance of the London clergy. It is true we have acts of parliament which purport to be for regulating the payment of tithes in London. But that is only that the word is very inaccurately used, as a general name for the legal dues of the clergy, of whatever description; or that tithes, if any there were, are meant to be included under the general provisions of those acts. The certain matter of fact is, that the oblations made almost, if not altogether, the whole property of the London clergy. The oblation, your Lordships know, was a small payment due of right to the Minister upon Sundays and other great festivals of the church; regulated in its quantum by custom and usage; but every where bearing some proportion to the rent of the parishioner, who was to pay it. The earliest authentic information, that I find about the oblations in London, is in an ordinance of Roger Niger, who was bishop of London in an early part of the 13th century. Niger requires, that the good citizens of London pay to the minister one farthing for every 10s. of rent, diebus Dominicis, et solennibus, et festis duplicibus præsertim Apostolorum quorum vigiliæ jejunantur; *i.e.* on Sundays, holy-days, and the double festivals, especially of the Apostles, whose vigils are fasted. And these payments Bishop Niger orders as due, in his time, of ancient usage and immemorial custom. In the beginning of the 13th century, therefore, the oblations, upon these days, and in this proportion to the rents, were due by a usage then ancient, and by a custom then become immemorial. There was, however, some want perhaps of precision in the language of Bishop Niger's ordinance, which opened a door to much litigation between the clergy of London and their parishioners. Bishop Niger states the quantum of oblation, upon every day of offering, at one farthing for an annual rent of 10s. one halfpenny for a rent of 20s. and one penny for a rent of 40s. But he goes no further in describing the ascending scale; he mentions no higher rent than 40s. nor any higher payment than one penny. From which the citizens of London had the ingenuity to draw this curious conclusion: that one penny was the utmost that could be claimed, let the rent be what it might. One penny, they allowed, was demandable every offering day for a rent of 40s.; but they contended, no more was demandable if the rent should be 40 times 40s. Arshbishop Arundel put out a constitution, in which he interpreted Bishop Niger's ordinance more favourably for the clergy. He declared the true sense of it to be, that an additional farthing was to be paid for every additional 10s. of rent, to whatever the rent might amount. The Archbishop's constitution was approved, and confirmed by the pope, and the good citizens of London submitted. For your lordships will observe, that we are got back to times, when an ordinance of the diocesan, and a metropolitan constitution, confirmed by the papal bull, was law, and the only law upon such questions.—But upon this the citizens of London had recourse to another expedient to lower the claims of oblations. They raised a question upon the number of days in the whole year, on which the oblations were to be paid. It was their point to make them as few as possible, and it was the interest of the clergy to make them as many. Bishop Niger's ordinance said the oblations were to be made diebus Dominicis, et solennibus, et festis duplicibus, præsertim Apostolorum quorum vigiliæ jejunantur. About the Sundays there never was any difficulty. But for other festivals the citizens contended, that the words præsertim Apostolorum quorum vigiliæ jejunantur were meant to circumscribe the apparent latitude of the preceding words, solennibus et festis duplicibus; and to specify what solemn days, and what double festivals were to be days of offering. And that these were only the festivals of those Apostles, whose vigils were fasted. Those, in our calendar, were never more than they are now; that is, they were no more than 8. And those 8 days, added to the 52 sundays, made 60 days of offering in the whole year, if none of the 8 days fell upon a sunday, which would sometimes happen, and reduce the number. Sixty days at one farthing for each day upon a rent of 10s. was equivalent to a rate of 2s. 6d. in the pound; which seems, I confess, to be considerable for the time. And the diminution, by the coincidence of festivals and sundays, amounted to no more than 4d. upon the 20s. rent in 7 years. The clergy however naturally wished to make more days of offering. And to more they certainly were entitled, by Bishop Niger's ordinance: or rather by that ancient usage and immemorial custom, upon which that ordinance was founded.—Your lordships have heard it said, that upon this occasion, a sly old pope created 20 new saints, to bring grist to the mill of the London clergy. My lords, I know that this assertion is to be found in authors of considerable name; ho might have been expected to write with more caution, or with more veracity, upon this subject. But I was surprized to find the other day, that their authority had imposed upon my noble and learned friend upon the woolsack. My lords, I should be obliged to any noble lord, that would give me the names of those twenty worthies, that were canonized upon that occasion; or the name of the Pope who performed the operation. My lords, they are no where to be found. The names of those illustrious saints, or the name of the Pope who sainted them. The plain matter of fact is this. Besides the festivals of those 8 Apostles, whose vigils are fasted; there are certain days, which have always been observed in the church, not in the church of Rome particularly, but in every church in Christendom, with as much, and some of them even with more reverence than the festivals of any of the Apostles. Days not introduced by any Pope, but anterior to all popery. Days which have no reference to any saint, ancient or modern, but to our Lord himself; being the anniversaries or days observed as the anniversaries, of the most interesting occurrences of our Lord's own life. Such are the feast of our Lord's nativity, the feast of his circumcision, his Epiphany. These days, in the whole year, were 18 in number. To these we must add, the feast of the Apostles St. Philip and St. James, and the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist: which were always observed as great feasts, although the vigil of the former was not fasted. These, with the other 18, make 20 days: just as many, as the pope is said to have added new saints to the calendar. To which, however, two more are still to be added, being observed in those times in every parish, though not in all parishes on the same day. These two are the anniversary of the dedication of the parish church, and the feast of the patron saint, to whom the church was dedicated. We have, therefore, 22 days in the year to be added to the 8 days of the Apostles, and to the 52 Sundays, making in all 82 days in the year, for which the clergy claimed. And it is remarkable, that in the reign of Hen. VIII. upon an attempt to adjust the differences, which then subsisted between the clergy of London and their parishioners, the number of 82 days of offering in the year was admitted by a court of common council. (See Moore's Case of the London Clergy, p. 18.) It is said, that in the interval between the time I am speaking of, and the reign of Hen. VIII. the claims of the clergy had been carried much higher. About the middle of the 15th century, an incumbent of one of the city livings sued one of his parishioners in the Ecclesiastical court, for recovery of oblations withholden. Sentence was given in favour of the clergyman. The suit made a great noise, and the cause was carried by appeal to Rome; where the sentence was confirmed. But the city taking the matter up, and disputes running very high, King Hen. VI. thought proper to call in the pope's authority. Nicholas V. after enquiring into the merits of the case, issued his bull, ratifying the ordinance of Bishop Niger, as interpreted by Archbishop Arundel and Innocent VII. and confirming the sentence given in the case between the clergyman and his parishioner. In this the number of offering days, it is said, was carried up to 100. (See More's Case, p. 11—17.) And I can easily believe it. For I can easily believe, that the clergy at this time would think they had a right to claim all the days specified as solemn festivals—Festa solemniter celebranda—in the provincial constitution of Archbishop Islep. The number of days in that constitution is 42, which, added to the 52 Sundays, make 94 (little short of 100) in the year. Nor can I think the claim of 100 days fastens on the clergy, of those times, any imputation of rapacity. For the number is much short of what they might have claimed under the letter of Bishop Niger's ordinance, which seems to give them all the Festa Duplicia. And the Festa Duplicia of the Roman calendar are very numerous indeed. However, my lords, in the time of Hen. VIII. the Common Council of London could not reduce the offering days to a number less than 82. They admitted the claim of the clergy to 82 days of offering in the year. And 82, at the old rate of one farthing for each day upon every 10s. of rent, is equivalent to a rate of 3s. 5d. in the pound.—The citizens of London having admitted the claim of the clergy to this extent; I cannot understand upon what principle the claim was reduced by the 37th of Hen. VIII. to 2s. 9d. in the pound. That statute has reference to a decree to be made by commissioners appointed by the King, "for the appeasing of divers variances, contentions, and strifes, which had arisen between the parsons, vicars, and curates of the city of London, and the citizens and inhabitants of the same, for and concerning the payment of tithes, oblations, and other duties, within the said city and liberties." The preamble of the act sets forth, "that as well the said parsons, vicars and curates, as the said citizens and inhabitants had compromitted and put themselves to stand to such order and decree, touching the premises, as the King's commissioners should make. And the statute enacts, that such decree as should be made by the King's commissioners, or any 6 of them, before the 1st of March then next ensuing, should stand, remain, and be as an act of parliament, and bind as well all citizens and inhabitants of the said city and liberties, for the time being, as the said parsons, vicars, curates, and their successors for ever." And in pursuance of this act, the commissioners issue their decree, "that the citizens and inhabitants of the said city and liberties shall yearly pay their tithes" (so the decree says, but tithes, as I have stated to your lordships, in London mean oblations) "to the parsons, vicars, and curates of the said city, and their successors, for the time being, after the rate hereafter following, viz. of every 10 shilling rent by the year, of all and every house, and houses, warehouses, &c. within the said city and liberties, 16½d. and of every 20s. of rent by the year, of all and every such house and houses, &c. 2s. 9d. and so above the rent of 20s. by the year, ascending from 10s. to 10s. according to the rate aforesaid."—Thus 2s. 9d. in the pound, according to the rents, was fixed as a composition for the oblations due to every incumbent of a living in the city of London; and this continues, to this day, to be the legal claim of every city clergyman, except any particular place can shew a custom of payment at a lower rate, or where another mode of payment has been established by later statutes.—But in no period of time, I believe, have the London clergy actually received to the amount of this rate of 2s. 9d. in the pound, short as it falls of what the court of Common Council, in the 20th Hen. VIII. admitted to be their just demand, viz. 3s. 5d. in the pound. But even this lowered demand, upon what principle lowered I cannot say, this lowered demand of 2s. 9d. has never been received. By concealment of the rents, and various subterfuges, the payments were so much reduced, that in the reigns of James I. and Ch. I. the clergy applied to parliament for redress. And in the latter reign, the King ordered, that the incumbent of every living should send in an account of his actual receipt, at that time, from his living. The citizens were also required to send in their estimate of the actual receipt of each living, accompanied with a statement of what the annual value of each would amount to, at the rate of 2s. 9d. [See Moore's Case, p. 35, 36.] These estimates were made; and both parties, the clergy and the citizens appear to have acted with great good faith; for the difference is little or nothing: nothing certainly in the general result, but very little in the detail, between the two statements of actual receipt, that of the clergy themselves, and that of the citizens; though it was the interest of the clergy to put it as low as they could, and of the citizens to put it as high as they could. But they agreed in their separate statements, and by that agreement are entitled to the highest credit. And by comparing either statement of actual receipt, with the statement of real value, according to the 2s. 9d. in the pound, it appears [see a document annexed to Moore's case, which is said to be preserved among the records of the city, in the town clerk's office], that what the clergy received was less than one-third of the full value. The troubles coming on, no measures were taken for their relief, and they remained in statu quo till the fire of London; which gave occasion to a change in the manner of providing for the clergy of those parishes which were destroyed by the fire, which eventually has been very detrimental to them.—I have stated to your lordships, that after the fire of London, 51 livings were formed out of the 86 parishes which had suffered by that calamity. And by an act of the 23d Ch. II. commonly called the Fire Act, a certain annual income is appointed for the maintenance of the incumbent of every one of these livings, to be raised, or so much of it as shall exceed the small stipend paid in some parishes by the impropriator to be raised by equal assessment upon the inhabitants. My lords, I do not believe that the legislature at that time meant to deal illiberally by the clergy; or that the citizens of that time wished their clergy to be illiberally dealt by. It is true, the settled incomes fell far short of what the amount of the legal demand would have been, just before the fire; and I find that they fall short, upon the whole, just in the same proportion, in which the actual receipt fell short a few years before the fire. I imagine, that the intention of the legislature was to secure to the clergy, what their actual receipt had been just before the fire: and perhaps it might have been unreasonable to lay upon the citizens, under the recent and heavy pressure of that calamity, a greater burden than they had been for some years in the habit of sustaining. The provision might be competent for the clergy of that time;

and what is more, I believe the clergy of that time were better off with the incomes the Fire Act gave them, than they would have been, had they been left in possession of their claim to 2s. 9d. in the pound. And for this reason. Your lordships will find a proviso at the end of the statute, 37th H. VIII. "that if any person take a tenement for less than the accustomed rent, by reason of great ruin, or decay, brenning, or such like occasions or mischiefs, that then such persons shall pay tithes only after the rate of the rent reserved in the lease, as long as the same lease shall endure." And by a clause in the act for the rebuilding of London, passed in the 20th Ch. II. tenants in fee-tail were impowered to grant the scites of their demolished houses, upon building or repairing leases, as we should now call them, for 50 years. The consequence, therefore, would have been, that where such leases were granted, the clergy, left to their demand of 2s. 9d. in the pound, for 50 years to come, would have received it only upon the ground rents. The condition in which the Fire Act put them, was, I believe, much better for the clergy of that time. But the evil was in making the annual income certain; for certain annual income is unimproveable income. If the income was only a competence then, it is very evident it must be downright beggary now. And in the same proportion, and at the same pace, at which their parishioners have been growing rich, the clergy, with this unimproveable income, have been growing poor. If the clergyman, by his income, was upon a level with the merchant at the time of the Restoration, he is now, with the same income, hardly upon a level with the junior clerk in the merchant's compting house. If he is to be raised to his true level, his income must be enlarged. I agree, therefore, with noble lords, who think the real fault of the present bill is, that the relief it will afford will be inadequate. Your lordships will recollect, that it was observed by a right rev. prelate the other day, that of the 51 livings which are the object of the Fire Act, 6 only amount to 200l. per ann. These 6 will be raised by the present bill to 333l. 6s. 8d. Another indeed will be advanced to the amazing sum of 366l. 13s. 4d.! This is the great prize, which turns up from a late union of two parishes, which, by the old act, produce, by their separate incomes put together, 220l. But of the 51 livings, the far greater part will still be under 300l. per ann. and 19 of them will not exceed 200l. And what is even 300l. per ann. for the maintenance of an incumbent of a London-living in the present times?—My lords, it may seem that I might have spared this part of the argument; for, with great satisfaction I mention it, the principle of the bill is not opposed. No one of your lordships entertains a doubt, that the provision for the London clergy is shamefully insufficient; and no one of your lordships but wishes it were very considerably improved. The objection to the bill, which weighs with some of your lordships, is, that it is contrary to the established usage of this house, a usage founded in the just attention of the house to private property, to entertain a private bill, unless the petitioners for it can shew, that they have the consent of all those whose interests may be affected by what they desire to be done for their own advantage. My lords, I acknowledge the wisdom and justice of this proceeding in all cases of private bills; of bills in which private interests only are concerned; for one private interest is not to be advanced at the expence of another. But although this bill was brought into parliament by petition, and so far carries the shape and appearance of a private bill, yet I cannot admit that it is really of the nature of a private bill. My lords, it is not a bill for the promotion of private interests: in its object it is a public bill; it is a bill for an object of the greatest national importance that can be brought before parliament. My lords, a bill for the better maintenance of the London clergy, is a bill for the support of the established religion in the metropolis. And with the condition of religion in the metropolis, its condition in the whole nation is nearly and intimately connected. What greater national object can your lordships have before you? My lords, when I first rose, I was anxious to impress your lordships with a persuasion of the fact, that the petitioners for this bill are a very great majority of the whole body of the London clergy. I am apprehensive, that my earnestness upon that point may lead to a misconception of my present argument. That your lordships may imagine, that I would put this out of the class of private bills, because it is for the general interest of the London clergy. My lords, that is not my meaning. The general interests of the London clergy, as a body by themselves, are still but private interests. But, my lords, my argument goes to identify those general interests of the London clergy with the general interests of the whole nation. It is upon that ground that I maintain, that this is no private bill, because it is not for a private but for a public object of the first magnitude. And in the case of such a bill. it would be a sacrifice of substance to form indeed (which I am confident your lordships will never make), if your lordships were to say, because this bill has been introduced by petition, we will not entertain it, unless we have before us every individual, whose private interests may be in any way affected, to give his consent. My lords, I do deny, that upon a measure of great national importance, the consent of individuals, whose interests may be incidentally affected, is to be sought. Private interests are to give way to public advantage, and for this very plain reason; that the individual, whose interest is in any way deteriorated by a measure of public expediency, has his compensation in the share that will come to him, of the public good which the measure is to produce.—Still, my lords, I know it is apprehended, that the passing of this bill will be a dangerous precedent, and open a door to many applications, which it would be very improper to grant, and yet difficult to refuse when once this is granted. Upon what ground, it is said, will you refuse, after this, a legislative relief to any clergyman, who can shew that his provision is inadequate? And God knows this is what many deserving clergymen can too easily demonstrate. One is reduced to a miserable pittance by a modus, which he is compelled to receive in satisfaction for the tithes of many productive acres, and the increase of numerous flocks and herds. Another performs the laborious duty of a populous parish, for no better remuneration in this world, than a scanty stipend paid by the impropriator. Therefore, says the noble and learned lord upon the woolsack, the passing of this bill will be a dangerous precedent; unless you can distinguish the case of the London clergy from the case of any other clergyman who is insufficiently provided. My lords, I say that the case of the London clergy *is* distinguished. It is distinguished from every other by this very circumstance, that they are the London clergy—the clergy of the metropolis. My lords, this distinction is not of my invention; it is obtruded upon your lordships' notice by the authority of the statute book; in which not a single statute, from the earliest times to the latest, is to be found relating to tithes in general, in which an express exception is not made of the case of the London clergy: and for no other reason, than because they are London clergy. They are clergy of the metropolis, and their competent maintenance is essential to the maintenance of the religion of the country; which is not equally to be said in the solitary case of any rural clergyman.—My lords, I really can perceive no analogy at all between the case of a country clergyman, beggared by a modus (which, however, is a very deplorable case), and the case of the body of the London clergy, beggared by the Fire Act. I apprehend that every modus (which the courts, if it were litigated, would confirm) must have originated, or must be supposed in law to have originated, in composition real. And that, in every such case, the incumbent, at the time when the composition took place, received for himself a valuable consideration, over and above the small payment reserved, to the detriment of his successors. There was nothing unlawful in the practice, however prejudicial it was to the church and to religion, till it was restrained by statute. But here was a valuable consideration to a person entitled, and having at the time a right to sell. And it would be contrary to all justice, to pretend, at this time of day, to set aside a lawful contract of so long standing. But can it be imagined, that the incumbents of the city livings at the time received any valuable consideration for what was subtracted from their legal claims by the Fire Act?—With respect to impropriations, my lords, it has been argued, that this bill is inconsistent with its own principle; in as much as proposing to augment the burden of the assessment upon the inhabitants, it proposes to make no augmentation of the burden upon the impropriators. If the assessment upon the inhabitants is to be augmented, why are not the stipends, paid by the impropriators to their vicars and perpetual curates, augmented in the same proportion? It would be only a just imposition upon them, and would in some degree ease the inhabitants. Equitable as this may seem, my lords, on the first face of the proposal; I believe, upon a closer inspection, it will appear, that it would neither be generally practicable to raise the stipend paid by the impropriator; nor, were it practicable, would it be just. Many of the impropriations are in the hands of ecclesiastical bodies, and make the principal part of their maintenance. And these appropriators could but ill afford to expend the sources of their own maintenance upon the support of their inferior brethren, however they may wish their brethren were better provided. Then the far greater part of these appropriations are under lease. And the proportion, in which the revenue of the estate is shared between the lessor and the lessee, is for the most part such, that the lessee has seldom so little as two-thirds, and the lessors in his reserved rents and the fines put together, seldom so much as one-third. And for this reason, the burden of the stipend, to the vicar or the perpetual curate, is usually thrown by the lease upon the lessee. He pays it, as reserved annual rent. One of the most valuable appropriations in the city, I believe, is the rectory of St. Bridget, commonly called St. Brides, in Fleet-street. This is appropriate in the church of Westminster. It is under lease. In the beginning of the last century, there were endless disputes between the lessee of the church of Westminster, and the inhabitants of the parish. After teasing one another, with vexatious law suits till both sides were tired out; they united, the dean and chapter their lessee and the parishioners, in a petition to parliament for a bill to adjust their differences. A bill was accordingly passed, assigning a certain annual income of 400l. to the appropriator, to be raised by assessment upon the inhabitants of the parish. And this seemed so much below the full value, that many burdens, which properly belonged to the appropriator, were thrown upon the inhabitants. This annual income of 400l. is under lease. The church of Westminster receive only their reserved rent, and their very moderate septennial fine. Now, my lords, in this case, would your lordships say, the church of Westminster should be compelled to increase the stipend to the vicar of St. Brides? The dean and chapter would say, "We cannot afford it. We have not the means. Our reserved rent goes, with all our reserved rents, to the sustentation of our collegiate church, and of our famous grammar school. To the payment of the stipends of minor canons, lay clerks, organists, sacrists, virgirs, and to the education of the choristers. And our reserved rents are barely sufficient to this expenditure. The septennial fines are our own maintenance; liable, however, in a certain proportion, and occasionally liable without limit, to the repairs of the fabric. From what sources are we to draw the increase of the vicar's stipend?" If you say, throw the burden upon your lessee, who it is very well known pays the present stipend: "the lessee, they will reply, will not consent; and what means have we of compulsion? We renewed the lease but last year, for the accustomed rent, and with the old covenants. And the lessee will submit to no increase for 20 years to come—he will hold us to our bargain." Under such circumstances, my lords, I cannot see either that the increase of stipend could be practicable, or that it would be just.—Again, in the city, the impropriation, in many instances, is in the parish. The parish has bought the impropriation. And in all these cases, to increase the stipend would be no ease to the parishioners. It would only augment their payments in another shape.—Some noble lords may, perhaps, be apprehensive, that, if this bill pass, we may soon be desired to do the same thing for the incumbents of those new parishes, which have been created under the act of Q. Anne, for building 50 new churches. Those incumbents may be supposed to be in the same situation as the incumbents of the city livings, which this act concerns, in so far as their maintenance depends upon certain annual income, raised by assessment on their parishioners. My lords, the answer is, that the situations are widely different. The incumbents of those new parishes depend in part only upon fixed annual income. It is in part only, that their incomes are certain and unimproveable. Their maintenance, in great part, depends upon shares assigned to each of them, of a sum of money raised by a duty upon coals. And in aid of what that might produce, an additional certain annual income is assigned them, to be raised by assessment. But the commissioners for carrying the acts of Q. Anne, and King Geo. I. into execution, were directed to lay out the shares of the money raised by the coal duty, either in real security, or in the public funds. Laid out in real security, it is improveable income: and I believe the fact is, that it was for the most part so laid out. This I know to have been the case in two instances: in the parishes of St. Anne's, Limehouse, and St. Luke's, Old-street. The incumbent of the former is possessed in right of his living, of a very productive estate in Essex; of the latter, of a very good estate in Middlesex, purchased with the money I mentioned. The incumbents therefore of these new parishes, will have no pretence to solicit the interference of parliament, to augment the unimproveable part of their income. They are, already, upon the whole, well provided.—My lords, the case which comes the nearest to that of the London clergy, so far as the individual only is considered, is that of the incumbents of livings, where the tithes have been commuted, by act of parliament, for a fixed money rent. I know one remarkable instance of this, and I doubt not but that many more are to be found. The tithes of a rectory in Oxfordshire, which is in the patronage of the see of Rochester, by a bill of inclosure, which passed before the middle of the last century, when such matters were not so well understood as now, were commuted for a certain annual payment of 100l. clear of all taxes and deductions. It happened, that I presented to the living, not long before I was removed from the bishopric of Rochester. And by the account I have had of the living since, I understand that the tithes, which were exchanged for 100l. per annum, now produce 1000l. or 1200l. But, my lords, if the rector of Mixbury should apply to parliament, if he should say, "my case is as hard as that of the London clergy; do for me what has been done for them;" I should think it a proper answer to him, if he were told, "your case is indeed very hard. But what has been done for the London clergy, was not done on the consideration of the hardship upon individuals; but in contemplation of the importance of maintaining the state and dignity of the established religion, in the metropolis; which would be ill supported, if the great body of its clergy were suffered to remain in a depressed state. Your case is very hard. But the public is not materially affected by the inadequate provision of the clergyman of an obscure country village; and a legislative arrangement of property of long standing, must not be disturbed for the sake of an individual."—In short, my lords, I can see no danger in the precedent, which, it is apprehended, the passing of this bill will establish. The case of the clergy of the metropolis is so different from any case that can be imagined of any private country clergyman, or of the clergy of Westminster, or of the suburbs; that what is now done cannot easily be drawn into precedent. And since the present bill is for a public object; I cannot admit that it is to be dealt with as a private bill in this house, merely because it was brought into the house of commons by petition; and that the petitioners are to be called upon to shew, that, requesting that to be done for them, which the public good requires should be done, insomuch that if it is not done, great public mischief must ensue; I say, my lords, such petitioners, in my judgment, are not to be called upon to shew that they have the express consent of every individual, whose interests may be in some degree affected by measures of such public importance. For surely, my lords, public advantage must, to a certain extent, overpower private interests. But, my lords, let me not be misunderstood. Far be it from me to say, that upon a measure of the greatest public importance, if an individual has an apprehension of injury in his private property, he has not a right to petition your lordships. That it is not your lordships' duty, if he sets forth his case, to hear him at the bar upon his petition, and to take measures to prevent the injury to private property, if injury is likely to arise. For although the interests of individuals may be, without injustice, in some degree deteriorated for the sake of a public end, which cannot otherwise be attained; yet injury is not to be done to private rights, even for the sake of public good: unless the consideration of the public good involve considerations of justice, which may justify what might otherwise be unjust. But, my lords, in the case of the present bill, has any individual discovered any apprehension of detriment to his property? Have we had any petitions against the measure? My lords, this thing has not been done in a corner. There has been no concealment. The introduction of the bill into parliament was a matter of the greatest public notoriety. The draft of the bill was communicated to the court of common council. The court referred it to the consideration of a committee, and that committee to a sub-committee; which, I am told, is the usual way, in which such business is conducted in the city. The principal committee report to the court of common council, that the sub-committee had reported to them, "that having taken the said bill into their consideration, and having held several conferences with the committee of the clergy thereon (who agreed to some alterations upon their suggestion) they, after duly considering every circumstance in favour of the said incumbents, as also of their respective parishioners, were of opinion, that the said bill as it now stands, will not be an unreasonable charge on the inhabitants of this city; and, therefore, may with propriety, be acceded to by the corporation." And we (viz. the principal committee) agreeing in opinion with the said sub-committee, humbly submit the same," &c.—But, my lords, this is not all. A public meeting of the inhabitants of the city of London was called, not by any authority, but by those who, delighting in public meetings, volunteered their services. One meeting at least was held, and came to some wise resolutions, in reference to this application of the clergy to parliament; which, by order of the meeting, were to be communicated to the lord mayor, the alderman, deputies, and common council of the several wards, and the churchwardens of the several parishes; to be by them communicated to the inhabitants at large; with the very evident, though not avowed, design of exciting an opposition to this bill. But, my lords, what did all this advertising and meeting, and resolving, and communicating produce? Nothing at all, my lords. It certainly tended to turn the attention of the inhabitants of the whole city to the bill. But no petition was produced—not a mouth was opened, till in the very last stage of the bill, and when the present session of parliament was supposed to be within a few days, or rather a few hours of its close, a paper was presented, purporting to be a petition of the city of London against this bill. My lords, if a petition against any private bill had come, in such a stage of the bill, and at such a period of the session, before a committee above stairs; I know, what the impression would have been upon the mind of a noble friend of mine opposite to me, who deserves highly of the country for the vigilance with which he watches the iniquity of private bills; I know, what the impression would have been upon my noble friend's mind, and upon my own. The mode of opposition would have prepossessed us strongly in favour of the bill so opposed. We should have said, "This smells too strong of trick. A petition against a bill that has been the whole session pending! In this stage of the bill! And in these expiring moments of the session! The opponents feel they have nothing to say against the bill, and they would kill it by stratagem." My lords, I am too little acquainted with city-politics, to pretend to guess in what way this same petition against the bill before your lordships might be procured; after the bill had received its 2d reading, after the report of the committee above stairs upon the bill, when it was before a committee of the whole house, previous to its 3d reading. My lords, when first I heard of this famous petition, I thought it might be a step taken only for the good of the common serjeant—that this bill might not be carried through without his deriving some emolument. My lords, I mean no disrespect to that learned gent.; far from it. When he appeared at your lordships' bar, he felt, I suppose, that he had little to say in support of the petition, and he had the good sense to say very little.—My lords, under all these circumstances, considering the bill as in substance a public bill, considering the want of opposition as a tacit consent, if consent were wanted, of all persons affected by it, considering the importance of the object; I cannot agree to the amendment moved by the noble duke, and I shall certainly say, "content" upon the question, that the word "now" stand part of this motion.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he had employed the time which had intervened since the last discussion of this question, to satisfy his mind on the doubt he had then expressed. He was happy to say, he did think the clergy of the city of London had been treated by the legislature in a manner peculiar to themselves; and that this bill might perhaps pass without its being drawn into a precedent and general rule. But he must strongly protest against this general principle, that because it is right to provide for a great general good, you may do so by taxing the property of individuals. He must protest against this relief being given to the London clergy, on any principle that may make the claim equitable from all clergymen who have insufficient incomes, to be relieved by a tax on their own parishioners. He protested against the principle of the bill extending to the whole metropolis, to the environs, to any thing but the city of London. He besought their lordships to beware, lest they should bring forth those numerous and extensive claims on the part of the clergy, that would provoke a jealousy between the clergy and their flocks. That many of the clergy had not an adequate or decent maintenance, no one would deny. We feel ashamed, his lordship observed, when we are compelled to speak on this subject; we feel disgraced, as Christians, that many of the clergy have such scanty, penurious incomes. But it is the public, and not individuals, that should be taxed, to provide more decently for them.—His lordship then went at considerable length into the history of the revenue of the London clergy. He shewed, that the offerings which constituted their revenue were, by custom and common law, grown into a right. The offerings came to be settled by custom, as a rate of so much in the pound. The fixed revenue given in lieu of this improveable income from the rate, he conceived to have been enacted by the law of Ch. II. without the consent of the clergy, and that was important to the question. But above all, what he had found in tracing the whole history most important to this bill, was, that the legislature had often made particular laws for the London clergy. If the bill, therefore, could pass on grounds particular to the London incumbents, he should be glad; and if their lordships were of that opinion, he should be relieved from his doubts.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* developed the history of the income of the clergy in a most perspicuous and distinct manner. He considered the act of Ch. II. as an iniquitous compulsion on the clergy. When the dark history of that day was looked at, it was not to be wondered at. The plain intention of the time was, to destroy the Protestant religion. Of the five persons then in administration, two were papists, two infidels, and the fifth a presbyterian. The established church, therefore, had little chance among them. The present bill partly repaired the wrong of that of Ch. II. But how partially would be seen by this. He had calculated how much in the pound the income of the London clergy would amount to, with the advance made by this bill, and it was not 8d. in the pound. The old rate was, on the average, about 2s. 9d. He respected the moderation with which this bill was proposed, and received also by the public. He augured well from this of the times. No objections had been made by individuals on the score of property. But if such were to be made, he should scarcely be inclined to receive them. He would not be forward to hear a man complain of that by which his family and his children are benefited in the most essential part. The bill he more especially considered as an affair of state. It concerned that which was as high, as great as any part of it. It was not easy to say, among essentials, which is greatest; but if any were in the state, it was that which regarded the existence of religion and morality. A late experience had shewn how important that was; for when that is gone, all the rest is a wreck. For these reasons he gave his hearty support to the bill.

The Bishop of *London* said, the history of this whole matter, and the reason of the question, had been so ably handled by the right rev. prelate who opened the discussion, that he would only now express his hope that the noble duke would withdraw his former motion for postponing the bill for 3 months. The object of the bill was, to repair in a small degree the gross wrong done to the London clergy by the act of Ch. II. to give some comfort to most deserving men, who had lived on penurious incomes, and to support the cause of the established religion. He therefore hoped the noble duke would withdraw his opposition to it.

The Duke of *Norfolk* begged it to be understood, that it never had been in his contemplation to oppose the allowance of an adequate support to the clergy. On the contrary, he wished that the situation of the great majority of the clergy throughout the whole of the kingdom should be ameliorated. He did not wish to see a curate with his family in the country, starving upon a scanty salary and stinted allowances; nor did he wish to see an incumbent in London deprived of the means of procuring the necessaries, and participating with his wife and children in those decent and rational amusements for which he was qualified by his character and education. His great objection to the bill was, that he feared it tended to trench upon private property, and that without especial guards, it would encourage innumerable applications of a similar kind, the consequences of which no man could foresee He must persist in his opposition to it; but after what had fallen from a right rev. prelate, he would not divide the house.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* maintained, that as this was a public bill (for so he must call a bill which professed to provide for the maintenance of an important part of the national clergy), there was no necessity for obtaining the consent of individuals.

The Duke of *Clarence* coincided in opinion with the noble duke, as to the necessity of obtaining the concurrence of all those whose interests were likely to be affected by the bill. To prevent, as far as he could, the principle of the present bill from being drawn into precedent, he would express his dissent from it, but without meaning to divide the house.—The question was then put, "that the bill be now read a 3d time," and carried in the affirmative.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 23.

[MINUTES.] — A message from the Lords acquainted the house, that their lordships had agreed to the Volunteer Act Amendment bill, the Stamp Duty and Loyalty Loan bill, the Nassau Salt Exportation bill, without any amendment.—Mr. Western then moved the order of the day for bringing up the report on the Corn Trade committee. The report was accordingly brought up, the resolutions read a 1st and 2d time, and a bill ordered to be brought in, pursuant to the same. The report was also ordered to be printed.—Mr. Corry moved, that the account of Irish Linen exported since the union, which had been presented to the house, be printed. Ordered.

[FINANCE RESOLUTIONS.]—The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* next moved the order of the day, for the resumed debate on the resolutions respecting the amount of the national debt. The difference between the resolutions which he intended to bring forward, and those already proposed by an hon. member (Mr. Johnstone), lay in a small compass, and might easily be reconciled. The resolutions he alluded to would be ready tomorrow; and, for the satisfaction of all parties, he wished the discussion on the subject to be deferred till that day, as it was not scarcely possible that the necessary papers to be presented, could be printed before that time. The right hon. gent. then moved his 1st resolution, which was agreed to, and the farther debate upon the subject was postponed till tomorrow.

Mr. *Vansittart* said, that as he did not conceive that this subject would be sufficiently elucidated by the resolutions that had been suggested, he would to-morrow move some additional ones, in order to render the inferences more clear and distinct. For that purpose he found it necessary to move for the production of two accounts: the one entitled, "an Account or estimate of the duties of customs and excise in G. Britain, charged and outstanding upon bond or otherwise, on 5th April 1803, to 5th April 1804, distinguishing the several articles, and temporary from permanent duties;" the other, "an Account or estimate of the amount of the duty on property, due and outstanding, from the same date, so far as the same can be made up."—Agreed to.

[CORN TRADE BILL.]—Mr. *Western* brought up a bill for regulating the importation and exportation of corn and the bounties and duties thereon; which he said was, in substance and effect, in all its clauses and provisions, precisely similar to the one lately rejected in that house, on account of the amendments made by the House of Lords, except in so far as related to those amendments. He hoped that the bill would meet with the approbation of the house, and moved that the bill be read a 1st time.

Lord *A. Hamilton* said, he had various objections to urge against this bill, but he should content himself at present with asking the postponement of it to another session. There was one particular point to which he wished to draw the attention of the house; he meant that part of the bill which went to regulate the importation of grain from Ireland into Scotland, which would operate to the disadvantage of Scotland by the average price being computed, not by the prices in the different districts in Scotland, but by those of the districts in Ireland. He wished to know from the hon. gent who moved the bill, how such matters were now to be regulated?

Mr. *Western* said, the avowed intention of this bill was to regulate the importation and exportation of grain from Ireland to Scotland, by the average prices of the 4 maritime districts of Scotland, in such a manner as not to impede, in the smallest degree, the importation of oatmeal from Ireland into Scotland. The object of the bill was also, in a great measure, to open the ports, and encourage the corn trade between G. Britain and Ireland. The difference of the prices was at any rate but trifling in Scotland and Ireland, not amounting in general to more than 1-8th. He hoped, therefore, that the noble lord would defer the farther statement of his objections till the bill was committed.—The bill was then read a 1st, and ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow, and to be printed.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 24.

[Insolvent Debtors Bill.]—The order of the day for their lordships going into a committee on this bill, being read,

The *Lord Chancellor* quitted the woolsack, and delivered his sentiments upon the subject. The measure their lordships were about to consider was, he observed, one of great and peculiar importance; one which, to a certain degree, involved an alteration in the law of the country. Bills for the relief of insolvent debtors were sometimes productive of good; but they were often productive of monstrous evil: they were often rendered a most efficacious instrument of chicanery and swindling. With respect to the present measure, he had to remark the late period of its being brought forward, and the circumstance that one, the highest in the administration of the civil law of the country, never knew of the existence of such a bill until it came up to that house. Much had been said of the humanity of such proceedings; but that consideration, though it certainly would have its due sway with their lordships, would never induce them to lose sight of the paramount dictates of justice. Even on that ground, he observed, it would be the greatest and most beneficial humanity to the debtor, to let him know expressly that the provisions of the law would be strictly enforced. He had many objections to the bill in its present shape. He saw not that equal measure of justice dealt to the creditor. There was no power given to the creditor to call upon the debtor to satisfy him, as far as he could, by a surrender of his estate, effects, &c. There was not that mutual power given; and by the present bill a debtor might, if he choosed, as debtors had done before, live in prison better than perhaps the creditor could live out. These considerations should have been attended to. It was incumbent on that house, in justice to those whose interests they represented, for their lordships, in some points of view, were representatives as well as the other house, to see that they were attended to. When such a bill as the present was brought up, without the least explanation of any of its provisions, without an opening of a single sentence, it was necessary their lordships, previous to going into a committee on the bill, should be apprised of its principle. This they had to collect from the preamble to the bill, which ran, "Whereas several persons now are, and for a long time have been, confined for debt in the several gaols in this kingdom, who are willing and desirous to make the utmost satisfaction in their power to their creditors. And whereas, notwithstanding the great prejudice and detriment which occasional acts of insolvency may produce to trade and credit, it may be convenient, in the present state of the prisons and gaols of this kingdom, that some of the prisoners who are now confined therein, truly surrendering the whole of their property to their creditors, should be liberated," &c. By this extract from the preamble, their lordships would see that the bill itself admitted the inconvenience, in point of policy, of such strong measures as went to dissolve contracts between man and man, made under the established and known laws of the land, and for the purpose that some of the prisoners may be liberated. Thus the principle of the bill chiefly resolved into the consideration that the prisons were full. By the first enactment of the bill, as it then stood, debtors in custody on the 1st of Jan. or any time since, were allowed its benefits. It would be a waste of time to shew what consequences such a provision would lead to. In fact, a debtor who was till now non est inventus, would immediately, in contemplation of the bill, be found in prison: this would, indeed, go to make such a bill an active instrument of mischief. He adverted to the absence of a noble lord, the head of the first court of common law, on this important discussion, which was owing to the late period of the bill's being brought up. The communications of that learned lord had satisfied his own opinions upon the subject, and were he present he would be able to demonstrate the injurious consequences which, generally speaking, resulted from such measures. The rejection of the bill of last year was, more especially with a reference to the enacting of the present bill, productive of salutary consequences; as otherwise creditors would be placed in such a situation as to become debtors, and probably subject to the operation of the measure. In some points of view, he thought the regulations of the bankrupt laws placed the creditor in a better situation than such bills as the present, as therein the creditors, if they chose, might withhold their consents. In point of security, offences against the bankrupt laws were punishable in an exemplary manner.—After dwelling a little farther on the comparison between the administration of justice under the bankrupt laws, and the provisions of insolvent bills, he more especially adverted to those of the present measure; respecting which, he thought, all that could be done in a committee was, to render certain parts of the bill less mischievous than it would now prove, and to reconcile them, as far as was possible, to the considerations of legal justice. Upon these grounds, he should make no objection to an endeavour, by means of a committee, to make the bill as useful as it could be; at the same time he desired it to be understood, as not considering himself as pledged upon a 3d reading, even so amended. He had to protest against the bringing up such bills as that in question at such a late period of a session; and though he knew their lordships were duly alive to the calls of humanity, he knew, at the same time, they would attend to the considerations of their duty. This bill they could not consistently pass without great and considerable alterations.

The Duke of *Clarence* observed, there were certain points which he did not expect would have fallen from the noble and learned lord on the woolsack; and these considerations induced him to trouble their lordships with an account of the causes which led him to come forward in support of the present bill. He would first premise, that in a great deal of what was advanced by the learned lord, he most cheerfully concurred; in illustration of which, it may be recollected, that during an interval of nearly 16 years that he had the honour of a seat in that house, he was a silent spectator of many insolvent bills originating in that house; and with respect to what part he did take in such discussions, it was rather in what may be called the unpopular side. However, on those as on every other occasion, he acted from motives of conviction alone, and according to the best dictates of his judgment. With respect to the measure under consideration, he had been requested by a noble friend now absent (Earl Moira), and at a distance upon an important duty, simply to forward the bill; and he was assured by him, at the same time, that there was no sort of disposition to oppose it. As to the measure itself, he would not then give an opinion upon it. He merely stood forward as the instrument of that noble person, for whom he had the strongest regard, and he had promised no farther. He hoped the bill would be so amended by the committee, as, in a great degree, to obviate those injurious consequences adverted to. He was aware, in some measure, of the ill effects which bills of the kind must, to a certain extent, have in a country which may be reckoned the first commercial country in the world.

Lord *Grantley* said, that in such bills it was usual to guard against the fraudulent creditor. That, no doubt, would be done in this bill; and he thought it should be permitted to go into a committee.—The house then, without a division, resolved itself into a committee. The clause being read, which provides that every person shall be entitled to the benefit of the act, who was in prison on the 1st Jan. 1804, or has been at any time since.

The *Lord Chancellor* observed, that those latter words would free every debtor who owed no more than 1500l. who should to-morrow throw himself into prison. This was inconsistent with the principle of the bill, as stated in the preamble, and could never be intended even by its friends. He therefore moved, that the words, "or has been at any time since," be expunged, and the following words introduced, "and has ever since continued in prison, and is now in prison." This amendment was agreed to.—The clause being read, which discharges the future property of the debtor, the Lord Chancellor moved, that it be expunged. He thought that granted too much to the debtor; more than was granted to the bankrupt when he does not get his certificate.—The clause was then negatived.—Various verbal amendments were made on the motion of the Lord Chancellor. He said, the learned and noble lord that he had alluded to, had proposed that debtors in execution should alone receive the benefit of the act. But he, for his part, thought many debtors imprisoned on mesne process were in a more unfortunate case than the former. He should therefore wave that amendment.

The Duke of *Norfolk* said, he should move a clause to be added, for the relief of persons who certainly were objects of relief; and he thought the proposition would be one to which their lordships would not object. He should move, that debtors who had been imprisoned for 5 years or more, for a sum not exceeding 3000l. should be entitled to the benefit of the act. His grace said, that this might not be extended to any fraudulent debtor, he should propose that any one, who proposes to take the benefit of this part of the act, shall not be discharged but by the authority of the court, or a judge, who shall have the discretion to discharge him or not, according to his opinion of the case, and shall not be compelled to declare his reasons. His grace moved a clause accordingly.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he objected to it, because it vested a discretion in the judges, whom he never wished to see possess any other power than that of declaring what the law is. He objected still more strongly to that part which excuses the judge from declaring the reasons of his decision. He hoped never to see the judges released from that obligation, to the habit and expectation of which he ascribed much of the purity of the administration of justice. He deemed the principles of the clause, in these instances, extremely dangerous.

The Duke of *Norfolk* said, there were instances of judges in this country, who were not compelled, in certain cases, to declare the reason of their decision. Justices of the peace are judges; and in refusing licences to public houses, they are released from that obligation. He had known where numbers of publicans were refused their licences, only because they opposed a certain political interest; and yet they could obtain no redress, for the court of King's Bench held, that the justices of the peace were not bound to state their reasons.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he spoke only of the judges of the courts of law. The instance, however, given by the noble duke, proved how dangerous the rule was in less important cases.—The committee then divided on the noble duke's motion; Contents, 1, Non-contents 4.—The clause was of course lost. —The house being afterwars resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, July 24.

[MINUTES.] A message from the lords informed the house, that their lordships had agreed to the London Incumbents' bill, and the London Dock Regulation bill, without any amendments.—Mr. Corry moved, that there be laid before the house, copies of the letters, instructions, and other documents, received by the Boards of Customs and Excise in Ireland, from the Commissioners of the Treasury there, relative to the better collecting of revenue, from the 25th March, 1799, to the 1st Jan. 1800. Ordered.

[CORN TRADE BILL.] Mr. *Western* moved the order of the day for the 2d reading of this bill. He thought it right to take this opportunity of giving notice that it was proposed to fill up the blank for the commencement of the operation of the act, in the committee, with the 15th of Nov. being the next following quarter-day, instead of the 15th Aug. which was the day proposed for the commencement in the former bill. The reason for making this alteration was, that accounts had been received from various parts of the country, that the appearances of the ensuing harvest were not so favourable as there had been at first reason to expect. On this ground it was thought right to retard the operation of the present measure to a period at which the produce of the ensuing harvest would be ascertained and collected, so that no premature exportation could take place, to expose the country to want. By this alteration there would also be this advantage, that parliament would in all probability be sitting at the time; which would be a complete security for the repeal of the measure, if the country should be then in a situation to dread any mischief from its operation. He hoped these considerations would remove the apprehensions which some persons entertained from the bill, and that they would induce the gentlemen who had already manifested some opposition to it, not to impede its progress.

Mr. *Alderman Coombe* rose to oppose it. He said, he had hoped the hon. gent. would not have persisted in pushing forward this bill at so late a period of the session. For his own part, he could not but consider the bill as tending, and calculated to perpetuate the price of corn, so that it should never fall below a certain sum per quarter, or bushel. It had already been productive of very serious effects to the public, and particularly to the lower classes of the people, by raising the price of corn 10s. a bushel, during the progress of the last bill through the two houses; and it would, in all likelihood, have a still further tendency, if the present bill was persisted in. The present alteration, no doubt, made the bill less exceptionable than the former one: but still he disliked the measure altogether; and, as such, he could wish the house to forego it till the next session of parliament, when the bill would have the advantage of receiving a more general and ample discussion. He therefore moved, that instead of the word "now," the words "this day 6 months" be added.

Sir *W. Curtis* rose, he said, to second the motion of his hon. friend. He had a very great objection to the bill, as he was sensible it had already been the cause of raising considerably the price of corn. It had also increased the price of flour; and there had been a rise in the assize of bread, for two weeks past. He thought the amendments would certainly make the bill less exceptionable; but, as the operation of it was not to take place with respect to exportation, before the 15th of Nov. he thought that, as parliament might, in all likelihood, meet before that time, it would be better the whole should be postponed to the next session, when it would have the fullest investigation and discussion.

Sir *John Anderson* expressed himself of the same opinion. He thought the bill was of great magnitude and importance, and, as such, that it ought not to pass in so very late a period of the session. In consequence of what had already been done upon the subject, the assize of bread had been again, for the third time, raised yesterday.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* allowed that the period of the session was late, and the attendance of members of course thin; but if the bill which was now before the house did not differ from one to which the house, in a very full attendance, had given its approbation, and which would have passed into a law, he did not see the objection of its being now brought forward at a late period of the session, or in a thin attendance, could with propriety be urged. The measure was not a new one; it was one of which the house had been long in possession, grounded on the reports of highly respectable committees, and amply discussed in its progress through the house. The measure had, after all this consideration and inquiry, passed that house with full approbation, and had been sent back only in consequence of a trifling alteration, not of any moment in the operation of the bill, which, however, from the forms of that house, rendered it necessary either to relinquish the measure altogether for the present session, or to bring it forward in its present shape. He trusted, therefore, the house would see it in quite a different light from an entire new measure brought forward for the first time, which he agreed would be highly improper at this late period, in a thing of such magnitude. To lay aside the measure entirely, would be to defeat the intention which the house had declared early and in a full attendance. It was therefore desirable that the measure should take effect, unless any thing had interfered to render it proper to reconsider it. Nothing of this nature had occurred; for though it had been stated that the price of grain and flour had risen, and that the rise was to be imputed to this measure, he believed the fact did not go to that extent; any rise that had taken place was to be imputed to other causes than this measure. Such rise as had taken place might very naturally be the result of the prospect of a diminished harvest in the next year, and it was yet far below the price which was universally allowed to be necessary for the due encouragement of agriculture. The increase of the price that had taken place was not regular nor constant. In the present week the price had fallen, for though the assize of bread had been increased, that was regulated not by the price of the current, but of the last week. The present price was far from being so high as that, which all agreed was a sufficient price. There was, besides, an additional inducement to pass the bill in the delay of the commencement of the new export price till 15th Nov. The country would be secure of its own harvest, and the usual facilities of supply from America and the Baltic would still be open. It would also be easy at that time to adopt in a full parliament any alteration, if circumstances should be such as to render any necessary. This course was far better than that parliament should, by rejecting the present bill, run counter to its own sense, so fully and decidedly pronounced.

Lord *A. Hamilton* said, that the amendment proposed by the worthy alderman removed much of the objections which he had to the bill. He still, however, thought that the consideration of the measure might, without any danger, be deferred till next session; for to him it did not appear that any such necessity now existed as to call for and justify such urgency.—After a few words in explanation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Western, the house divided on the amendment, when the numbers were, for it 11. Against it 56. Majority for the bill 45; which was accordingly read a 2d time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.

[FINANCE RESOLUTIONS.]—On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the adjourned debate on the state of the public debt was resumed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose, and moved his first resolution, which was read by the Speaker as follows: "That the total amount of the public funded debt of G. Britain, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, 567,008,978l. of which 67,255,915l. had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt; and, 19,180,587l. had been transferred to them on account of the land tax redeemed, leaving a funded debt unredeemed, of 483,572 476l.; and that the amount of annuities charged on G. Britain, (after deducting what have fallen in) was on the 1st of Feb. in short annuities, and for lives, 539,979.; and in long annuities, 1,015,410l."

Mr. *Johnstone* said, there was a difference in his statement from that which had formerly been proposed by a right hon. friend of his (Mr. Tierney); that right hon. gent. usually took his statement from the year 1793, the last year of the peace; he took his from 1802, the breaking out of the new war. His right hon. friend was also in the habit of taking a survey of what might be the probable situation of our finances in time of peace. This statement was productive of much discussion and great variety of opinion, and he therefore purposely abstained from it; the more so, as it was next to impossible to hit upon any thing like an accurate estimate of what might be our peace establishment. We should be always able to meet it, for the means and resources of the country were evidently such as abundantly to supply whatever the exigencies of the country might be in time of peace. Within the last year he thought there was an increase of debt of about 40 millions. But that indeed included loans of two years. What might be taken from that by the progress of the sinking fund could not easily be ascertained; as the amount of the diminution would depend upon the price of stock at the time. There should also be included the loan for Ireland, and the expences of the exchequer bills, though even this would create no very material difference between his statement and that of the right hon. gent. It was important, in his mind, that such a view of our financial situation should be continually kept before the eyes of that house and of the public; and as far as it lay in the power of his humble abilities, it was a task and a duty which he should endeavour to perform.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* expressed his satisfaction at finding the two statements so nearly coincide with one another. The points wherein they differed were besides very inconsiderable. He perfectly agreed with the hon. gent. respecting the means and ability of the country to meet whatever might be necessary at the conclusion of a peace. Indeed, the statement he had made, exhibited resources to an extent, which could find no parallel in the history of the world; and that too, after a period of ten years' war, the most dangerous and expensive in which the country had ever been engaged. For so far from our means being decreased, our wealth was rapidly progressive. There were, however, some omissions in the statement of the hon. gent. to which he must beg leave briefly to advert: they principally arose from not attending to the improvement of our navigation, and to the proportion which the progress of the sinking fund should be observed to bear to the amount of the national debt. From that consideration chiefly arose that stability on which our credit rested. That proportion last year was as 77 to 1; this year it was much more favourable; for it appeared to be in the proportion of 73 to 1; and that even at the beginning of a new war. As to the loan for Ireland, it should not be included here. This country was not chargeable with it, as long as the funds in Ireland were not available, and there was no room to apprehend the reverse. As to the interest of the exchequer bills, it was not usual to provide for it in the year in which they were issued. But the interest for those issued, for example, in 1804, would be found in the budget for 1805. As to the poor rates, he was ready to agree that they were very burdensome, and that something should be devised to alleviate the burden. But they should not be included in these statements; for govt. had no controul whatever over them for any political purpose. As well might be included in them the county rates, what was charged at turnpikes and canals, and even tythes, and many other charges, which had no connection with the nature of the charges enumerated in these financial statements. He was glad, however, that the difference between him and the hon. gent. on main points, was by no means of a material nature.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, that the public creditor would look to this country for the discharge of the debt in Ireland; he, therefore, thought it fair to include it.

Mr. *Corry* did not see the propriety, as an hon. member had suggested, of including the sum to be raised for Ireland in the statement before the house. The state of the Irish exchequer was such he assured the house as would enable Ireland to pay what might be necessary.

Mr. *Francis* wished to know if any security had been received for the loan made to the Emperor of Germany, or if that debt was considered as imposed on G. Britain. He hoped the house would not be too lavish in voting away money, and, that such occurrences as this would operate as a useful check on their liberality, and caution them from proceeding on the principle that there would be an increase of means in proportion to their demands. The experience we had had of our increasing means, ought not to make us forget the propriety and necessity of economy. The favourable proportion which the sinking fund bore to the amount of the debt, might be owing, he contended, to the war, which was at the same time the cause of our expence. This apparent advantage was owing to the falling of the funds, and thus, he said, we derived consolation from adversity. In regard to the poor rates, he argued also for the propriety of including them in the statement of the monies to be raised, because being upwards of 5 millions a year, they ought to be always kept in view by the house, because just so much less would the country be able to bear as was raised in this way.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that application had been made to the Austrian govt. for the repayment of the advances made by this country; but that they were ineffectual. The claim, however, was acknowledged to be just; but the distressed and exhausted state of the Austrian finances were pleaded, as an excuse for delaying the discharge of the debt. As to the observation of the hon. gent. that the favourable proportion of the sinking fund to the national debt would arise from the depression of the funds by the war, he could not think it well founded; for if it affected it at all, it was in so slight a manner as scarcely to deserve to be taken into account.

Mr. *Addington* said, he rose to confirm what had just been said by the right hon. gent. who spoke last, that the claim had been repeatedly made and acknowledged by the Emperor's ministers, as one which they were bound in honour to pay; but such was the distressed state of their finances, that any further urgency could not be used at present, considering the state to which Austria had been reduced, in consequence of her exertions during the late war.—The right hon. gent. expressed himself extremely glad to see the impression which had been made on the minds of the hon. gent. opposite, by the statements which had been laid before the house, relative to our expenditure, and the resources we had to answer it. He was happy to think that the plan he had proposed and adopted, of raising 10 millions within the year by war taxes, had proved so successful; and if the house continued to support it, he had no doubt but it would be still more so. For it was clearly evident, he said, that there had been a progressive increase of permanent taxes during the war. The war taxes proposed in May 1803, were likely to produce 12,500,000l. he had calculated only on 8,800,000l. so that there was an increase of a million during the present year. The military expences of last year were far greater than those of any year, in the last war; but there were many expences in that year which could not occur again; for instance, those incurred for the building of barracks, and furnishing arms for the volunteers, cannot occur again during the present contest. It was very apparent, that we have assets more than sufficient to provide for the whole of the present debt, and outstanding assets also, to provide for outstanding debts. This might be ascribed, he said, to the rapid progress of the sinking fund, and the smallness of the loan last year which put that fund in a situation of 73 to 1; in proportion to the whole debt, which in a year of peace was as 77 to 1; so that, unless some unforeseen calamity should happen, we might hope for still further increase. He described the state of our commerce with the Spaniards, and all other nations, to be greater in extent and more flourishing, than at any former period; and he was happy to say, that the increase of our manufactures, as well as their improvement, bore an equal proportion to that of our trade and commerce.—The right hon. gent. concluded with observing, that, although there never was a moment which required more exertion than the present, yet our resources were abundant, and our means would be fully sufficient to answer every exigency. This was abundantly proved by the papers then on the table.

Mr. *Francis* again explained relative to the proportion of the sinking fund; the lower, he said, your funds are, the greater quantity you may purchase, and therefore in the same proportion your debt is decreased; but this diminution, it was obvious, must be owing to the low price of the funds, which could not be considered as a symptom of the country's prosperity. God forbid, however, that he should say any thing to damp the spirits or check the ardour of the country at a time like the present; but a liberal system of economy must be best adapted ultimately to effect the end desired.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, he had not stated any opinion as to the probable produce of the war taxes. He only stated his wish that they might be more productive, and that the house might take every necessary step to render them so. He would not deny that the sinking fund experienced an increase in consequence of the depression of the stocks; but that increase was so very trifling, that it could not be used as an argument to lessen the value of the sinking fund.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, the way by which the value of a sinking fund ought to be estimated was, by its operating in such a manner, that every year, the public debt should become less in proportion, as the fund encreased. But, instead of that being the case, the debt of this country was continually growing greater.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the hon. gent. was certainly incorrect in his statement, as would appear from this fact. When the sinking fund was first established, it bore a proportion of only 140th part of the whole of the public debt. But, at this very time, although the debt had been so much increased, the proportion was not quite a 73d part. In Feb. 1803, it was a 77th part. It was, therefore, evident that the fund operated the contrary way to what the hon. gent. stated.

Mr. *Vansittart* expressed his approbation at the very clear statement which had been made of the finances by the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer, which were so satisfactory to him, that he would not have troubled the house in rising at that time, were it not to move certain resolutions of which he had given notice. The right hon. gent. then entered into some financial statements, to shew that the surplus of the ways and means for the last year amounted to 8,799,000l. and that the finances of the country were better by 2 millions. The hon. gent. concluded with moving certain resolutions pursuant to the same, which see in p. 1129.

Mr. *Johnstone* observed, there was a material mistake in the statements presented to the house. Twelve millions were got rid of, because they related to Ireland, and 18 millions, because this sum was in scrip, and not funded. Thus 32 millions were disposed of, and the congratulations went round on the occasion; but he feared the public creditor would not be so easily pleased with this mode of payment. Another objection was, that the expenditure was stated for 4 quarters, and the receipts for five, the one being reckoned to the 1st of Jan. the other to the 1st of April. Thus an account was rendered founded on fiction; the house and the public were to be deceived, and on these nugatory representations we were to felicitate each other on the magnitude of the public resources. Numerous causes of an increased expenditure might be assigned. The seamen were now only in number 105,000, but it was on all hands agreed that they ought to be augmented to 135,000; this would greatly enhance the expence of the navy. The war had hitherto been only defensive, but it was presumed another year would carry hostility to the possessions of the enemy: this again would be an additional charge to the nation. All these contingencies ought to be provided for by the providence of ministers.

The Resolutions brought forward by Mr. Johnstone (see p. 1038) were then put and negatived; and the following RESOLUTIONS, moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were read and agreed to; viz.

1. That the total amount of the public funded debt of G. Britain, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, 567,008,978l. of which 67,255,915l. had been purchased by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, and 19,180,587l. had been

transferred to them on account of land tax redeemed; leaving a funded debt unredeemed of 480,572,476l.: and that the amount of annuities charged on G. Brit. (after deducting what have fallen in) was on the 1st of Feb. in short annuities, and for lives, 539,979l. and in long annuities, 1,015,110l.

2' That the total amount of public funded debt, created in G. Brit. for account of Ireland, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, 22,348,000l. of which there had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, 1,123,415l. leaving a funded debt unredeemed of 21,224,585l. together with long annuities to the amount of 9,791l.

3. That the total amount of the public funded debt, created in G. Brit. for account of the Emperor of Germany, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, 7,502,633l. of which 375,137l. had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt; leaving a funded debt unredeemed of 7,127,496l. together with annuities to the amount of 230,000l. which will expire in 1819.

4. That the amount of the outstanding demands, unprovided for on 5th Jan. 1803, exclusive of unfunded debt, and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was, 592,630l. That the deficiency of ways and means for the year 1802, was 171,431l. making the amount of demands unprovided on the 5th Jan. 1803, 764,061l.

5. That the unfunded debt, exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form of certain duties annually voted, and of those provided for by the aids of 1802, amounted, on the 5th Jan. 1803, to 9,933,248l. exclusive also of 3,000,000l. advanced by the Bank, without interest, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806.

6. That the total amount of the public funded debt of G. Brit. was, on the 1st of Feb. 1804, 583,008,978l. of which 77,698,467l. had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt; and 21,147,888l. had been transferred to them on account of land tax redeemed; leaving a funded debt unredeemed of 484,162,622l. and that the amount of annuities charged on G. Brit. (after deducting what have fallen in), was, on the 1st of Feb. in short annuities, and for lives, 516,313l. and in long annuities 1,047,494l. and that a further debt, amounting to 18,200,000l. capital stock, has been created by the sums borrowed in the present session of parliament.

7. That the total amount of the public funded debt, created in G. Brit. for account of Ireland, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1804, 25,548,000l. of which there had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, 1,595,671l. leaving a funded debt of 23,952,329l. together with long annuities to the amount of 16,203l. and that a further debt, amounting to 8,190,000l. Capital stock, has been created by sums borrowed in the present session, in G. Brit. on account of Ireland.

8. That the total amount of public funded debt, created in G. Brit. for account of the Emperor of Germany, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1804, 7,502,633l. of which 459,828l. had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt; leaving a funded debt of 7,042,895l. together with annuities to the amount of 230,000l. which will expire in 1819.

9. That the amount of the outstanding demands, unprovided for on the 5th of Jan. 1804, exclusive of unfunded debt, and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 2,024,085l. that the surplus of ways and means for the year 1803, was 1,370,664l. reducing the amount of demands unprovided for on the 5th Jan. 1804, to 653,421l. the whole of which has been paid off or provided for in the present session.

10. That the unfunded debt, exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form of certain duties annually voted, and of exchequer bills provided for by aids 1803, amounted, on the 5th Jan. 1804, to 16,305,607l. exclusive also of 3,000,000l. advanced by the Bank, without interest, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806, of which sum of 16,305,607l. 2,768,300l. has been paid off or provided for in the course of the present session.

11. That the annual charge on account of the public debt of G. Brit. after deducting the charges of management on loans redeemed by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, and the interest on stock transferred for the redemption of the land tax, was on the 1st Feb. 1803, 23,510,967l.; and on the 1st Feb. 1804, 24,110,475l.; and that a further charge has been incurred on account of the sum borrowed in the present session, amounting to 736,190l.

12. That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of G. Brit. in pursuance of the several acts relating thereto, was, for the year 1803, 6,311,626l.; being about 1-77th part of the unredeemed debt existing in 1803, and may for the year 1804 be estimated at 6,851,192l. being about 1-73d part of the unredeemed debt existing in 1804.

13. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to 5th Jan. 1793, was

in the year ended - 5 Jan. 1793	£14,284,000
on 5 Jan. 1794	13,941,000
on 5 Jan. 1795	13,858,000
on 5 Jan. 1796	13,557,000
on 5 Jan. 1797	14,292,000
on 5 Jan. 1798	13,332,000
on 5 Jan. 1799	14,275,000
on 5 Jan. 1800	15,743,109
on 5 Jan. 1801	14,194,559
on 5 Jan. 1802	14,497,226
on 5 Jan. 1803	15,425,000
and on 5 Jan. 1804	14,900,000

Which last sum exceeds the net produce of the permanent taxes on the 5th Jan. 1793, by 617,000l. and is exclusive of a large increase of arrears outstanding.

14. That the total net produce of the permanent taxes, in the year ended 5th Jan. 1803, amounted to 28,246,681l. including 715,523l. paid for bounties on corn and rice imported in the year 1802: and, on the 5th Jan. 1804, the total net produce of permanent taxes amounted to 30,754,724l. including 45,977l. for bounties on corn and rice imported in the year 1803.

15. That the official value of all imports into G. Brit. in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1803, was 31,442,318l. and on an average of 6 years, ending the 5th Jan. 1803, was 23,419,625l. That the official value of all imports into G. Brit. in the year ending 5th Jan. 1804, supposing the imports from the East Indies (of which no account has yet been made up) to be the same as in the preceding year, was 27,441,874l. and on an average of 6 years, ending the 5th Jan. 1804, was 29,490,945l.

16. That the official value of British manufactures exported from G. Brit. in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1803, was 26,993,129l.: and on an average of 6 years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, was, 22,942,800l. that the official value of

British manufactures exported from G. Britain in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1804, was 22,252,161l.; and on an average of 6 years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1804, was 23,834,340l.: and, that the real value of British manufactures exported in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1803, may be estimated at 48,500,683l.; and in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1804, at 40,100,870l.

17. That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from G. Brit. in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1803, was 19,127,835l.; and on an average of 6 years, ending the 5th Jan. 1804, was 15,402,959l. That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from G. Brit. in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1804, was 11,537,148l. and on an average of 6 years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1804, was 15,323,500l. And, that the real value of foreign merchandize exported in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1803, may be estimated at 14,418,837l. and in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1804, at 9,323,237l.

18. That, in the year ended 5th Jan. 1803, the number of British vessels entered inwards in G. Brit. was 10,347; their tonnage 1,378,620; and the number of men employed in them 88,035: that the number of British vessels cleared outwards, was 10,282; their tonnage 1,345,621; and the number of men employed in them 87,304: that in the year ended 5th Jan. 1803, the number of foreign vessels entered inwards, in G. Brit. was 5,497; their tonnage 780,155; and the number of men employed in them 40,520; and that the number of foreign vessels cleared outwards, was 5,626; their tonnage 804,880; and the number of men employed in them 42,414.

19. That in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1804, the number of British ships entered inwards, in G. Brit. was 11,396; their tonnage 1,614,365; and the number of men employed to navigate them 93,004: that the number of British ships cleared outwards was 11,072; their tonnage 1,444,840; and the number of men employed to navigate them 92,940: that, in the same year, the number of foreign ships inwards, in G. Brit. was 4252; their tonnage 638,034; and the number of men employed in them 33,660: that the number of foreign ships cleared outwards was 3662; their tonnage 574,542; and the number of men employed 30,414: making an increase, in the year 1803, as compared with the year 1802, of British vessels entered inwards, viz. 1049 ships, 235,745 tons, 4969 men; and an increase of British vessels, cleared outwards, of 790 ships, 99,219 tons, 5636 men; and making a diminution in the year 1803, compared with the year 1802, in the number of foreign vessels entered inwards, viz. ships 1245, tons 142,121, men 6860; and a diminution of Foreign vessels, cleared outwards, of ships 1964, tons 230,338, men 12,000.

20. That the number of registered vessels belonging to the British dominions, and employed in trade in the year 1802, was 20,568; their tonnage 2,128,055; and number of seamen navigating the same, 154,530: and in the year 1803, the number of vessels was 21,445; their tonnage 2,238,249; and the number of men 155,445; being an increase of 877 ships, of 110,194 tons, and of 915 men.

21. That the total sum to be raised in G. Brit. in the year 1804, may be estimated as follows:

Interest on public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th Feb. 1804 - - -		24,110,475
Interest, charges of management, &c. to be paid between the 5th Feb. 1804, and the 5th Jan. 1805, on stock created by loans of the present session to the amount of 18,200,000l. - - -		487,000
Civil govt. of Scotland, pensions on revenue, militia, and deserters warrants, bounties for promoting fisheries, &c. &c. estimated to be the same as in the year ending 5th Jan. 1804 - - -		723,056
Charges of collecting and management of the revenue, estimated to be the same as in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1804 - -		1,955,368
Proportion to be defrayed by G. Brit. of the civil list and other charges on the consolidated fund of G. Brit. (the charges on the consolidated fund of Ireland, which is likewise a joint charge, being included in the supplies) 15-17ths of 1,346,043l. - -		1,187,690
Supplies voted in 1804, for G. Brit. exclusively	2,292,579	
Supplies voted in 1804. for G. Brit. and Ireland, proportion to be defrayed by G. Brit. 15-17ths of 40,510,699l -	35,744,735	
		38,037,314
Advance to Ireland - -		4,500,000
Interest for loans to the Emperor of Germany - -		497,528
Making in the whole the Sum of		£ 71,491,431

22. That the funds applicable to discharge the sum required for the service of the year 1804, may be estimated as follows:

The gross receipt of the permanent revenue (after deducting the re-payment of over entries, drawbacks, &c.) estimated to be the same as in the year ending 5th Jan. 1804 - -	35,440,278	
Add excess of permanent duties outstanding and under bond on 5th Jan. 1804, beyond their amount on 5th Jan. 1803, after deducting 260,000l. the proportion of wine duty bonded, beyond the average importation of the last 5 years -	712,000	
Allowance to brewers, which ceased in June 1803 - - -	95,000	
Farther produce of taxes, 1803, to 5th Jan. 1804, taken as estimated for the whole year at 680,000l.	430,000	
		36,677,278
Estimated produce to 5th Jan. 1805, of the permanent taxes imposed in the present session; taken as estimated for the whole year at 800,000l. -		200,000

Small branches of the hereditary revenue, and imprest monies repaid, estimated to be the same as in the year ended 5th Jan. 1804	350,000
Lottery, after deducting the proportion of Ireland	270,000
War taxes, estimated to produce to 5th April 1805	15,440,000
Surplus ways and means for the year 1803	1,370,000
Loan	14,500,000
Vote of credit for G Britain	2,500,000
Making in the whole the sum of	71,307,278

The following Additional Resolutions, moved by Mr. Vansittart, were also read and agreed to, viz.

1. That the total amount of the public funded debt of G. Britain unredeemed was, on the 1st Feb. 1803	480,572,476
And on the 1st Feb. 1804	484,162,622
Making an increase, in the year 1803, of	3,590,146
Three per cent. annuities.	
2. That the outstanding demands unprovided for, on the 5th Jan. 1803, amounted to	764,061
And on the 5th Jan. 1804, to	2,024,085
Making an increase, in the year 1803, of	1,260,004
That the amount of Exchequer bills created for the service of the year 1803, and not paid off or provided for within the year (including the vote of credit) was	4,500,000
And that an increase of navy debt was incurred, amounting to	931,655
Making in the whole an increase of unfunded debt, and outstanding demands, within the year 1803, of	6,691,679
3. That the surplus of ways and means for the year 1803 (after satisfying the sum of 579,706l. for interest of Exchequer bills and other payments, not being part of the supplies for the year) was	1,370,664
That the sum of	1,000,000
was repaid to the India Company, on account of advances made by them for the public service during the late war.	
That the amount of war duties of customs and excise, charged and outstanding on the 5th April 1804 (supposing it equal to their amount on 5th Jan. 1804) was	2,416,207
And that the arrears of the duty on property outstanding on 5th April 1804, may be estimated at about	4,500,000
Making in the whole about 9,286,000l. from which deducting the sum of 497,000l. wanting on the 5th April 1804, to make good the grant of 4,500,000l. there will remain about	8,789,000
Which, compared with the above-mentioned increase of unfunded debt and demands, amounting to 6,691,679l. will exceed the same by about	7,000,092

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 25.

[[Minutes.]—The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages: among these, the Irish Customs and Excise, Irish Revenue Regulation, and Irish Spirits Warehousing bills, were read a 3d time and passed.—The 2d reading of the bill for establishing Free Ports in certain parts of the Bahamas was, on the motion of the Duke of Montrose, postponed to this day 3 months.

[Insolvent Debtors Bill.]—The *Lord Chancellor*, on the consideration of the report of this bill, moved an amendment to that clause which enacts that the provisions of the bill may be pleaded in bar of such actions as may be brought for debts contracted previous to the 1st of Jan. The object of his amendment was to allow the matter of the act to be pleaded generally. His lordship observed, that as the clause was now worded, an ingenious pleader, well skilled in amplification, might draw up a plea that should cover St. George's Fields. He wished to render such repetition unnecessary, and therefore moved an amendment for that purpose.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* acquiesced in the propriety of his lordship's observation.

The *Lord Chancellor* observed, that it would be a case of great hardship, if, when their lordships were overturning the contracts between debtor and creditor, and liberating the person of the debtor by this bill, they should also deprive the creditor of any remedy against the future estate of the person indebted to him. He did not think it right that persons who should receive the benefit of that act, if it should pass into a law, should be placed in a better situation than persons were under the bankrupt laws. Their lordships well knew, that if a bankrupt did not pay under his first commission full 15s. in the pound, the law declared that his future estate should be liable until he should have paid up to that amount. He would therefore move a clause, purporting, that the future property of such persons as may derive any benefit from this act, should be liable, unless the property assigned under it should have paid 15s. in the pound on all such debts as they were detained for prior to the 1st of Jan.—The clause was adopted, and incorporated with the bill.

Lord *Grantley* suggested, that there were many persons detained for debts (not charged in execution) who were not really debtors to the extent of 1500l. who, if the bill passed in its present shape, would not be entitled to the benefit of it. Those were debtors upon mesne process, who possibly might have been arrested and imprisoned for debts to the amount of many thousands, although they really were not indebted to the amount of as many hundreds. He wished that an amendment should be inserted, to extend the benefit of the act to all such creditors as should be proved not to be indebted beyond the sum of 1500l.

The *Lord Chancellor* thought the idea extremely just, and well worthy of their lordships' consideration. But as it would require some time to prepare such amendment, and adapt it to the different clauses of the bill, he recommended that it should be deferred until the bill should be read a 3d time.—The report was then received.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 25.

[Minutes.] — A person from the office of the remembrancer of the city of London presented certain accounts, showing the progress of the works at the London docks in Blackwall. Ordered to lie on the table.—On the motion of the Attorney General, a new writ was ordered to be issued for Tiverton, in Devonshire, in room of the Hon. R. Ryder, who has accepted the office of one of his Majesty's justices in Wales.—On the motion of Mr. S. Bourne, a new writ was ordered for Christchurch, in the room of G. Rose, Esq. who has accepted the office of joint paymaster.—Mr. Patteson presented a petition from the mayor and magistrates of Norwich, praying that no alteration should take place in the corn laws. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Huskisson presented an account or estimate of all duties on customs charged or due on bond in G. Britain. Ordered to lie on the table.—A message from the Lords announced their lordships' assent to the Irish Revenue Regulation bill, the Irish Warehousing bill, and the Irish Customs and Excise Regulation bill.

[Corn Trade Bill.]—On the motion of Mr. Western, the house went into a committee on this bill.

Lord *A. Hamilton* suggested several amendments relative to Scotland, so as to separate it from the provisions as to England and Wales, and to regulate the average price of corn imported, by the prices of that article in the four maritime districts of Scotland; which amendments were adopted.—The report was brought up, the amendments ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a 3d time to-morrow.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 26.

[Minutes.]—The Insolvent Debtors bill was read a 3d time, passed, and sent to the Commons for their concurrence.

[Corn Trade Bill.]—The Corn Trade bill was brought up from the Commons, and read a 1st time. On the motion that it be printed, and read a 2d time tomorrow,

Earl *Stanhope* said, the noble sec. of state had, on a former night, expressed a wish that noble lords would, instead of arguing on abstract principles, propose some regular system on the corn laws. He had since drawn up 3 resolutions, containing a regular system on that subject, which he intended to submit to the house before the debate on the bill.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, as the session was so far advanced, he hoped the house would have no objection to meet to-morrow an hour sooner than usual.

Earl *Stanhope* objected to this, on the ground that noble lords were used to expect that no business of importance would be discussed before 5 o'clock; and it might happen, that noble lords might come down and find the debate over. He therefore hoped the noble lord would be content to eat his dinner an hour later.

The *Lord Chancellor* having left the woolsack, said it might not be known to the noble earl, that early in the session it was agreed to commence business at half past 4 o'clock, and therefore his wish was anticipated.

Earl *Stanhope* said, he was glad to find that half past 4 and 4 o'clock were the same thing. However, that his propositions might be heard by as many of their lordships as pleased to attend, he had no objection to make his resolutions the second dish instead of the first; and therefore he should bring forward his propositions immediately after, instead of before, the debate on the 2d reading of the bill.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 26.

[Minutes.]—Mr. S. Bourne moved, that a new writ be issued for a member to serve in parliament, for the borough of Barnstaple, in Devonshire, in the room of Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds. Ordered.—Mr. Hawthorne moved, that certain accounts relative to the duties on excise and customs in Ireland, which had been moved for on a former day, but were not yet presented, be laid before the house within the first 7 days of the next session of parliament. Ordered.—On the motion of Mr. Western, the Corn Trade bill was read a 3d time and passed, and immediately sent up to the Lords.—A message from the Lords informed the house, that the Lords had agreed to the Irish Revenue Fees bill, and the bill for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors, with certain amendments.—On the motion of Mr. Alderman Combe, the Lords' amendments to the Insolvent Debtors bill were ordered to be taken into consideration on Saturday next.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, beseeching him, that he would be graciously pleased to order the sum of 1,200l. to be advanced to H. Alexander, Esq. as a compensation for his services during the present session of parliament, as chairman of the committees of ways and means; and that the House of Commons would make good the same." Ordered.—The right hon. gent. next moved similar addresses, praying his Majesty to grant the following sums, viz. such a sum of money to Jeremiah Dyson, Esq. clerk assistant of that house, as, if added to the fees and emoluments already arising from his office, would amount to the sum of 2000l. being a compensation for his services during the present session of parliament; the sum of 1000l. to J. H. Ley, Esq. second clerk assistant of that house, for his services. &c. to J. Clementson, Esq. late serjeant at arms of that house, such a sum as, if added to the fees and emoluments of the said office, would make good the sum of 500l.—The right hon. gent. next moved, that 1750 copies of the journals of that house, with an index to the 59th vol. be printed. Ordered.—He then moved an address, to grant the sum of 310l. to George Whittam, Esq. clerk of the journals, for making out an index to the same; also, an address, praying his Majesty to order such compensation as his Majesty should think fit, to the several clerks attending committees of the house, during the present session of parliament.—The right hon. gent. said, he had to move another sum, which, when the great utility of its object was considered, he hoped no gent. would object to. He then moved, "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to order the sum of 3000l. to be advanced to the institution for preventing the spreading of malignant fevers, and other contagious distempers in the metropolis."

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, that this address had his most hearty concurrence. The institution to which it was to be advanced, was one that would produce the happiest and most beneficial effects. In the last century, the number of 3000 persons used sometimes to die during the course of a year, in the metropolis, of contagious distempers, and now, in consequence of the institution in question, the deaths were so few, that the most sanguine hopes were entertained that the malady would be wholly exterminated.—The several addresses were agreed to, and ordered to be presented by such members as were of his Majesty's privy council.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 27.

[Corn Trade Bill.]—Lord Hawkesbury moved the order of the day for the 2d reading of the Corn Trade Bill, which being read,

Earl *Stanhope* rose, and said, he had yesterday given notice of three resolutions, which he intended to move, and which contained a settled, regular, deliberate system, relative to the produce of corn, different from the system contained in this bill; and, in his opinion, far preferable to it. If he understood rightly the nature and object of this bill, it was the intention of the framers and supporters of it to encourage the growth of corn and grain, by increasing the price.—The system contained in his propositions was, on the contrary calculated to encourage equally the growth of corn by decreasing the price. He admitted the proposition laid down by the advocates for this bill, that it was necessary something should be done towards forwarding and improving the agriculture of the country, and particularly to encourage a larger produce of corn and grain, otherwise the farmer would not cultivate his lands that way, and scarcity, and perhaps famine, would be the inevitable consequence. So far, all parties were perfectly agreed. But, said his lordship, there are two ways of doing the same thing, and the mode proposed by this bill, he thought a bad one, for what was it but in effect to lay a heavy burden on the lower orders of the people, already too heavily laden, in order to recompense the farmer, by giving him a stimulus to increase the growth of corn? and what would be the consequence? The increase in the price of corn and grain would instantly operate towards increasing the price of every necessary of life; consequently the price of labour would rise in proportion. The labourer would say to the farmer, 'Master, the bread is raised, and every thing else is raised, I must, therefore have more wages.' The farmer continues to raise the price of his corn further, the labourer raises again in his demand of wages, and so they go on, the one against the other, till the very end proposed is entirely frustrated, and the poor's rates become so enormous, that the farmer is but little, if at all, benefited by the high prices, which he, from time to time, puts on his corn, while the people are most severely burdened and oppressed; and the farmer, finding that high prices do not answer the end he expected and wished, may finally produce no more corn than he does at present, and in that way scarcity and famine may be the consequence. It would be wise, therefore, in that house, to consider well the consequences before they adopted the measures proposed by this bill. The system he had to propose in the resolutions he should have the honour to submit to their lordships' consideration went to encourage the produce of corn, by decreasing the price, would always ensure plenty, and he was certain all the farmers in the country would be in favour of the plan; the manufacturers would be the same, and the poorer classes, and lower orders of the people, would receive the greatest benefits from it. The resolutions he had to propose, contained the system he alluded to. They were three in number; but he wished to read them as one, merely for the purpose of entering them on the journals of the house. It was not his intention at this late period of the session, to take the sense of the house on them; but they would thereby be in their lordships possession, and they might give them due consideration till a fair opportunity should offer of bringing them forward in the course of the next session. He was happy to think he had received the support of a right rev. prelate (the Bishop of St. Asaph), to one of his resolutions, which was in favour of public granaries. His lordship then read his first resolution, which was as follows:

Resolved 1st, "That it is the opinion of this house, that public granaries should be established, to receive, in years of plenty, corn and grain grown in this country, in order to keep down the price thereof in years of scarcity, and effectually to secure to this nation in all seasons a sufficient supply, and likewise in order to provide for the farmers at all times a certain market for their corn and grain, and to diminish fluctuation in the price of the necessaries of life."—Here his lordship went over several of the arguments he had used on a former evening on this head, and said, he was certain, from what he had seen in Switzerland, that such public receptacles for corn could not fail to produce the most beneficial consequences, as they would enable the govt. to pay the farmers, at all times a fair price for their corn; the farmers would always be sure of a market; and, in case of a scarcity, the country would hav- nothing to fear. His second resolution was,

Resolved 2dly, "That it is the opinion of this house, that all impediments, created by any law or laws, to the free warehousing of corn and grain, ought to be removed, abolished, and repealed."—From what had fallen from the noble sec. of state on a former occasion, respecting the warehousing of corn, he thought he should have his support; and he was therefore happy to think he had two such supporters to two of his resolutions, out of the three. Such warehousing would be of corn and grain, the growth of this country, and not foreign corn. We shall thereby be enabled to produce a sufficiency, without applying to foreign countries, and thereby encouraging the agriculture of those countries, and enabling them to export their corn and grain into this kingdom, by which means they would in time do an irreparable mischief to, if not ruin, our navy; for they at present engrossed nearly the whole of the carrying trade. Formerly corn was only imported in British bottoms, and there was scarcely a Dantzic ship, of more than 200 or 250 tons; but now they had them from 400 to 1400 tons, and the whole trade was in their possession.—His lordship then came to the purport of his 3d resolution. He said, the two first were such as he believed would be very serviceable to the interests of the country, but they would be vain and nugatory, without the 3d, which was the most efficient of all towards completing the system which he had to propose in opposition to that contained in this bill. He then requested their lordships to recollect that the government of this country had, from time to time, for many years, entered into a succession of wars, in which they had been but too much encouraged by the legislature; these wars had brought on an enormous national debt, and that national debt an enormous load of taxes, which had long oppressed the great mass of the people. To these wars, this debt, and these taxes are to be attributed the enormous rise in the price of all the necessaries of life, and particularly in the price of bread. It was therefore necessary that every proper encouragement should be given to the produce of corn, but not as this bill would do it, by increasing the price. His next resolution embraced a system which would fully effect this desirable purpose, and at the same time decrease the price of corn. He would have the farmers exempted from all direct taxes, for he thought they were not fit subjects for taxation, and if this was carried into effect, it would do more towards encouraging the growth of corn, and decreasing the price of it, than all the bills that had ever been framed and passed on the subject. The supporters of the present bill had shewn that they considered what he said of it on a former occasion as founded in fact, for they had made it to commence its operation, instead of the 15th August, (which was the day fixed by the last bill) on the 15th November; and why? Because they were afraid of a scarcity. In November, the parliament will be sitting, and then they can repeal it. Such is the permanent system they had produced for the encouragement of the growth of corn; whereas his would be a permanent system, for he would have the farmers exempted from direct taxes for ever. He then read his 3d resolution as follows:

"*Resolved* 3dly, "That in order to encourage the growth of corn and grain in G. Britain and Ireland, and at the same time to decrease the price thereof, for the benefit of the people at large, and for the increase of our manufactures and commerce, it is the opinion of this house, that the farmers should be for ever discharged from the payment of all direct taxes, parish and county rates, cesses, dues, tythes, and parliamentary impositions whatsoever; save only and except those rates of the nature of a penalty which may be raised upon any hundred as such."—If he could put this resolution to the people at large, he was sure, he said, that, instead of being in a minority, he should be able to poll a hundred to one in its favour. He should poll all the farmers; he should poll all the manufacturers; he should poll all the labouring people; in short, all classes of people would be in favour of it, because it must forcibly strike every one, that it was the chief part of a system that could not fail to encourage the growth of corn, and to decrease the price of bread, in opposition to the bill, the system of which was to raise the price of corn, and consequently of bread, and every other necessary of life; and, finally, to starve the people. He had lately read, with great pleasure, a pamphlet, which was admirably written, on the subject of "arming the people." He was himself fully sensible of the propriety and necessity of arming the people; but he was surprised that govt. should first put arms into their hands, and then encourage and support a bill that would famish them. After he should have moved his resolutions, he would annex to that motion that they should be debated on that day se'nnight. His wish was, that they should be brought under the fair consideration of parliament, and he thought the mode he proposed the best means of effecting that. He did not wish to put their lordships to the necessity of immediately approving them, or of incurring unpopularity by rejecting them. It would, however, answer his purpose better if they rejected them, for the consequence would be, that very soon after half a million of hand-bills would be issued. He had always been successful in mechanics, and unsuccessful in politics. In mechanics, when he had a nail to drive into a piece of oak, he did not keep patting it with a small hammer or a mallet, but he took a large sledge, and drove it at one blow, and then he took his hammer and clenched it. He would act in the very same way in politics. His resolutions were his sledge hammer, and he was confident they would drive the nail to the head. No member of the legislature would be found to oppose the principle of them, which was to make bread cheap, for the consequence would be that he would become unpopular, and at the next election, were he Charles Fox himself, out he must go. After a number of similar observations, his lordship concluded his speech by moving "that the bill be rejected."

The Duke of *Montrose* said, he could not refrain from making some observations on what fell from the noble earl who just sat down. That noble earl did on the present day, as well as on various other occasions, think proper to censure the conduct of his Majesty's govt. and attribute to the govt. and the parliament all the difficulties that existed in the country. He would represent the war as unpopular, and the parliament as the cause of that war. So far as that assembly, to whom he was addressing himself, were concerned in the present war, it was necessary for a moment to consider what interest they could have had in promoting it. It was hardly necessary for him to say that there was no class of his Majesty's subjects, who gained less, and suffered more by a war, than the members of that assembly; and therefore it was impossible to suppose they could have given their sanction to war from any other motive than a strong sense of national honour, and a conviction that the war was necessary for the preservation of our national existence. The noble earl had been on all occasions in the habit of inflaming the minds of the people, not only against the govt. but also against the parliament. However his attacks against the govt. might be tolerated, he hoped the parliament, and particularly that house, would not suffer itself to be vilified and abused. It was not easy to conceive what a mischievous effect such speeches as those of the noble earl might have upon the public mind, if they were suffered to go abroad unanswered. To say that the present was a bill to starve the poor, was not only mischievous in the highest degree, but unfounded in fact. So far from its being a bill to starve the people, its immediate object was to prevent famine and starvation in the country. And some of the arguments used by the noble earl when speaking against the bill, might be advanced in favour of it. He had contended that all taxes ought to be taken off the farmer; and of course the taxes must fall on the consumers of provisions. Would not the present bill have exactly such an effect as this? Would it not raise the value of corn for the benefit of the farmers, and compel the consumers to pay an advanced price?

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, the noble earl who opened this debate, had used many violent and inflammatory observations, which should not be suffered to go forth among the public, without that animadversion which they deserved. Like many other speeches which he had been permitted to utter in that house, it had a direct tendency to alienate the minds of the people of the country from his Majesty's govt. It was neither more nor less than telling the people, telling those brave men who had armed in the defence of their country, that the govt. was about to oppress them, by raising the price of the necessaries of life. He knew of nothing that could tend more to encourage disaffection in the country, and serve the common enemy, than such observations. They were the very same which that noble earl had been making for many years in that house; and which, fortunately for himself and the people at large, had failed of producing the desired effect. But he was happy to find that the minds of the people at large were now completely changed with respect to those extravagant and pernicious principles, which some of them might have once entertained; and it was a proof at once of the security of the govt. and of the attachment of the people towards it, that an individual like the noble earl was still suffered to propagate those doctrines, which had done such mischief in other countries. One of the propositions made use of by him was, that every direct tax should be taken off the farmer: and that, he imagined, would have the effect of lowering the prices of provisions. Never did a more erroneous idea enter into the imagination of any man. Every body who heard him might recollect the attempts which had been made by the revolutionary govt. of France to lower the prices of provisions. When that ferocious and sanguinary monster, Robespierre, had been throwing thousands and tens of thousands of people into dungeons, and driving the miserable victims of his tyranny to the guillotine, he attempted to pass a law for the benefit of the people, and by that means to lower the price of provisions. He pretended that his object was to relieve the public from oppression. But how was that to be effected? By establishing a *maximum*, by fixing a certain price on all the necessaries of life, beyond which they were not to be sold. The consequences were the most dreadful and ruinous that could possibly be imagined. So far from lowering the price of provisions, the law immediately produced scarcity and famine. Such was the effect of speculative reforms, like those which the noble earl would introduce!—Another plan which the noble earl wished to have adopted, was that of establishing public granaries in the country, for the purpose of laying up corn in years of plenty, which might be made use of in years of scarcity. However such a plan as this might be beneficial in certain states, it could never be practically beneficial in a country like G. Britain. In the first place, there was no redundancy of corn even in the most plentiful season in this country, which could be reserved for such a purpose. There was no more corn grown in G. Britain in any one year than was sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants, and we were continually importing corn to supply the deficiencies of bad seasons. The cause why a greater quantity of corn was not produced in this country, was very obvious. It was a great commercial country, and in such a country, agriculture was never carried to such an extent as in places where there was little commerce. A great portion of our population was employed in manufactures and in various other pursuits beside those of agriculture; and, therefore, although the country did not, in proportion to its population, produce as great a quantity of corn as it might do, yet the industry of the people was equally as productive in other respects; and the wealth which that industry procured, supplied them with provisions from other countries, when they could not be got at home. It was evident that the plan of public granaries was not only impracticable but unnecessary. To such a plan, such as was proposed by the noble earl, he had another objection, still stronger than any he had stated; which was that of putting the public granaries under the controul of govt. If any one thing could be more unconstitutional or mischievous than another, it was that of allowing the govt. of a country to have the power of supplying the subjects with provisions. Such a power should never be suffered to exist in this country; and he would resist it as far as lay in his power.—Another plan of the noble lord's, by which he said the price of the quartern loaf could be lowered to 5d. was still more impracticable. The price of bread must always keep pace with the price of all the other necessaries of life; and the price of bread in this country was at the present moment proportionably too low. How was it possible then that it could be lower? Importation could not have that effect; and if it had, it would have the still worse effect of preventing the growth of corn in the country. The real cause of the high prices which took place in almost all the necessaries of life in this country, was the great wealth which it possessed; and that must be always the case in every great commercial country. He considered it unnecessary for him to enter into the merits of this bill, which had been discussed before in that house; but he was convinced, if the bill did not pass, it would have the effect of producing real scarcity in the country.

The Duke of *Clarence* said, he thought it necessary to make a few observations on what fell from a noble earl who opened the debate on this subject. He had said, that the measure then before the house was brought forward by the govt. This he most positively denied. The measure had met the approbation of, and been planned by the members of the late cabinet. The present ministers gave their sanction and support to it; and, in doing so, they had the advice and assistance of their predecessors in office. But so far from its being a measure coming from the govt. it was brought forward by a member of the other house of parliament, who had uniformly been in opposition to ministers, and who had always voted against the late and the present war.—The question was then put, when Earl Stanhope's amendment was negatived, and the bill read a 2d time, and ordered to be read a 3d time to-morrow.

Earl *Stanhope* next rose to propose the resolutions which he had mentioned. He went over several of his former argumnets; and in answer to the charge, that he and used violent and inflammatory language, he contended he had said nothing more than that a great part, and perhaps a majority of the people of the country, would be dissatisfied with the bill before the house: and that it would be a dangerous thing to run the risk of alienating the affections of men, who had come forward with arms in their hands to defend their country and their govt. This was an argument he thought he had a right to make use of. He then moved his resolutions; and said, if they were agreed to, that he would move to adjourn the debate upon them to this day se'nnight,

Lord *Mulgrave* thought the conduct of the noble earl highly reprehensible, in supposing that the brave men who had taken up arms in defence of their country, were likely to become disaffected in consequence of a bill of this kind. Thank God, very few persons now entertained the same principles with that noble earl! Whatever errors men might formerly have had on the subject of our constitution, he was convinced that their reflection and good sense, with the experience they have had, did since teach them that they enjoyed more freedom and happiness than were to be found in any other part of the world; and he was therefore convinced, that the inflammatory sentiments of the noble earl would produce very little effect, although it was necessary to notice them when they were uttered in that house. His lordship contended, that the resolutions just moved were useless, impracticable, and mischievous, and concluded with moving, "that the house do now adjourn."

The *Lord Chancellor* said, it was a proof of the extraordinary indulgence of that assembly, that the noble earl had been on the present, as well as on former occasions, permitted to utter the sentiments which he did; and, in order to do so, to wander away into extraneous matter, wholly foreign from the subject under consideration. With respect to the resolutions which were now proposed, it was impossible to entertain them for a moment. The plan for erecting granaries in the country would have the effect of cutting off our supplies of grain from other nations: and the idea of taking off all direct taxes from farmers could confer no benefit on them; while it would considerably diminish the public revenue. If any particular tax was taken off a farmer, he knew very well, and that from his professional habits, that the landlord would raise the rent, so as to make the burden fall equally heavy on the tenant as if the tax existed. To take away tythes would be a great injustice to those who had a property in them; but it would be no relief to the cultivators of land; for they would be obliged to pay to the owners of the land an additional rent equal to what they had paid in tythes. As to the plan of lowering the price of bread, by encreased importation, that would have an effect directly the contrary to what was intended, because it would discourage, and completely do away, the cultivation of grain in this country. He could not help expressing his thanks to the noble lord who had moved the question of adjournment, because he thought this was a debate which ought not to proceed any further.

Earl *Stanhope* replied, that the noble sec. of state, and the noble lord on the woolsack, had both misconceived him. The former had said, that he intended the warehousing of corn should be in the power of certain persons only. He did not mean any such thing; he meant it should be regulated by persons properly appointed by an act of parliament made for that purpose. The noble lord on the woolsack had misconceived him in saying that he intended the whole should rest under the controul of the farmers. This again was not his meaning; it was his desire that they also should be subject to the persons appointed by act of parliament. Having now explained, as well as he was able, the two misconceptions which their lordships had upon the resolutions he proposed, he should not trouble the house with any further observations.

The Duke of *Clarence* expressed his surprize that any debate had taken place upon the subject at that time: it was not his intention to have made any further observations; but he had forgotten one, and was happy the noble earl had now given him an opportunity of mentioning it. The noble earl was mistaken in supposing that the alteration in the date of the commencement of the act was to be attributed to his opposition to the bill. The fact was, that a very shameful cry had been raised against the bill, and the promoters of it yielded so far to popular prejudices as to postpone the operation of it until the effect of the approaching harvest should be seen.—The question of adjournment was then put, and the house accordingly adjourned to to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, July 28.

[MINUTES.]—The following bills received the royal assent by commission: the Stamp Duty bill, Irish Vote of Credit bill, Proprietors of Stock Additional Annuities bill, Irish Revenue Regulation bill, Irish Spirits Warehousing bill, Bill for appointing Commissioners to enquire into certain Fees of Public Offices in Ireland, Defence Lands and Hereditaments bill, City of London Additional Force bill, Bill to exempt Volunteer Officers receiving money for the Volunteer Service from being deemed Public Accountants, Habeas Corpus ad testificandum bill, Bahama Islands Exportation of Salt bill, Ordnance Lands and Hereditaments bill, Port of London Dock Warehousing bill, and the London Clergy bill. The Commissioners present were, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Montrose, and Lord Walsingham.—On the motion of the Duke of Montrose, the Corn Trade bill was read a 3d time, passed, and sent to the Commons for their concurrence.—The Insolvent Debtors bill was brought from the Commons; with a message that the house had agreed to their lordships' amendments.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, July 28.

[MINUTES.]—The Speaker, soon after he had taken the chair, went to the House of Lords, attended by several of the members, and heard the royal assent given by commission to several public bills.—A message from the Lords informed the house that their Lordships had agreed to the Corn Trade bill without any amendment.—The house, on the motion of Alderman Combe, proceeded to take into consideration the several amendments made by their Lordships to the Insolvent Debtors bill, which were agreed to, and Alderman Combe was desired to take the bill to the Lords, and acquaint them accordingly.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 30.

[MINUTES.]—The Corn Trade bill, and Insolvent Debtors bill, received the royal assent by commission. The commissioners present were the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Hertford, and Lord Walsingham.—The Consolidated Funds bill was read a 3d time and passed.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 30.

[MINUTES.]—A message by the black rod required the attention of the house in the House of Peers. The Speaker, on his return, acquainted the house, that the royal assent had been given by commission to the Corn Trade bill, and the Insolvent Debtors bill.—New writs were ordered, on the motion of Mr. Sturges Bourne, for the election of burgesses for the boroughs of Tregony and Bridport, in the room of the Marquis of Blandford and Sir E. Nepean, Bart. who, since their election, had accepted, the former the office of one of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, the latter of a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty.—Mr. Irwin, from the office of Inspector General of the Exports and Imports, presented at the bar, an Account of the official, and likewise the real or current value of all imports and exports between G. Britain and Ireland, since the Union, as estimated by the proper officer, distinguishing each article. Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—A message from the Lords informed the house, that their lordships had agreed to the bill for defraying, out of the Consolidated Fund, certain sums hitherto charged on his Majesty's civil list, without any amendment.—The Sec. at War, from the bar, acquainted the house, that his Majesty had been waited on with the several addresses voted on Thursday last, and had been graciously pleased to give directions accordingly.

[PRISONERS OF WAR AND CAPTAIN WRIGHT.]—Mr. *Sturges Bourne* then moved "that the house do now adjourn."—On the question being put,

Mr. *Windham* rose, not for the purpose of opposing the motion, but to ask for information with respect to the situation of prisoners of war in France, and particularly with respect to Capt. Wright. The last accounts which had reached this country concerning that gallant officer, were, that he had refused to answer certain interrogatories, to which he was not bound by any law of war to give an answer; that a broad hint had been given out on that occasion, that extremities should be resorted to, if he did not answer in the manner expected; and that he had been in consequence committed to the Temple.

Before he should institute any proceeding on this subject, he was anxious to know, whether his Majesty's govt. had taken any steps towards procuring the release of that officer, or whether the hon. gent. opposite could state any satisfactory information which might be in possession of his Majesty's ministers relative to this subject.

Mr. *Sturgess Bourne* said, he was extremely sorry he could not give the right hon. gent. the information he desired. The fact was, that he had none to communicate on the subject.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 31.

This day, at half an hour past two o'clock, his Majesty came down in the usual state, and shortly after entered the house in his royal robes, the sword of state being borne by Lord Viscount Melville, and the cap of maintenance by the Earl of Morton. His Majesty being seated on the throne, Sir Francis Molyneux, usher of the black rod, was dispatched to command the attendance of the Commons, who forthwith appeared at the bar, when the Speaker addressed his Majesty as follows:

" *Most gracious Sovereign,*

" We, your Majesty's most dutiful and " loyal subjects, the Commons of G. Bri- " tain and Ireland in parliament assem- " bled, approach the foot of your Ma- " jesty's throne with sentiments of un- " feigned joy and reverence.—The bill " which I hold in my hand completes the " supplies for the present year. These, " Sire, we have appropriated to the far- " ther support of your Majesty's house- " hold, and the honour and dignity of " your crown, to the naval and military " defence of the realm, and to the various " services of your extended empire. In " providing for these grants, large in their " amount, and commensurate with the " extraordinary demands of the times in " which we live, we have, nevertheless, " steadily persevered in our former course, " by raising a large proportion of our sup- " plies within the year; and we have now " the proud satisfaction to see, that the " permanent debt of the state is rapidly " diminishing, at the same time that the " growing prosperity of the country has " strengthened and multiplied all its re- " sources.—Contemplating the war in " which we are engaged, the character " and means of our enemy, and the pos- " sible duration of the contest, although " we are fearless of its issue, we have " nevertheless deemed it our indispensable " duty to deliberate with unremitting so- " licitude upon the best system for a mili- " tary defence: and the voluntary spirit " of the people seconding the views of " parliament, has at the same time ani- " mated all ranks of men with an active " desire of attaining to such a state of " discipline in arms, as may enable them " successfully to co-operate with your " Majesty's regular and veteran forces.— " Thus formidably armed, and powerfully " sustained, we trust that, with the bless- " ing of God, we shall victoriously main- " tain your Majesty's throne, and trans- " mit unimpaired to our descendants " the most perfect form of govt. which " the world has ever experienced, for the " practical happiness of mankind; firmly " persuaded that this empire will long " outlast the storms which have over- " whelmed the continent of Europe, and " earnestly hoping that other nations, now " fallen, may witness the destruction of a " tyranny founded on fraud and violence, " and cemented with innocent blood, " and again recover their ancient power " and independence, as the best guarantee " for the welfare and tranquillity of the " civilized world.—The bill which I have " to present to your Majesty is intituled, " 'An act for granting to his Majesty a " certain sum of money out of the Con- " solidated Fund of G. Britain, and for " applying a certain sum of money therein " mentioned, for the service of G. Bri- " tain, for the year 1804, and for farther " appropriating the supplies granted in " this session of parliament.' To which " your Commons, with all humility, en- " treat your Majesty's royal assent."—The bill being delivered to the clerk, his Majesty signified his royal assent to the same; which was afterwards declared in the usual form.—His Majesty then put an end to the session, by the following most gracious speech from the throne to both houses of parliament:

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" Before I put an end to the present " session of parliament, I am desirous of " expressing my entire approbation of " the zeal and assiduity with which you " have applied yourselves to the great " objects of public concern which have " come under your consideration.—You " have wisely continued to direct your " attention to the encouragement and im-

“provement of that respectable and powerful volunteer force, which the ardour and spirit of my subjects have enabled me to establish, to an extent hitherto unexampled.—You have at the same time endeavoured to combine an additional establishment for our domestic defence with the means of augmenting our regular army, and of maintaining it on such a scale as may be proportioned to the circumstances of the times, and to the rank which this country ought ever to hold among the powers of Europe.

“*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

“You are entitled to my warmest acknowledgments for the fresh proof which you have given me of your affectionate and constant attachment to my person and family, and your regard to the honour and dignity of my crown, by the liberal provision which you have made for the payment of the debt on my civil list revenue, and for furnishing me with the additional means of defraying the increase which has unavoidably taken place in the different branches of my expenditure. I must also return you my warmest thanks for the extensive provision which you have made for the exigencies of the public service, and especially for the just and prudent attention which you have shewn to true economy, and the permanent credit and welfare of the country, by the great exertions you have made for preventing, as far as possible, the accumulation of debt, and for raising so large a proportion of the expences of the war within the year.

“*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“I have now only to recommend to you to carry into your respective counties the same zeal for the public interest which has guided all your proceedings. It will be your particular duty to inculcate on the minds of all classes of my subjects, that the preservation of all that is most dear to them requires the continuance of their unremitted exertions for the national defence. The preparations which the enemy has been long forming for the declared purpose of invading this kingdom, are daily augmenting, and the attempt appears to have been delayed only with the view of procuring additional means for carrying it into execution.—Relying on the skill, valour, and discipline of my naval and military force, aided by the voluntary zeal and native courage of my people, I look with confidence to the issue of this great conflict, and I doubt not that it will terminate, under the blessing of Providence, not only in repelling the danger of the moment, but in establishing, in the eyes of foreign nations, the security of this country on a basis never to be shaken. In addition to this first and great object, I entertain the animating hope, that the benefit to be derived from our successful exertions will not be confined within ourselves; but that, by their example and their consequences, they may lead to the re-establishment of such a system in Europe, as may rescue it from the precarious state to which it is reduced, and may finally raise an effectual barrier against the unbounded schemes of aggrandizement and ambition which threaten every independent nation that yet remains on the continent.”

After which the Lord Chancellor, having received his Majesty's commands, came forward and said,

“*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“It his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued till Tuesday, the 4th Sept. next, to be then and there holden; and this parliament stands prorogued till the said 4th day of Sept. accordingly.”

His Majesty then retired with his royal suite, and the accustomed formalities; the Commons withdrew to their own house, and their lordships separated.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 31.

[Minutes.]—The house met at about half past two o'clock; about a quarter before three, the yeoman usher of the black rod came down and informed the Speaker, that his Majesty commanded the attendance of that hon. house in the House of Peers. The Speaker, and all the members present, immediately went to the House of Peers. Upon their return, the Speaker desired the members to come round the table, when he read to them his Majesty's speech. After which the members retired, and the session concluded.

END OF THE SESSION.

Since our Report of the "Speech of Lord Castlereagh on the 19th of July, previously to his moving for several Accounts relative to the Finances of the East India Company in India and Europe for the last Ten Years" (see page 1073), was put to press, we have been favoured with the following correct Copy of his Lordship's Speech, published by Authority.

Before, sir, I proceed to move for the papers, of which I gave notice on a former day, as I shall not deem it necessary to found any motion upon them when laid upon the table, I feel it my duty, at present, shortly to state to the house, the object with which this information is called for, and the conclusions which, I apprehend, will be deducible from it.—In the successive debates which have annually taken place on Indian Finance, however complicated and extensive in its nature the subject is, I have observed, that so long as the discussion confined itself to the particular accounts of the year then under consideration, whatever difference arose was easily reconciled, by a reference to the accounts themselves: but, so often as the discussion has taken a wider range (as it has frequently very naturally and very properly done, with reference to the results and statements of former years), a great want of precision has been observable, from the difficulty of referring back, with accuracy, to the voluminous accounts of preceding years, not at the moment either in the hands, or in the recollection, of those who took a part in the debate.—One of my objects, and indeed the principal one, at present is, to bring before the house, in the compass of a single and intelligible account, the substance of the last ten years' accounts, commencing with the renewal of the charter; so that gent. hereafter, having before them, in one point of view, the estimate of each year, under the several heads of revenue, charge, interest of debts, surplus revenue, or deficit, and increase or diminution of debt, they may, at one glance of their eye, compare the same with the actual result, as furnished in the accounts of the subsequent year.—I am the more desirous of putting parliament in possession of this information, from the perseverance with which gent. on the other side of the house, have asserted, year after year, that all the estimates, from time to time laid before parliament, with reference to Indian finance, and all the predictions of my noble friend (lord Melville) and myself, have been completely falsified by the event. They have not, certainly, charged either with wilful or deliberate misrepresentation; but they impute to us the having relied for our conclusions upon estimates, formed upon a confined and inadequate view of the probable expenditure for the succeeding year, and that, under the deception of our own over-sanguine feelings, we have given to parliament, and to the public positive assurances of results which have never taken place.—If, sir, my noble friend and myself have been in the habit of annually misleading parliament on this important subject, we certainly have taken all due pains to supply the means of detecting our own errors. The detailed report, which is annually published, of the sentiments and opinions stated by the person who fills the situation I have now the honour to hold, furnishes more ample and authentic materials, than are to be found in the administration of any other branch of the public affairs, for convicting him of any inaccuracy into which he may have fallen, or any mistatement he may have ventured to hazard; and with such means, it is a little surprising, if they are borne out by facts; and a just subject of complaint, if they are not, that instead of bringing the question to this distinct test, they have confined their attack to general imputations.—Wishing to bring the question, once for all, to a distinct issue, I shall endeavour to state, as precisely as I can, the two charges, which, I conceive, comprehend the substance of every thing that has been alleged upon this subject. 1st, That the annual estimates themselves were founded in error, and disproved by the expenditure at the end of the year; and that while the estimates gave no reason to apprehend an increase of debt, an accumulation, to a large amount, has taken place annually abroad. 2d, That a positive assurance was given by my noble friend to the public, in the year 1793, of the participation of 500,000l. being regularly paid, and that his lordship had often declared, the finances of the empire would derive aid from the resources of India, before India became a charge on the mother country.—And, first, as to the latter charge, which is of a more general nature, I have only to meet the assertions of gent. who state, that these assurances were given absolutely and without qualification, by asserting they never were; referring, for the truth of my denial, to the recorded sentiments of my noble friend, as published at the time. They were, no doubt, made absolutely, with reference to a state of peace; but, so far from being equally applied to a state of war, parliament was distinctly apprised by my noble friend, at the time, that war, in proportion to the extent of its operation, and more particularly war on the continent of India, must wholly alter the calculations then made. A hope was entertained by my noble friend, at the commencement of the late war, that in the then crippled state of the enemy, our expence abroad might not be such, as to disturb materially our financial prospects; but he pointedly guarded himself against causes of expence, distinct from the probable direct efforts of France in India. Since that time, we have had two Indian wars, one with Tippoo, the other with the Mahrattas. We have had rebellions, little inferior to wars, in the expenditure connected with their suppression: and we have, in that time, fitted out from India various expeditions, and prominently that to Egypt, not immediately connected with the Company's service, the charges of which, with interest since accrued (in whatever proportion they may ultimately fall on the public or on the Company), stand recorded in the accounts to the amount of about 7,000,000l. Could my noble friend's statements, even had they been unaccompanied by the express qualifications which made a part of them at the time, be in fairness considered as applying to such a state of things as I have described? or is it wonderful, under such an accumulation of expence, incurred not merely on account of the Company but of the public, that the result, which my noble friend was justified in opening to parliament in the year 1793, should stand suspended, in whatever degree those causes have continued to operate? This house will recollect, when my noble friend stated his conviction, that the empire was likely to derive aid from India, before the defence of India would become chargeable upon the mother country; that this statement was made to meet the then gloomy predictions of gent. on the other side of the house, who asserted, such was the deplorable state of the Company's finances, that the empire must soon be drained at home, for the defence of our possessions in India. The truth of these predictions has been now pretty fairly tried, by ten years of the most expensive war, during which time India (an important exception to all our other foreign dependencies) has sustained its own expence, and is, at the present day, more equal than ever to continue so to do. What would have been its ability to fulfil the other and more flattering part of my noble friend's prediction, that of affording an efficient resource to the finances of the empire, had we enjoyed peace, I leave to the house, from its having thus supported itself in war, to judge; only adding, by way of explanation, one observation, namely, that the increased annual expenditure arising from the war, eventful as it has been, may be taken, on the average of ten years, at a sum considerably exceeding a million a year. Having thus taken notice of the more general charge which gent. have been in the habit of urging, I have the satisfaction of coming to that, which, from its being precise and specific in its nature, can at once be decided by a reference to the accounts themselves; and here, little more remains for me to do, than to read to the house the leading results of the accounts for ten years, which I now hold in my hand, comparing the estimate under the head of revenue and charge, with the result, as established by the actual accounts of the succeeding year.

The revenues for the ten years were taken at - - - - - - - -	91,719,000
They actually produced - - - - -	94,756,000
More than estimated - - - -	3,037,000
The charges for the same period were estimated at - - - - - - - -	76,940,000
They actually amounted to - - -	83,253,000
More than estimated - - - -	6,313,000

It is here material to observe, that an increase on each side of the account is not necessarily a proof of inaccuracy of estimate, as in the course of several of the years after the estimates were transmitted home, new territories were annexed, which brought with them an addition, both to the revenue and charge side of the account. The best criterion to try the accuracy of the estimates upon, is, to take the result upon the net revenue.

This was estimated in the ten years at - - - - - - - - - -	14,779,000
It actually amounted to - - - -	11,502,000
Less than estimated - - - -	3,277,000

so that, in an expenditure of above 80,000,000l. and during a period nearly of uninterrupted war, the error in the final result, upon the comparison of revenue and charge, did not much exceed three millions; an instance of precision and accuracy of estimate, not, I will venture to say, to be paralleled, in the financial proceedings of any other govt.; and which becomes the more surprising, when even this excess of charge is to be accounted for, by the military expenditure, both for the Mysore and Mahratta wars, becoming a charge in the course of their respective years, when at the outset, and at the moment the estimates were framed, neither events could possibly have been in the contemplation of the officers preparing the same. Upon a review of the ten years, it appears, that the final net surplus revenue, after payment of all charges abroad, including interest of debt, was

Estimated to amount to - - - -	5,910,000
Its actual produce was - - - - -	1,981,000
Less than estimated - - - -	3,929,000

The house will consider it a most conclusive and satisfactory proof of the territorial resources of our Indian empire to observe, that the produce of the revenue was sufficient to cover the expenditure connected with its maintenance and defence, during a period of ten years war, realising, at the same time, a surplus of 1,981,000l.; whilst the progressive increase of the debt from 8,074,000l. at which amount it stood in 1793, to 19,869,000l. its present amount, has swelled the charge for annual interest from 517,000l. to 1,457,000l. the addition made to the Indian debt in this period being 11,794,000l. which will be observed upon hereafter.—Having noticed the productive powers of the territories in supplying a surplus, under all the pressure of war, it may not be unsatisfactory to present this subject to the house in a different, and perhaps, in principle, a more accurate point of view, not varying materially in the result, but embracing, the territorial charge at home, as well as abroad, in the mode of stating the account.

Ten years' revenue - - - - -		94,756,000
Ten years' charges - - - - -		83,253,000
Net revenue - - -		11,503,000
Deduct:		
Ten years' Bencoolen and Penang charges -	700,000	
Ten years' territorial* charges paid in Europe -	3,500,000	
To be added to charges abroad - -		4,200,000
Surplus revenue applicable to interest, &c. - - - - - - - - -		7,303,000
†Deduct ten years interest of debt, at 517,000l.. per annum - - - -		5,170,000
Net surplus - - -		2,133,000
Add:		
Repayments from govt. received, or to be received, for advances on account of the public, included amongst the charges abroad ‡ - - - -		2,500,0000
Tribute realised from the territories, in ten years of war - - - - -		4,633,000

It is not here meant to be contended, that the commerce of the Company derived aid from the above surplus. There were other demands, which more properly belong to the territories, which required and absorbed funds, nearly to an equal amount, though not falling strictly within the annual territorial expenditure. They are as follows:

Carnatic debt - - - - - - - -	1,200,000
Interest since 1797 - - - - - - -	600,000
Increase cash balance abroad in the Treasury - - - - - - - -	1,320,000
Floating advances between the Presidencies, Guicowar loan, &c. taken at - - - - - - - - - - -	900,000
One year's participation to public -	500,000
	£.4,520,000
Tribute realised - - - - - - - -	4,633,000
Extra demands not appertaining to annual charge - - - - - - -	4,520,000
Remains - -	£.113,000

Of the above 4,520,000l. the increased cash balance and floating advances must still be considered as available funds, in the strictest sense: the net available resource, therefore, from the territories, in ten years of war, after liquidating an old incumbrance on the Carnatic, and making a payment of 500,000l. to the public, may be stated at 2,333,000l.—The attention of the house will naturally be attracted to an increase of debt having taken place in India, to the amount of 11,794,000l. whilst the territories appear, upon an average of years, fully to have supported their own expence. So large an incumbrance is certainly to be regretted, and calls for explanation; but it does not, when examined, prove a deterioration in the general concern.—Whilst the Indian debt, including China, has increased 12,055,000l. the debt in Europe has been reduced 2,218,000l. The actual increase of debt upon the whole does not exceed 9,837,000l.—The house will not be surprised, in a growing and extended commercial concern of this nature, mixed with the govt. of a great empire, that in proportion as funds realise themselves into assets of a less convertible nature, as the machine itself increases in size, and as services press for supplies, where the necessary funds may not at the moment be within reach, that new loans must, from time to time, be made. The effect of such debts being contracted, as bearing upon the value of the concern at large, can alone be measured, by examining, whether they have been applied to unproductive expences, or whether you find, upon the whole, a correspondent value realised in another description of property, which may fairly be considered as a counterpoise to such debt.—In looking to the question in this point of view, whilst we find the debts increased since 1793,

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* It is apprehended that when the articles of territorial charge, paid at home, are minutely examined, that the amount will not be found so large as the sum here stated.

† The interest charged against the territories is taken at the amount it stood at in the year 1793, assuming, that, *communibus annis*, no loans were requisite for defraying territorial charge. It might admit of question, whether, upon a more extended analysis of the debt prior to 1793, it was chargeable to the territories.

‡ This is taken, very moderately, at 2,500,000l.—1,500,000l. having already been repaid by the public, nearly the whole falling under this class of expenditure, and which must be credited to the territories, as originally disbursed under the head of charge. The charges for the Egyptian expedition still remaining unsettled, in themselves amounting to 2,000,000l.

	9,837,000
The assets are increased - - - -	12,102,000
Improvement since 1793 - - -	£.2,265,000

subject to adjustment, in whatever sum may ultimately be disallowed of the claims on govt. amounting to 4,018,126l.—Whilst the necessity of new loans must be admitted, for carrying on the joint operations of commerce and govt. during the period in question, I cannot avoid calling the attention of parliament to the fact of the debt having decreased at home, whilst it increased so largely abroad. I am aware, that in a period of war, when it may be impossible in each year to transmit funds abroad, to the amount which, upon general principles, it is desirable should be done; or where, in any particular year, the expence, from unforeseen events, may have gone beyond the scale provided for from home, that new loans abroad may have become expedient and necessary, rather than suffer the investment suddenly to decline, to the prejudice of the industry of India, and to the derangement of the regular supply of the market at home: but the procuring funds in India, at the high rate of interest payable on money there borrowed, is, as a general practise, so injurious, that I cannot permit this circumstance to pass without some remark, trusting that the policy of borrowing in Europe will always be kept steadily in view: and that every effort will be made on the first favourable occasion, to convert a considerable proportion of the Indian, into a European debt, which cannot fail in itself, by the mere reduction of interest, rapidly to accelerate the ultimate extinction of the capital of the debt itself.—I shall not, upon the present occasion, delay the house, by minutely tracing the appropriation and distribution of the Company's funds in each year, between the home and foreign concern; between the management of their trade, and the administration of their territorial dominions. The accounts which I shall now call for, will lay the ground for such an investigation. I shall content myself, at present, with observing, that as we find, upon a balance of debts and assets, that the Company's affairs, taken in the aggregate, have not been deteriorated in the last ten years, whilst the British empire in India has been largely extended and secured; and as I have, I trust, satisfactorily shewn, that the territories have, during this period, fully defrayed their own expence, it seems to follow as a necessary consequence, that the commerce of the Company (conducted as it has been, and ought always to be, on enlarged principles of steady encouragement to the manufacturing interests both at home and abroad, rather than on the confined scale of mercantile profit and exclusive advantage) has also, from its own profits, upheld itself, paying to the proprietors the dividend of ten per cent. upon their capital stock. If such has been the result, when both interests had to contend with all the pressure of war, and loans made at high interest abroad, how great would have been the resources derivable from them, had peace left the Company in possession abroad of a large surplus revenue, and had the money-market at home (from which they have been excluded for the last ten years, in a great measure, from deference and consideration for the interest of the state) being open to the Company, so as to admit of their raising, at a moderate rate of interest, by an increase of their capital, the additional funds which their growing concerns have, from time to time, required.—Whilst I am upon the subject of the Company's debt abroad, I wish to notice an observation that fell from an hon. gent. on the other side of the house (Mr. Johnstone) that when, in the month of March 1803, I stated to parliament the plan which was then in contemplation, for the reduction of the Company's debt abroad, to the extent of two millions in peace, and possibly to the extent even of one million in time of war, that I held forth an expectation, that such plan could be in operation in the year 1802-3 in India. A reference to dates is sufficient to prove, that a plan, not stated till March 1803, not sent out in orders to India till June 1803, and the execution of which depended upon the extent of supplies to be sent from Europe, in the end of the last, and beginning of the present season, which supplies could not reach India till late in the year 1803-4, could not have any connection whatever with the accounts of 1802-3. It is equally clear, had peace continued, and had all the materials, which were then stated as essential to the plan of paying off 2,000,000 of the Indian debt within the year, remained undisturbed, that the plan itself could not have had its commencement abroad, till late in the year 1803-4, or more probably the commencement of 1804-5.—It is true, I stated that a net revenue of one million would remain disposable abroad in the year 1802-3, upon the supposition of peace continuing; but I then also stated, that as the law had decided, that the surplus revenue should be applicable, in the first instance, to the purchase of investment, it was not till that investment reached Europe and was realised, that the surplus, so to exist, could be applied, either to the reduction of debt, or the payment of the participation to the public. The month of July 1804 was then mentioned, as the period when the Company would be prepared, if war did not intervene, to account with the public for that sum. It was explained, in a former debate, why, on the balance of last year's account, no such payment is now due; and it also was shewn, that the net surplus abroad in that year, after payment of all charges, interest of debt included, would not have fallen short of 1,300,000l. had peace continued. It appears, therefore, that parliament was distinctly apprised from the first, of the circumstances on which this payment must depend; and I am by no means answerable, in consequence of any thing I then said, for a temporary interruption of this resource, which has been subsequently occasioned by the war, and by the unfavourable sales at home.—With these materials, viz. a clear surplus of 1,000,000l. in peace, and 500,000l. in war, applicable to the reduction of debt, the plan proposed to liquidate debt abroad, to the annual amount of 2,000,000l. in peace, and in war to an amount not exceeding 1,000,000l. The practicability of executing the plan in peace (these materials being forthcoming) depended further on the Company being enabled, by gradually adding to their capital, to raise annually in Europe such a sum, as, with the progressive savings of interest, would complete the sinking fund, in each year, to the required amount.—No difficulty could have occurred in doing so, to the proposed extent, had peace continued. In war it was presumed, in addition to the 500,000l. applicable from the net proceeds, that partly from repayments from the public, and partly from an increased issue of bonds, the fund, for the reduction of debt, might have been carried beyond the half million.—If, from the recurrence of war in Europe, coupled with the heavy pressure of a contest with the Mahrattas, the surplus net proceeds have been in a greater degree absorbed, than there was reason to apprehend at the time: if, from the war bearing upon the price of all descriptions of public securities in the market at home, it has become disadvantageous to add to the Company's capital, whilst the price of their stock, in common with all others, is so much depressed; and, if, from our communication with the continent, at the outset of the war, being materially embarrassed, if not interrupted, and also, from the first effects of the high duties, imposed on the Company's imports in the course of the last session, their sales at home, in amount, as well as in price, have been considerably affected: the house will not be surprised, if the concurrence of all these unfavourable causes should impede, if not suspend, the operation of the plan in question. I trust, however, that as far as the sales at home, and the peculiarly heavy expences of the war abroad, are concerned, that we may from the present moment, indulge better hopes, peace having been actually concluded with the Mahrattas, and the impediments to our sales not being, it is to be presumed, in their nature permanent; but having recalled to the recollection of the house the principal points on which this important question must hinge, gent. will feel, that the detail will be more satisfactorily discussed in a future year, when advices shall have been received of the orders having reached India, and of the proceedings of the supreme govt. thereupon.—Upon the whole, I trust, the several accounts, I shall now move for, accompanied by the explanations I have thus had an opportunity of submitting to the house, will satisfy parliament and the public: 1st, Of the peculiar and highly commendable accuracy, observable in the estimates prepared by the officers of the East-India Company, both under the heads of revenue and charge, trying them by the test of the actual accounts for the same year, after the whole receipt and expenditure had been precisely ascertained, and only making a reasonable allowance for extraordinary expence, occasioned by events which, from their nature, could not have been either foreseen or calculated upon, when the estimates were prepared. 2d, That none of the assurances given to parliament on the subject of Indian finance, if fairly stated and correctly understood, have been disproved by the event; on the contrary, that it is manifest, from the revenues having more than covered the territorial expenditure, during ten years of the most expensive war, that every expectation of aid to the public finances from India would have been fulfilled to the utmost, had we remained at peace, or even had the scale of our war expenditure not been aggravated, far beyond what the European war alone, at its outset, gave us reason to apprehend, by expensive expeditions, fitted out in India on the public account, and by wars with the native powers. 3d, That, notwith-

the period now under consideration
n one of heavy pressure, upon the
cial and territorial interests of the
y, both being exposed to all the in-
embarrassment and expence insepa-
nnected with war, the general state
affairs, upon a comparison of debts
ts, is, upon the whole, not impaired,
heir empire has been carried to an ex
nich leaves them nothing to fear from
my on the continent of India, and
o them new sources of prosperity,
annot fail largely to operate on the
of peace.—That the resources o'
ould be such, as to enable it, whilst
et remained formidable competitors
litary dominion in that part of the
to support its own wars, upon an
of years, out of its own revenues, is
phant fact to be enabled to state on
t of a dependant branch of this em-
I doubt whether the financial means
other govt. could under similar cir-
nces of pressure, present a similar re-
r an equal number of years of ex-
warfare.—Parliament, from the means
rmation it possesses, will justly dis-
ate between the expectations it may
orm, with respect to the resources of
n a period of peace, as contrasted with
war; they will have now before them
ful Statement of the Estimates and the
of the last ten years; and, I trust,
documents are not less calculated to
the official statements which have
nnually submitted to their notice, than
pire the empire at home with a just
ence, in the extent and stability of our
n resources.—I shall now, Sir, con-
with moving that there be laid before
ouse: 1. "An Account, shewing the
ted and actual revenues and charges in
, with the results for ten years, from
-4 to 1802-3, after deducting, pay-
s on account of interest on debts and
y to Bencoolen, &c. exhibiting like-
the decrease or the increase of the
; distinguishing each year."—2. "An
nate of profit and loss on the Com-
's sales in England and other profits for
ears, ending 1st March 1804, with
payments in England deducted there-
; distinguishing each year, and distin-
ing, as far as may be, such charges as
f a political, from those that are of a
nercial nature; and also distinguishing
ndia from the China account."—3.
n Account of the total amount of the
pany's debts and assets, abroad and at
, including China; the former from
1793, to April 1803; and the latter
March 1794 to March 1804. both in-
e; distinguishing each year."

APPENDIX, No. I.—An Account, shewing the Estimated and Actual Revenues and Charges in India, with the Results, for Ten Years, from 1793-4 to 1802-3, after deducting Payments on Account of Interest on Debts, and Supply to Bencoolen, &c.; exhibiting, likewise, the Decrease or the Increase of the Debts, distinguishing each Year.

		Revenues.	Charges.	Net Revenues.	Supplies to Bencoolen.	Remaining Revenue.	Interest on Debts.	Surplus Net Revenue.	Surplus Net Charge.		Increase or Decrease of Debts
1793-4 . .	Estimated . . £	7,942,743	5,635,783	2,306,960	67,243	2,239,717	517,825	1,721,892			Decrease. 1,707,675
	Actual . . .	8,294,399	6,115,146	2,179,253	40,822	2,138,431	526,205	1,612,226			
ACTUAL	More . . .	351,656	479,363	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - -	8380	- - - -			
	Less . . .	- - - - -	- - - - -	127,707	26,421	101,236	- - - -	109,666			
1794-5 . . .	Estimated . .	7,788,286	5,818,433	1,969,853	104,632	1,865,221	437,047	1,428,174			Decrease. 518,787
	Actual . . .	8,026,193	5,944,445	2,081,748	62,080	2,019,668	484,301	1,535,367			
ACTUAL	More . . .	237,907	126,012	111,895	- - - - -	154,447	47,254	107,193			
	Less . . .	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	42,552	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -			
1795-6 . .	Estimated . .	7,925,084	6,072,511	1,852,573	81,780	1,770,793	400,252	1,370,541			Increase. 354,823
	Actual . . .	7,866,094	6,493,399	1,372,695	104,154	1,268,541	414,750	853,791			
ACTUAL	More . . .	- - - - -	420,888	- - - - -	22,374	- - - -	14,498	- - - -			
	Less . . .	58,990	- - - - -	479,878	- - - - -	502,252	- - - -	516,750			
1796-7 . .	Estimated . .	8,154,872	6,517,057	1,637,815	90,364	1,547,451	419,344	1,128,107			2,091,313
	Actual . . .	8,016,171	7,113,259	902,912	101,190	801,722	426,847	374,875			

(Carried over.)

(Brought over)

			Revenues.	Charges.	Net Revenues.	Supplies to Bencoolen.	Remaining Revenues.	Interest on Debts.	Surplus Net Revenue.	Surplus Net Charge.		Increase or Decrease of Debt.
	ACTUAL	*More*	- - - -	596,202	- - - -	10,826	- - - -	7,503	- - - -			
		Less	138,701	- - - -	731,903	- - - -	745,729	- - - -	753,232			
1797-8		Estimated	8,397,625	7,220,879	1,176,746	85,840	1,090,906	575,775	514,131	- - - -		
		Actual	8,059,880	7,487,355	572,525	163,299	409,226	603,926	- - - -	194,700		1,738,105
	ACTUAL	*More*	- - - -	266,476	- - - -	77,459	- - - -	27,151	- - - -	194,700		
		Less	337,74	- - - -	601,221	- - - -	681,680	- - - -	514,131			
1798-9		Estimated	8,610,703	7,807,065	803,638	117,160	686,478	758,135		71,657		
		Actual	8,637,421	8,938,599	Net Charge 301,178	120,668	Deficiency. 421,846	727,495		1,149,311		1,962,881
	ACTUAL	*More*	26,718	1,131,534	- - - -	3,508	- - - -	- - - -		1,077,684		
		Less	- - - -	- - - -	1,105,816	- - - -	1,108,324	30,640				
1799-1800		Estimated	9,072,693	8,317,259	725,431	100,920	624,514	915,687		291,173		
		Actual	9,742,937	8,961,130	781,757	171,363	610,394	978,856		368,162		1,244,676
	ACTUAL	*More*	670,244	613,921	56,323	70,143	- - - -	63,169		77,289		
		Less	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	14,120	- - - -				
1800-1		Estimated	9,912,750	9,196,853	715,897	82,360	633,537	1,082,042		448,505		
		Actual	10,485,059	10,403,097	81,962	156,525	Deficiency 74,563	1,093,961		1,168,324		2,672,767
	ACTUAL	*More*	572,309	1,206,244	- - - -	73,965	- - - -	11,919		719,819		
		Less	- - - -	- - - -	633,935	- - - -	707,900	- - - -				
1801-2		Estimated	11,222,029	10,326,820	895,209	85,840	809,369	1,342,854		533,485		
		Actual	12,163,590	10,856,613	1,306,977	241,220	1,065,757	1,149,500		383,743		1,741,412
	ACTUAL	*More*	941,561	529,793	411,768	155,380	256,388	106,646		149,742		
		Less	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -				
1802-3		Estimated	12,693,033	9,998,147	2,691,886	121,800	2,573,086	1,481,070	1,092,016			
		Actual	13,464,537	10,940,321	2,52[illegible],216	196,848	2,327,365	1,457,377	869,988			1,214,847
	ACTUAL	*More*	771,504	942,177	- - - -	75,048	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -			
		Less	- - - -	- - - -	710,673	- - - -	245,721	23,693	222,023			
	TOTAL	Estimated	[illegible]1,719,818	76,940,807	14,779,011	937,939	13,841,072	7,931,081	7,254,861	1,3[illegible]4,820	Total Net Increase.	
		Actual	[illegible]4,756,281	83,253,117	11,502,864	1,357,969	10,114,895	8,163,218	5,246,917	3,2[illegible]4,[illegible]70		11,794,558

with other PAYMENTS in ENGLAND deducted therefrom; distinguishing

those that are of a Commercial Nature; and also, distinguishing the India from the China Account.

	INDIA.		CHINA.		TOTAL INDIA AND CHINA.		Charges & Profit on Private Trade.	Interest on Annuities.	Profit on Exports.	TOTAL PROFITS.
	Cost & Charges.	Sale Amount.	Cost & Charges.	Sale Amount.	Cost & Charges.	Sale Amount.				
1795	£. 2,292,051	£. 2,611,522	£. 2,231,982	£. 2,861,422	£. 4,524,013	£. 5,472,944	£. 22,458	£. 36,227	£. 116,857	£. 1,164,473
1796	3,350,779	3,543,236	2,125,155	2,972,664	5,475,934	6,515,900	148,417	36,227	98,384	1,322,924
1797	3,303,877	3,395,564	2,035,732	2,668,546	5,339,609	6,065,910	158,957	36,227	25,717	925,202
1798	1,957,512	2,097,468	2,137,925	2,577,890	4,095,437	4,675,358	115,808	36,227	49,530	781,486
1799	4,209,810	4,663,390	2,772,373	3,652,283	6,982,183	8,515,673	137,394	36,227	110,442	1,617,553
1800	2,948,176	3,564,694	3,060,046	3,794,982	6,008,222	7,559,676	202,969	36,227	129,528	1,720,178
1801	3,280,043	3,978,800	2,919,250	3,616,381	6,199,293	7,595,181	153,429	36,227	55,861	1,621,405
1802	2,179,991	3,086,943	2,822,722	3,539,404	5,002,713	6,626,347	193,563	36,227	40,602	1,894,026
1803	1,846,357	2,289,274	2,909,118	3,753,252	4,755,475	6,042,526	172,474	36,227	38,673	1,534,425
1804	1,943,920	2,236,396	2,950,009	3,629,677	4,893,929	5,866,073	176,587	36,212	12,892	1,197,335
	27,312,496	31,467,287	25,964,312	33,066,501	53,276,808	64,533,588	1,482,056	362,255	678,486	13,779,577

OTHER PAYMENTS IN ENGLAND TO BE DEDUCTED FROM PROFITS.

	Dividends on Stock, and Interest on Bonds.	Surplus Charges beyond 5l. per cent. on the Sale Amount of Goods, classed with Charges on Merchandize, deducting Buildings and other articles, for which a value remains.		Expences of Settlements Abroad.	Freight Outward; Remuneration to Commanders of worn-out Ships, and Loss upon the Law Tonnage.	Military Payments.	Insurance calculated at a Rate per cent. according to the actual loss suffered by the Company.	Total Payments.	Surplus.	Deficiency.
		Political.	Commercial.							
1795	£. 702,725	£. 139,800	£. 18,134	£. 62,687	£. 94,674	£.	£. 48,062	£. 1,066,082	£. 98,391	£. —
1796	722,172	167,600	70,691	57,253	91,949	....	53,624	1,163,289	159,705	—
1797	675,278	276,800	84,152	82,574	156,452	28,236	51,306	1,351,798	....	429,596
1798	679,025	145,300	93,784	74,760	79,113	25,225	61,916	1,159,123	....	377,657
1799	710,593	131,200	4,965	80,205	161,895	37,125	71,153	1,197,136	420,417	—
1800	713,158	190,200	82,797	60,046	119,255	35,855	58,665	1,259,976	460,202	—
1801	713,489	171,400	104,394	77,540	119,172	46,622	57,743	1,290,660	330,745	—
1802	704,404	226,800	105,416	77,980	147,077	49,216	60,492	1,371,335	522,641	—
1803	705,310	259,500	130,567	78,428	147,301	60,163	67,413	1,448,682	85,743	—
1804	707,512	200,500	203,062	79,880	108,446	96,667	90,598	1,486,665	....	288,830
	7,033,666	1,909,100	897,962	731,353	1,225,634	379,109	620,972	12,797,796	2,077,844	1,096,063
									1,096,063	
									£. 981,781	

East India House, 30th July, 1804.

MEMORANDUM:—There are Claims upon the Company from the Office of His Majesty's Paymaster-General, for Charges relative to the King's Regiments serving in India, amounting on 24th December last to £. 1,385,217 14s. Of this sum, £. 100,000 has been paid, and the Company's Claims on Government, for the Expences of the Army sent from India to Egypt, not included in the Assets in Account No. III. will considerably more than exceed this Amount.

Total Profits - - -	£. 13,779,577
Total Payments - -	12,797,796
Total Surplus in Ten Years	£. 981,781

(Errors excepted) CHAS. CARTWRIGHT, Accountant-General.

APPENDIX, No. III.---An ACCOUNT of the Total Amount of the Company's DEBTS and ASSE Abroad and at Home, including CHINA; the former from April, 1793, to April, 1803, and the la from March, 1794, to March, 1804, both inclusive; distinguishing each Year.

DEBTS.

	INDIA.	CHINA: Balance against.		HOME.	TOTAL.
Abroad	£.	£.	Home.	£.	£.
1793	8,074,865	—	1794	7,006,500	15,081,365
1794	7,367,190	—	1795	6,946,323	14,313,513
1795	6,848,405	—	1796	7,474,700	14,323,103
1796	7,203,326	—	1797	7,916,459	15,119,685
1797	9,294,539	718,945	1798	7,284,694	17,298,178
1798	11,032,645	1,073,607	1799	7,103,769	19,210,014
1799	12,995,526	220,022	1800	5,830,222	19,045,770
1800	14,240,202	—	1801	5,393,989	19,634,191
1801	16,912,969	—	1802	4,822,689	21,735,652
1802	18,654,381	—	1803	4,773,886	23,428,267
1803	19,869,229	260,900	1804	4,788,863	24,918,988

ASSETS.

	INDIA.	CHINA: Bal. in fav.		HOME.	TOTAL.
Abroad	£.	£.	Home.	£.	£.
1793	8,339,362	1,040,058	1794	9,888,836	19,268,256
1794	8,834,538	939,340	1795	10,413,354	20,187,232
1795	8,867,266	528,779	1796	12,024,312	21,420,357
1796	8,958,669	279,250	1797	12,476,813	21,714,732
1797	10,531,145	—	1798	13,211,370	23,742,515
1798	9,922,903	—	1799	17,119,628	27,042,531
1799	10,259,107	—	1800	16,185,950	26,445,057
1800	11,169,353	1,226,079	1801	15,404,736	27,800,168
1801	11,352,360	1,019,551	1802	16,802,760	29,174,671
1802	12,061,383	91,434	1803	17,440,593	29,593,410
1803	12,618,623	—	1804	(A) 18,751,736	31,370,359

Mem.—The Debts and Assets in India
stated, exclusive of the Securi
in the Hands of the Comm
sioners of the Sinking Fu
from April, 1800. They are
stated conformably to the
counts presented to Parlian
in each Year, except in 1793
1794; the Accounts for Apri
each of these Years not ha
been received when the St
ments were laid before Pa
ment.

(A) This differs from the Acc
formerly presented, it ha
been found that Part of the C
goes afloat are included in
Assets in India, 1803.

(Errors excepted.)

CHAS. CARTWRIGHT,
Accountant-General.

WM. WRIGHT,
Auditor of India Accou

East-India House,
July 30, 1804.

APPENDIX, No. IV.---An ACCOUNT, shewing the Operation of a SINKING FUND, in the REDUCT of the INDIAN DEBT, at Two Millions annually, *viz.* One Million from the Surplus Revenue, and Million from the Saving on Interest, and from a Loan, &c.

Rate of Interest with Probable Reduction.		Principal reduced 2 Millions in each Year.	Annual Interest payable according to foregoing Supposition.	Annual Saving upon Interest reduced, and capital paid off.	Amount to be raised, the Savings in the pr ing Column, to com the additional Millio Sinking Fund.
1803-4	£. 12,600,000 at 8 per Cent. 3,400,000 at 10 per Cent.	£. 16,000,000	£. 1,348,000	- - -	£. 1,000,000
1804-5	10,600,000 at 7½ per Cent. 3,400,000 at 10 per Cent.	14,000,000	1,135,000	213,000	787,000
1805-6	8,600,000 at 7 per Cent. 3,400,000 at 10 per Cent.	12,000,000	942,000	406,000	594,000
1806-7	6,600,000 at 7 per Cent. 3,400,000 at 10 per Cent.	10,000,000	802,000	546,000	454,000
1807-8	4,600,000 at 6½ per Cent. 3,400,000 at 10 per Cent.	8,000,000	639,000	709,000	291,000
1808-9	2,600,000 at 6½ per Cent. 3,400,000 at 10 per Cent.	6,000,000	509,000	839,000	161,000
				2,713,000	3,287,000
1809-10	At 6 per Cent.	4,000,000	240,000	1,108,000	

In the Years 1808-9 and 1809-10, the ten and eight per Cent. Decennial Loans, amounting togethe about 4,014,000l. will become payable, either in India or Europe, at the option of the Holders. It is bable, from the favourable rate of Exchange at which the Holders are entitled to receive their paymen Europe, that the whole, or the greater part of these Loans, will be transferred. In whatever proport by such Transfer, the Indian Debt may be reduced below four Millions, the Sum at which it is propos should remain, a corresponding Sum must be raised by Loan in India, which will preserve the Debt Ab at the due Amount, and will enable the Company, by retaining in Europe the Funds which must otherwis remitted to India, either in Bullion or by Bills, so to regulate the State of their Home Treasury, as t prepared to meet the increased Demands upon it.

The Amount of the Principal of the Debt to be liquidated by above Operation is L.12,000

The Means are: Surplus Revenue . . . . £.6,000,000
Annual Saving of Interest 2,713,000
Amount raised by Loan at Home, &c. , . 3,287,000----£.12,000

APPENDIX

TO THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

VOL. II.

An ACCOUNT of the Amount of the FUNDED DEBT of IRELAND, on the 25th March in each Year, from the 25th March 1784 to 1801, and on the 1st January 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804; together with the Amount created since the 1st January 1804 by Loans, and the Debt as it now stands.

		£.	*s.*	*d.*
Amount of the funded debt of Ireland on the 25th March	1784	1527600	0	0
	1785	1490920	0	0
	1786	1584540	0	0
	1787	1768240	0	0
	1788	1718240	0	0
	1789 1790 1791 1792	1718240	0	0
	1793	1760740	0	0
	1794	2134140	0	0
	1795	3185990	0	0
	1796	4841856	13	4
	1797	5825056	13	4
	1798	10128906	13	4
	1799	16508790	0	0
	1800	24207290	0	0
on 1st January	1801	30109056	13	4
	1802	34911838	9	7
	1803	39541258	16	8
	1804	43019325	10	0
Amount created since the 1st January 1804 by loans		10277031	5	0
Amount of the funded debt of Ireland, as it now stands		53296356	15	0

N. B. *This is a statement of the mere progress of the debt. The account of the constitue parts of the debt, as well as of the sinking fund, will be found in the subsequent pages.*

Abstract Statement of the Public Income of Ireland, for the Year ending on the 5th of

Ordinary Revenues.	Gross Receipt within the Year.			Total Receipt to be accounted for.			Re-payments, Drawbacks, Discounts, &c.			Charges of Management.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	1626794	7	8½	3931465	2	8⅞	279451	14	11	354585	12	11½
Excise	1716412	0	4⅛									
Stamps	216443	0	3	297102	6	0½	5768	2	3	22152	13	7
Post-office	108844	7	5	125714	18	9	13548	4	8	63923	8	11
Poundage fees	35695	6	9¼	35695	6	9¼	—			—		
Pells fees	7139	1	1¼	7139	1	1¼	—			—		
Duty on wrought plate	2078	19	9	2078	19	9	—			—		
Casualties	2303	15	11	2303	15	11	—			—		
Total ordinary Revenues	3715710	19	3⅜	4401499	11	0⅞	298768	1	10	440661	15	5½
Extraordinary Resources.												
Four-shilling tax on salaries, &c.	40	2	6	40	2	6	—			—		
Public coal-yards	3925	0	0	3925	0	0	—			—		
Commis. of Navy, on ac. of adv. by Coll.	66173	0	6	66173	0	0	—			—		
Sundry persons on acc. of rice, Indian corn, &c. sold for Government	5173	4	8½	5173	4	8½	—			—		
Gain by exch. on sums rec. from G. Brit.	62324	19	6	62324	19	6	—			—		
From the B. of Irel. for the late Parl. House	40000	0	0	40000	0	0	—			—		
From G. Brit. ⅓ of profit on lott. of 1803	127231	9	8	127231	9	8	—			—		
Other monies paid to the public	7769	10	11¾	7769	10	11¾	—			—		
Appropriated Duties for local Objects.												
Linen manufacture	792	8	4	792	8	4	106	2	1	—		
Lagan navigation	2289	4	0	2583	10	2	1204	4	0	54	5	
Improvement of Dublin	10432	14	6	12173	8	0¾	37	3	6	—		
Repairs of Royal Exch. & com. buildings	1421	5	0	2005	0	7½	—			—		
King's inns	1500	0	0	1500	0	0	—			—		
Fish bounty	6500	0	0	6500	0	0	—			—		
Presbyterian ministers	4452	8	9	4452	8	9	—			—		
Total, independent of the loans	4055736	7	8⅝	4744140	14	10⅛	300115	11	5	440716	0	5½
Loans paid into the Exchequer	2178066	13	4	2178066	13	4	—			—		
Grand Total	6233803	1	0⅝	6922207	8	2⅛	300115	11	5	440716	0	5½

NOTES.

	Rates of Collect. per Ct.					
	Gross Rev.			Net Rev.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs and excise	10	12	1⅛	13	1	9⅛
Stamps	10	4	8⅜	11	15	0¼
Post-office	58	14	7	203	15	0⅜

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
The appropriated balances in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January 1803, amounted to	23940	16	0	1028467	13	5½	W.
The unappropriated balance in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January 1803, amounted to	1004527	2	5½				
The appropriated balances in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January 1804, amounted to	30099	15	11	323976	19	0½	
The unappropriated balance in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January 1804, amounted to	293877	3	7½				

January 1804. [N. B. *All the annual Accounts of the Treasury are made up to the 5th of January.*]

Total Payments out of the gross Revenue.			Net Produce, applicable to national Objects.			Payments for Militia, Desert. Straggling Sea. A. of Res. and Fortifications. Compensation.			Bounties for Fisheries, Linen Manufac. &c.			Total Payments out of the net Produce.			Payments into the Exchequer.		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
634037	7	10½	3297427	14	10⅜	48059	13	5½	40431	10	10	83491	4	3½	2534087	0	2
27920	15	10	269181	10	2½	—			—			—			182547	8	3¼
77471	13	7	48243	5	2	—			—			—			25318	9	8½
—			35695	6	9¼	—			—			—			35695	6	9¼
—			7139	1	1¼	—			—			—			7139	1	1¼
—			2078	19	9	—			—			—			2078	19	9
—			2303	15	11	—			—			—			2303	15	11
739429	17	3½	3662069	13	9⅜	48059	13	5½	40431	10	10	88491	4	3½	2789170	1	8¼
—			40	2	6	—			—			—			40	2	6
—			3925	0	0	—			—			—			3925	0	0
—			66173	0	6	—			—			—			66173	0	6
—			5173	4	8½	—			—			—			5173	4	8½
—			62324	19	6	—			—			—			62324	19	6
—			40000	0	0	—			—			—			40000	0	0
—			127231	9	8	—			—			—			127231	9	8
—			7769	10	11¾	—			—			—			7769	10	11¾
106	2	1	686	6	3												
1258	9	0	1322	1	2	—			—			—			997	10	0
37	3	6	12136	4	6½	—			—			—			10661	6	6
—			2005	0	7½	—			—			—			1586	18	0
—			1500	0	0	—			—			—			1500	0	0
—			6500	0	0	—			—			—			6500	0	0
—			4452	8	9	—			—			—			4452	8	9
740831	11	10½	4003309	2	11⅝	48059	13	5½	40431	10	10	88491	4	3½	3127505	12	9½
—			2178066	13	4												
740831	11	10½	6181375	16	3⅝	48059	13	5½	40431	10	10	88491	4	3½	5305572	6	1½

NOTES.

	BALANCES.								
	Balances in the Hands of the different Collectors.			Balance in the Hands of the Receiver-general.			Bills in the Hands of the Receiver-general.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
5 Jan. 1803 -	566434	19	4¼	24944	9	3¾	97024	18	5½
5 Jan. 1804 -	664179	2	10⅞	24394	5	0¾	98738	17	11

The amount of the Exchequer bills issued for the public service between the 5th of January 1803 and the 5th of January 1804, and not redeemed within that period, was - - -	£.1700000

Accountant-general's Office, 21 March 1804.

Account of the PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Ireland for the Year ending on the 5th of January 1804.

[*N. B. For the particulars under each head, see the several accounts referred to by the letters A, B, &c.*]

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
SEPARATE EXPENSE OF IRELAND.									
I. For interest on the funded debt of Ireland, including annuities for lives and terms of years; also 1*l.* per cent. for the reduction of the capital created by loans since 1797 (Sect. 1 and 2.)	2014411	6	1½						
For charge of management thereon	–	–	–	15491	17	3¼			
There was also applied towards the reduction of the national debt, the annual issue of	67635	8	4						
	2082046	14	5½						
Whereof was applied, towards the reduction of the national debt	515824	8	8½						
Total on account of interest	1566222	5	9						
Ditto for charge of management	15491	17	3¼						
Ditto on account of the reduction of the national debt	515824	8	8½	–	–	–	2097538	11	8¾
II. The interest on Exchequer bills (B.)	–	–	–	–	–	–	53122	12	11¾
III. Issues for purposes appointed by the Parliament of Ireland prior to the Union (C.)	–	–	–	–	–	–	1601313	18	9½
IV. Issues from appropriated funds for local purposes (D.)	–	–	–	–	–	–	19539	3	4
Total separate Expense	–	–	–	–	–	–	3771514	6	10
JOINT EXPENSE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.									
V. Civil List	–	–	–	146974	7	8½			
Pensions	–	–	–	105724	4	4¼			
Other permanent charges (E.)	–	–	–	191772	9	1¼			
							444471	1	2
VI. Payments in anticipation of Exchequer receipts, viz.									
Bounties	–	–	–	40430	10	10			
Militia, army of reserve, deserters warrants, &c. &c. (F. 1 and 2.)	–	–	–	48059	13	5½			
							88491	4	3½
VII. Ordnance (G.)	–	–	–	–	–	–	223067	4	4½
VIII. Army.—Ordinary service, viz.									
Regulars, militia, and volunteer corps	–	–	–	1629280	13	0¾			
Barracks	–	–	–	297564	6	9¾			
Staff officers and officers of garrisons	–	–	–	39542	18	6			
Half-pay officers and reduced chaplains	–	–	–	34545	12	7½			
Officers widows	–	–	–	6015	8	8			
Royal Hospital	–	–	–	42189	19	3½			
Public officers, their deputies, clerks, and incidental expenses	–	–	–	6866	11	6			
				2056005	10	5½			
Extraordinary service (H.)	–	–	–	650000	0	0			
							2706005	10	5½
IX. Miscellaneous services (I.)	–	–	–	–	–	–	274197	11	3½
Lastly, Vote of credit (K.)	–	–	–	–	–	–	290807	10	11
Total joint Expense	–	–	–	–	–	–	4027040	2	6
Grand Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	7798554	9	4

(A. 1.) An Account of the Monies paid out of the Receipt of the Exchequer, in the Year ending the 5th January 1804, towards satisfying the Charge of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT of IRELAND; distinguishing the total Amount of the Sums applied for Interest, Charge of Management, and the annual Issue for its Reduction.

	Interest and Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years, &c.			Charge of Management.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Interest, &c. on the funded debt of Ireland — — — —	2014411	6	1½	15491	17	3¼
	15491	17	3¼			
	2029903	3	4¾			
Annual issue for the reduction of the national debt — — —	67635	8	4			
	2097538	11	8¾			

(A. 2.) An Account of the total Amount of the Sums actually received by the Commissioners for the REDUCTION of the NATIONAL DEBT, in the Year ending the 5th January 1804.

	In Great Britain.			In Ireland.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Annual issue — — — — — — —	—	—	—	67635	8	4
Expired annuities — — — — — —	—	—	—	2250	0	0
Appropriation of 1*l.* per cent. per annum on loans since 1797 — —	261133	7	4	94491	16	6
	261133	7	4	164377	4	10
Dividends on capital purchased — — — —	39944	19	9	50368	16	9½
	301078	7	1	214746	1	7½
	214746	1	7½			
	515824	8	8½			

(B.) An Account of the INTEREST on EXCHEQUER BILLS, with the Payments made in the Year from the 5th January 1803 to the 5th January 1804.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
There remained unclaimed on the 5th January 1803, interest on Exchequer bills to the 24th June 1802 — — — — —				1349	1	4			
Charge for interest—On 29750*l.* at 6*l.* per cent. per ann. from 24th June 1802 to the 25th December following — — —	892	10	0						
Ditto—On 30000*l.* at ditto, for one year, to 24th June 1803 —	1800	0	0						
Ditto—On 392273*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* at 5*l.* per cent. per ann. from 24th June 1802 to the 25th March 1803 — — —	14710	5	9						
Ditto—On 700000*l.* at ditto, for one year, to 24th June 1803 -	35000	0	0						
				52402	15	0			
				53751	16	4			
Deduct interest which remained unclaimed on the 5th January 1804 — —				629	3	4¾			
Total of payments for interest on Exchequer bills, in the year to the 5th January 1804 - -							53122	12	11¼

(C.) An Account of PAYMENTS made for Purposes appointed by the PARLIAMENT of IRELAND prior to the Union, in the Year ending the 5th January 1804.

	£.	s.	d.
For Relief of suffering loyalists — — — — — — —	10478	3	1½
Compensation for losses by the Union — — — — — —	398634	12	8¼
Inland navigations, grant of session 1789 — — — — —	400	0	0
Ditto - - - grant of session 1798 — — — — —	11000	0	0
Ditto - - - grant of session 1800 — — — — —	52323	11	10¾
Lottery prizes — — — — — — — —	1305	0	0
Principal of Exchequer bills — — — — — —	1117023	6	8
Principal of loan debentures — — — — — —	400	0	0
Discount on prompt payment of loan deposits, &c. — — — —	9749	4	5
	1601313	18	9½

(D.) An Account of PAYMENTS from the Funds appropriated for local Purposes in IRELAND, from the 5th January 1803 to the 5th January 1804.

	£.	s.	d.
For Promoting the linen and hempen manufacture	1568	13	2½
Lagan navigation	1997	10	0
Improving the city of Dublin	10483	1	2½
Building inns of court	2690	0	0
Repairs of the Royal Exchange and commercial buildings (Dublin)	1966	4	1½
Voluntary contributions, repayment of a sum contributed after 25th March 1799	125	0	0
Fish bounty	708	14	9½
	19539	3	4

(E.) An Account of PAYMENTS in the Year to the 5th January 1804, under the several Heads of—Civil List, Pensions, and other Permanent Charges.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Arrear on the civil list on the 5th January 1803	56729	6	5			
Charge for ditto on the 5th January 1804	145000	0	0			
	201729	6	5			
Deduct arrear on the 5th January 1804	54754	18	8½			
Total of issues to the civil list in the year to the 5th January 1804				146974	7	8½
Pensions				105724	4	4¼
Other Permanent charges, viz.						
Public infirmaries	3225	0	0			
Public coal-yards	6384	9	10½			
Army baggage	15836	18	6¼			
Lottery expenses	3815	7	7¾			
Police establishment	15743	17	4½			
Inspector-general of prisons	200	0	0			
Transportation of felons	562	5	10½			
Fees on auditing Treasury accounts	1954	12	9¼			
Imprest-office	3024	0	9			
Secret service in detecting treasonable conspiracies	6743	19	8			
Annuities and compensation allowances	88790	1	5¼			
Judges additional salaries, &c.	33913	10	11			
Disembodied militia	1227	11	4			
Controverted elections	2103	4	6			
Prizage	8247	8	5¼			
				191772	9	1¼
				444471	1	2

(F. 1.) An Account of the Amount of BOUNTIES paid out of the Public Revenue, in the Year ending the 5th January 1804; being Payments in the Nature and Anticipation of Exchequer Receipt.

	£.	s.	d.
On Irish coarse linen and canvass exported	13064	14	4¾
Fishing vessels	5935	8	1
Corn, &c. imported	481	1	2
Corn, &c. exported	16771	3	5¾
Bark imported	3275	9	3
Irish cured fish exported	303	19	1
Irish fish-oil exported	571	5	4½
Irish coals brought coastways to Dublin	28	10	0
	40431	10	10

(F. 2.) An Account of the Amount of PAYMENTS to the MILITIA, ARMY of RESERVE, DESERTERS WARRANTS, &c. &c. in the Year ending the 5th January 1804.

	£.	s.	d.
Militia payments	37318	1	3
Army of reserve ditto	8252	10	9
Deserters warrants	750	10	0
Straggling seamen's ditto	37	9	6
Fortification payments	1701	1	11½
	48059	13	5½

(G.) An Account of MONIES paid to the Office of ORDNANCE, in the Year to the 5th January 1804.

	£.	s.	d.
Payments to the ordnance for the grant of 1803 — — —	£.223067	4	4½

(H.) An Account of MONIES paid on Account of His MAJESTY'S FORCES in IRELAND, in the Year ending the 5th January 1804.

	£.	s.	d.			
For Regiments of the line — — — — — —	925581	8	3¼			
Militia — — — — — — — —	494351	6	3½			
Volunteer corps — — — — — — —	172433	6	8			
Recruiting and contingencies for the land forces — — —	16959	19	10¾			
Military hospitals and medicaments — — — —	17305	15	9¼			
Royal military infirmary — — — — — —	2648	16	2			
				1629280	13	0¾
Barracks — — — — — — — — — — —				297564	6	9¾
Staff officers, and officers of garrisons — — — — — — —				39542	18	6
Half-pay officers, and reduced chaplains — — — — — — —				34545	12	7½
Officers widows — — — — — — — — — —				6015	8	8
Royal hospital — — — — — — — — — —				42189	19	3½
Muster-master-general, and other public officers, their deputies, clerks, and incidental expenses — —				6866	11	6
				2056005	10	5½
Extraordinaries — — — — — — — — — —				650000	0	0
				2706005	10	5½

(I.) An Account, shewing the PAYMENTS in the Year ending the 5th January 1804, for MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Stephen Moore, Esq. accountant-general, for his expense and trouble in preparing the public accounts laid before Parliament session 1803 — —	340	0	0			
John Smart, Esq. deputy-accountant-general, for the like — — —	240	0	0			
Sir John Tydd, Bart. for his attendance, care, and expense, in the office of paymaster of corn bounties — — — — —	800	0	0			
Paul Le Bas, Esq. examinator of corn bounties, for keeping the accounts of said office — — — — — — —	200	0	0			
Robert Marshall, Esq. inspector-general of imports and exports, for his expense and trouble in preparing accounts of imports and exports for Parliament, for one year ending the 5th January 1802 — — — — —	250	0	0			
Roger Wetheral, first clerk in the Inspector-general of Imports and Exports Office, for extra trouble in preparing accounts for Parliament — —	200	0	0			
George Hatton, examinator of excise, for extra trouble and expense in preparing accounts for Parliament — — — — — — —	200	0	0			
Samuel Hood, assistant examinator of excise, for the like — — —	150	0	0			
Thomas Haffield, clerk in the office of the Auditor of the Exchequer, for extra trouble in preparing accounts for Parliament — — — —	200	0	0			
				2580	0	0
The expense of civil buildings in Ireland, for one year to the 5th January 1803 —	25000	0	0			
For printing and binding 250 copies of the acts of the 43d Geo III. — —	900	0	0			
For printing proclamations, &c. in Dublin Gazette, and other newspapers — —	7026	9	10½			
For printing and stationary for several public offices in Dublin Castle — —	20410	0	0			
For incidental expenses of the Treasury Board — — — —	2000	0	0			
For apprehending public offenders in Ireland — — —	2500	0	0			
For criminal prosecutions and other law proceedings — — —	20000	0	0			
For expense of pratique in the port of Dublin — — —	1047	10	2			
For working his Majesty's gold-mine in the county of Wicklow — —	1784	6	6			
For printing 1500 copies of an index to the acts of the 39th and 40th of Geo. III. —	0	0	0			
For building law offices — — — — —	4000	0	0			
				84668	6	6½
The Board of First Fruits for building new and repairing old churches — —	5000	0	0			
For promoting and encouraging the linen and hempen manufacture — —	21600	0	0			
The commissioners for making wide and convenient streets in Dublin — —	4500	0	0			
The corporation, for paving, cleansing, and lighting, the streets of Dublin —	10000	0	0			
The Dublin Society, for promoting husbandry and other useful arts — —	5500	0	0			
More, towards completing additional building at their repository, &c. —	4500	0	0			
The Farming Society — — — — — —	2000	0	0			
				53100	0	0
Carried forward — — —				140348	6	6½

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	–	–	–	140348	6	6½
The Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Schools	21062	16	2			
The Secretary to the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests	400	0	0			
The Penitentiary for Young Criminals in Dublin	2200	0	0			
The Foundling Hospital in Dublin	17500	0	0			
The Hibernian Marine Society	2043	14	9			
The Hibernian Military School	4500	0	0			
Westmorland Lock Hospital in Dublin	6395	0	0			
The Fever Hospital, Dublin	515	9	3			
The House of Industry, Dublin	18765	5	1			
The Roman Catholic Seminary at Maynooth	8000	0	0			
The Society for discountenancing Vice, and promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion	1000	0	0			
The Female Orphan House, near Dublin	978	12	0			
The Lying-in Hospital, Dublin	2700	0	0			
				86060	17	3
				226409	3	9½
Civil contingencies (see account of distribution thereof)				47788	7	6
				274197	11	3½

(K.) An Account of the Amount of Payments from the VOTE of CREDIT, in the Year ending the 5th January 1804.

Amount of payments from vote of credit (see account of distribution thereof) — — £. 290807 10 11

An Account of the CASH BALANCES in the Hands of the Collectors of Excise and Customs respectively 5 Jan. 1804; and the Amount thereof remaining in their Hands 14 Jan.—as returned by the Clerk of the Revenue to the Treasury of Ireland.

Cash 5 Jan. 1804.	Bills with Rec. Gen. 14 Jan. 1804.	Acqu^s from 5 to 14 Jan. 1804.	Cash remaining 14 Jan. 1804.	Overpaid by Collectors 14 Jan. 1804.	Net Balance.
£.187170	£.110596 4 3	£.36418 8 2	£.50444 5 4	£.10288 17 9	£.40155 7 7

			£.
Cash balances in hands of Revenue-collectors 5 Jan. 1804, per Accountant-general's abstracts			187170
Bills in hands of Receiver-general 14 Jan. 1804	Revenue	£.107190	
	Stamps	3410	
		£.110600	147020
Acquittances from 5 to 14 Jan. 1804		36420	
Net cash balances in hands of Revenue-collectors 14 Jan. 1804			40150
N. B. Of the above bal. there was, in hands of the Coll. in Dublin, 5 Jan. 1804		£.5910	
And half Bank notes in hands of Receiver-general		6580	12490
Remains			27660

Produce of Revenue, &c. Week ending 5 Jan. 1804:

Revenue			£.53650
Stamps paid to	Receivers-general	£.5380	
	Revenue-collectors	2160	7540
Postage (Post-office)			1610
			£.62800

Arrears of revenue the 5th January 1804 — — — — — — — £.341060

Produce of revenue from 2 Jan. 1802 to 1 Jan. 1803	£.3848870
from 2 Jan. 1803 to 5 Jan. 1804	3419630
Decrease to 5 Jan. 1804	£.429240

An Account of the Consolidated Fund of Ireland for the Year ended the 5th of January 1804; and also, the actual Payments thereout, within the said Year, and the total Charge thereon, in respect of the said Year; specifying also the Surplus of the said Consolidated Fund.

	INCOME.					
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Balance on the consolidated fund remaining in the Exchequer on the 5th January 1803 -	1004527	2	5½			
Customs and excise duties, including quit rents, and payments by dismissed collectors - -	2538387	2	8¼			
Stamp duties, including composition from bankers	182547	8	3¼			
Post-office revenue - - - - - - - - - -	25318	9	8½			
Duty on wrought plate - - - - - - - - -	2078	19	9			
Pound fees - - - - - - - - - - - - -	35695	6	9¼			
Pells fees - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	7139	1	1¼			
				3795693	10	9
Repayment of seamen's wages advanced by collectors - - - - - - - - - - - -	- - - -			66173	0	6
Gain by exchange on sums received from Great Britain - - - - - - - - - - - -	- - - -			62324	19	6
From the Bank of Ireland, for the purchase of the late Parliament House - - - - -	- - - -			40000	0	0
Other monies paid to the public - - - - -	- - - -			14911	11	7
				3979103	2	4
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.						
Loan, including 1700000*l.* Exchequer bills - -	3878066	13	4			
From G. Britain one third of the lottery profit of 1803	127231	9	8			
				4005298	3	0
			£.	7984401	5	4

SEPARATE CHARGES.	ACTUAL PAYMENTS.			CHARGE.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Interest on funded debt, including annuities and management - - - - - - - - - -	1671724	17	8½	1702643	0	9
Interest on unfunded debt - - - - - - - -	53122	12	11¾	53751	16	4
Sinking fund and management - - - - - -	425813	14	0¾	425813	14	0¼
Principal of debentures - - - - - - - -	400	0	0	2675	0	0
Principal of Exchequer bills - - - - - -	1117023	6	8	1131031	13	4
Lottery prizes - - - - - - - - - - - - -	1305	0	0	29981	0	0
Discount on prompt payment of loan deposit -	9749	4	5	9749	4	5
Relief of loyalists - - - - - - - - - - -	10478	3	1½	10478	3	1½
Union compensation - - - - - - - - - -	398634	12	8¼	398634	12	8¼
Inland navigations - - - - - - - - - - -	63723	11	10¾	63723	11	10¾
	3751975	3	6	3828481	16	6¾
Proportionate contribution - - - - - - - -	3938548	18	2½	Unascertained.		
Total charge of the consolidated fund in the year	7690524	1	8½	Unascertained.		
Surplus of the consolidated fund on 5th Jan. 1804	293877	3	7½	Unascertained.		
£.	7984401	5	4			

An Abstract of the Receipts and Issues of the Treasury in Ireland, in One

			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Remains on 5th January 1803.	Appropriated Funds.	Linen	2929	13	9½			
		Lagan navigation	1997	10	0			
		Improving Dublin	1918	4	8½	23940	16	0
		King's inns	2690	0	0			
		Royal Exchange and commercial buildings	379	6	1½			
		Voluntary contributions	14026	1	4½			
	Consolidated fund					1004527	2	5½
						1028467	18	5½
RECEIPTS.	Consolidated Fund.	Revenue				2538145	8	9
		Quit rents				91	13	11¼
		Casualties				2303	15	11
		Dismissed collectors				150	0	0
		Stamps				182227	9	3¼
		Compensation from bankers in lieu of stamp duties				319	19	0
		Postage				25318	9	8½
		Duty on wrought plate				2078	19	9
		Public coal-yards				3925	0	0
		Wool licenses				140	0	0
		4*s*. tax on salaries and pensions, to the 25th March 1801				40	2	6
		Poundage fee in one year, to the 5th Jan. 1804				35695	6	9¼
		Pells fee - - - - - same time				7139	1	1¼
		From the com. of the navy in G. Britain, on acc. of adv. made by several coll. in Ireland, for seamen's wages, 61082*l*. 15*s*. 10*d*. British				66173	0	6
		From sundry persons, on further account of rice, Indian corn, &c. sold for account of Government				5173	4	8½
		From the commissioners of wide streets, interest on 38985*l*. 19*s*. 7*d*. in debentures at 5*l*. per cent. per annum for one year and a half, to the 25th March 1803, issued to them pursuant to an act of Parliament, 1800				2923	19	0
		More interest on 6023*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. in Exchequer bills, at 5*l*. per cent. per annum, for one year and a quarter, to the 25th March 1803, issued to them pursuant to act of Parliament, session 1800				376	9	2
		From the Barrack-master-general, the amount of the sale of the building and materials of the barrack at Castlereagh, sold by auction by order of Government, in December 1802				29	0	3½
		From the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland, for the purchase of the late Parliament House				40000	0	0
		Gain by exchange on sums received from Great Britain				62324	19	6
		From Great Britain, being one third of the profit on lotteries for the year 1803, 117444*l*. 8*s*. 11*d*. British				127231	9	8
		From Great Britain, a loan of 2000000*l*. British, by which a debt is created of 3000000*l*. British, making 3466666*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. Irish, at 3 per cent. per annum, from sundry dates				2166666	13	4
		On debentures at 4*l*. per cent per annum, from the 30th May 1801, issued to the Barrow navigation, pursuant to act of Parliament, session 1789				400	0	0
		On debentures at 5*l*. per cent. per annum, from the 16th December 1802, issued to the Royal Canal Company, to complete 25000*l*. granted 1798				11000	0	0
		On Exchequer bills, at 5*l*. per cent. per annum, from the 24th June 1803, and payable on or before 24th June 1804, issued by virtue of an act of the late Irish Parliament, of session 1800, granting 1410000*l*. to be raised for compensation for losses by the Union				300000	0	0
		On Exchequer bills, at 5*l*. per cent. per annum, from 24th June 1803, and payable on or before 24th June 1804, issued by virtue of an act of the late Irish Parliament, 1800, granting 500000*l*. for inland navigations				200000	0	0
		On Exchequer bills, at 5*l*. per cent. per ann. from 24th June 1803, and payable 24th June 1804, issued to renew a like sum in possession of the Bank				600000	0	0
		On Exchequer bills, at 5*l*. per cent. per ann. from 24th July 1803, and payable 24th July 1804, issued to renew a like sum in possession of the Bank				100000	0	0
		On Exchequer bills, at 5*l*. per cent. per annum, from 1st August 1803, and payable 31st July 1804, pursuant to 43d Geo. III. cap. 114				500000	0	0
						6979874	2	10½
	Appropriated Funds.	Lagan navigation				997	10	0
		Improving Dublin				10661	6	6
		King's inns				1500	0	0
		Royal Exchange and commercial buildings				1586	18	0
		Fish bounty				6500	0	0
		Presbyterian ministers				4452	8	9
						25698	3	3
		Grand total £.				8034040	4	7

ear, from 5th January 1803 to the 5th January 1804: together with the Remains.

				£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
ISSUES.	Consolidated Fund.		Civil list				-	-	-	146974	7	8½
			Pensions				-	-	-	105724	4	4¼
		Permanent Parliament. Payments.	Public infirmaries				3225	0	0			
			Public coal-yards				6384	9	10½			
			Army baggage				15836	18	6¼			
			Lottery expenses				3815	7	7¾			
			Police establishment				15743	17	4½			
			Inspector-general of prisons				200	0	0			
			Transportation of felons				562	5	10½			
			Fees on auditing Treasury accounts				1954	12	9¼			
			Imprest office				3024	0	9			
			Secret service in detecting treasonable conspiracies				6743	19	8			
			Annuities and compensation allowances				88790	1	5¼			
			Judges additional salaries, &c.				33913	10	11			
			Disembodied militia				1227	11	4			
			Controverted elections				2103	4	6			
			Prizage				8247	8	5¼	191772	9	1¾
		Military Purposes.	Army, including garrisons and their incidents				933280	7	9¼			
			General officers and medical staff				31843	19	0			
			Muster-master-general, &c.				6866	11	6			
			Recruiting and contingencies				16959	19	10¾			
			Half-pay officers and reduced chaplains				34545	12	7½			
			Officers widows				6015	8	8			
			Ordnance				223067	4	4½			
			Barrack department				297564	6	9¾			
			Royal hospital				42189	19	3½			
			Military hospitals and royal military infirmary				19954	11	11¼			
			Militia				494351	6	3½			
			Volunteer corps				172433	6	8			
			Army extraordinaries				650000	0	0			
			Vote of credit				290807	10	11	3219880	5	9
		Annual Grants.	Public offices, for several services				25 80		0			
			Public hospitals and schools				86060	17	3			
			Miscellaneous services				84668	6	6½			
			Public boards				53100	0	0			
			Civil contingencies				47788	7	6	274197	11	3½
			Discount on prompt payment of loan deposits, &c.				9749	4	5			
			Relief of loyalists				10478	3	1½			
			Compensation for losses by the Union				398634	12	8¼			
			Inland navigations, grant of session 1789				400	0	0			
			Ditto - - - - grant of session 1798				11000	0	0			
			Ditto - - - - grant of session 1800				52323	11	10¾			
			Lottery prizes				1305	0	0			
			Principal of Exchequer bills				1117023	6	8			
			Principal of loan debentures				400	0	0			
			Interest, annuities, and management of funded debt				1671724	17	8½			
			Sinking fund and management				425813	14	0¼			
			Interest on Exchequer bills				53122	12	11¾	3751975	3	6
										7690524	1	8½
	Appropriated Funds.		Linen				1568	13	2½			
			Lagan navigation				1997	10	0			
			Improving Dublin				10483	1	2½			
			King's inns				2690	0	0			
			Royal Exchange and commercial buildings				1966	4	1½			
			Voluntary contributions				125	0	0			
			Fish bounty				708	14	9½	19539	3	4
										7710063	5	0½
Remains on 5th January 1804.	Appropriated Funds.		Linen	£.1361	0	7						
			Lagan navigation	997	10	0						
			Improving Dublin	2096	10	0						
			King's inns	1500	0	0	30099	15	11			
			Voluntary contributions	13901	1	4½						
			Fish bounty	5791	5	2½						
			Presbyterian ministers	4452	8	9						
	Consolidated fund						293877	3	7½	323976	19	6½
										£.8034040	4	7

An Account of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT of Ireland, as the same stood on the 5th of January
the different Funds in which it is invested—the Amount of the Capital Stock of each Fund—
Dublin respectively—the Charge of Management—and the Annual Charge for the Reduction

By what Acts created.	Sums raised.	Payable in DUBLIN:			Payable in		
		3*l.* 10*s.* per Cent. per Ann.	4*l.* per Cent. per Ann.	5*l.* per Cent. per Ann.	5*l.* per Cent. per Ann. (British Currency).	3*l.* per Cent. Consol. Ann. (British Currency).	3*l.* per Cent. Red. Ann. (British Currency).
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
13 Geo. III.	265000	—	—	—	—	—	—
15 Geo. III.	175000	—	—	—	—	—	—
17 Geo. III.	300000	—	—	—	—	—	—
25 Geo. III.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
27 Geo. III.	200000	200000	—	—	—	—	—
28 Geo. III.	918240	918240	—	—	—	—	—
27, 29, and 31 Geo. III.	174600	—	174600	—	—	—	—
33 Geo. III.	200000	—	—	200000	—	—	—
Vote of Credit, 11 June 1793	150000	—	—	150000	—	—	—
34 Geo. III.	1029650	—	—	487983	500000	—	—
35 Geo. III.	1591666	—	—	400000	1100000	—	—
36 Geo. III.	640000	—	—	640000	—	—	—
Vote of Credit, 18 Oct. 1796	325000	—	—	—	300000	—	—
37 Geo. III.	2018700	—	—	635000	—	1875000	750000
38 Geo. III.	3424476	—	—	2054950	—	3000000	1000000
39 Geo. III.	5261000	—	—	2011000	—	3750000	1500000
40 Geo. III.	4666666	—	—	2500000	—	2200000	940000
41 Geo. III.	2750319	—	—	41985	—	3125000	1268750
42 Geo. III.	3791666	1770232	—	—	—	1300000	1200000
43 Geo. III.	2166666	—	—	—	—	1600000	1600000
BANK OF IRELAND.							
22 and 37 Geo. III.	600000	—	—	600000	—	—	—
37 Geo. III.	500000	—	—	500000	—	—	—
	31148652	2888472	174600	10229919	1900000 Irish Currency: 2058333	16850000 Irish Currency: 18254166	8258750 Irish Currency; 8946979

N. B. For want of room, the shillings, pence, and farthings, are left out all through this account.

Total Principal Debt, on the 5th

1804; distinguishing the Years in which each Part thereof was created; distinguishing also the Annual Interest and Annuities, and the several Portions thereof payable in London and of the said Debt.

LONDON:					Annual Charge for Redemption of National Debt.		
3*l.* per Cent. Consol. Ann. to commence from 5 Jan. 1808 (British Cur.).	4*l.* per Cent. Consol. Ann. (British Cur.).	Annual Interest.	Annuities on Lives or Terms of Years.	Charge of Management.	Pursuant to Act 37 Geo. III. for Redemption of Debt then existing.	By Acts providing 1*l.* per Cent. for Redemp. of Debts created since 1797.	Total of Annual Expense.
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
— —	— —	—	15900	715	— —	(LifeAnnuities)	49615
— —	— —	—	10500				
— —	— —	—	22500				
— —	— —	—	—	—	2250	(Expired Ann.)	2250
— —	— —	39138	—	—	— —	— —	39138
— —	— —						
— —	— —	6984	—	—	— —	— —	6984
— —	— —	17500	—	—	— —	— —	17500
— —	— —						
— —	— —	51482	10296	346	— —	— —	62125
— —	— —	79583	18058	653	— —	— —	98295
— —	— —	48250	23437	321	— —	— —	72008
— —	— —						
— —	300000	130062	5281	1340	67635	38714	243034
— —	— —	232747	5326	1862	— —	64466	304402
— —	— —	271175	—	2421	— —	76875	350471
— —	— —	227050	—	1469	— —	59016	287535
— —	— —	144896	—	2093	— —	47598	194588
139250	— —	143208	—	1209	— —	46294	190711
— —	— —	104000	6951	1638	— —	35346	147936
— —	— —	30000	—	—	— —	— —	30000
— —	— —	25000	18125	—	— —	5000	48125
				* 2326	— —	— —	2326
139250 Irish Currency: 150854	300000 Irish Currency: 325000 150854 8946979 18254166 2058333 10220919 174600 2888472	1551077	136376	16398	69885	373312	2147050
January 1804 —	£.43019325						

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* Management on so much of the debt payable in Dublin as has been converted into stock, transferable at the Bank of Ireland. The remainder is not chargeable with management.

An Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT of IRELAND, and Demands outstanding, on the 5th January 1804; under the Heads of Loan Debentures, Exchequer Bills, Lottery Prizes, and Loan from Great Britain for paying the Prizes of the Irish Lotteries of 1801: distinguishing under each Head respectively, the Particulars of which such Debt or Demand consisted, and also what Part of the said Debt or Demand was then provided for, and in what Manner, and what Part thereof was unprovided for.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Loan Debentures:									
Residue of the debentures bearing 4*l.* per cent. interest to the year 1788, provided for by 27 and 28 Geo. III. but not claimed by the proprietors; viz.									
Old loan - - -	—			275	0	0			
Loan by lottery 1780 - -	—			1250	0	0			
Loan by lottery 1781 - -	—			750	0	0	(a) 2275	0	0
Exchequer Bills:									
Outstanding Exchequer bills, provided for by several acts of Parliament, but not claimed by the proprietors; viz.									
Payable 24 June - 1783 - -	8	6	8						
24 June - 1790 - -	50	0	0						
24 June - 1791 - -	100	0	0						
24 June - 1795 - -	300	0	0						
25 Decem^r 1798 - -	400	0	0						
24 June - 1801 - -	150	0	0						
25 March 1802 - -	100	0	0						
24 June - 1802 - -	150	0	0						
25 March 1803 - -	12750	0	0	(a) 14008	6	8			
Exchequer Bills not in Course of Payment till after 5th January 1804.									
38 Geo. III. payable 25 March 1806 (b)	30000	0	0						
40 Geo. III. payable 24 June 1804 (c)	600000	0	0						
40 Geo. III. payable 24 July 1804 (c)	100000	0	0						
40 Geo. III. payable 24 June 1804 -	300000	0	0						
40 Geo. III. payable 24 June 1804 -	200000	0	0						
43 Geo. III. payable 31 July 1804 -	500000	0	0	1730000	0	0			
							1744008	6	8
Lottery Prizes:									
Outstanding lottery prizes of the several lotteries, from the year 1782 to the year 1801 - - - - - - (a)							28676	0	0
Loan from Great Britain, for paying the prizes of the Irish lotteries of 1801							299000	0	0
Total -							2073959	6	8

(a) Provision has been made for these sums by several acts of Parliament.

(b) To be provided for by the Grand Canal Company, to whom they were issued.

(c) Have been for some years past replaced from year to year by other Exchequer bills to a similar amount.

The remaining sums to be provided for.

An Account of the NUMBER of VESSELS, with the Amount of their Tonnage, and the Number of Men and Boys employed in navigating the same (including their repeated Voyages), which entered inwards and cleared outwards, in the several Ports of Ireland, from or to all Parts of the World, between the 5th of January 1803 and the 5th of January 1804: distinguishing British and Irish and Foreign Vessels, and the Countries from whence the said Vessels arrived, or to which they were bound.

Countries from or to invoiced.	INWARDS.												OUTWARDS.											
	BRITISH.			IRISH.			FOREIGN.			TOTAL.			BRITISH.			IRISH.			FOREIGN.			TOTAL.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
Foreign Europe - -	365	53251	2749	89	11306	664	491	75165	4977	945	139722	8390	74	12041	607	46	5994	352	447	74323	4585	567	92358	5544
British Europe - -	5578	507421	29012	1183	79281	5432	1	74	12	6762	586776	34456	4951	465115	26592	1122	76175	5527	33	5734	348	6106	547024	32467
United States of America	12	2164	119	6	1086	61	108	19561	1170	126	22811	1350	6	910	60	3	457	31	70	13487	765	79	14854	856
British American Colonies	19	2457	156	6	784	53	—	—	—	25	3241	209	34	4261	273	4	343	26	—	—	—	38	4604	299
British West Indies -	21	4186	240	29	5123	301	—	—	—	50	9309	541	87	25318	1723	34	6957	366	—	—	—	121	32275	2089
Conquered Colonies -	1	225	10	1	151	6	—	—	—	2	376	16	7	1497	102	1	159	10	—	—	—	8	1656	112
Foreign West Indies -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	245	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	245	11
Honduras - - -	—	—	—	1	215	12	—	—	—	5	215	12	—	—	—	1	169	12	—	—	—	1	169	12
Total -	5996	569704	32286	1315	97946	6529	600	94800	6159	7911	762450	44974	5160	509387	29368	1211	90254	6324	553	93995	5728	6924	693636	41420

Vessels belonging to the different Ports of Ireland, with the Quantity of Tonnage, and Number of Seamen and Boys, on 5th Jan. 1804.	Vessels -	1065
	Tons -	58871
	Seamen -	5218
Vessels built and registered in Ireland, between 5th Jan. 1803 and 5th Jan. 1804.	Vessels -	42
	Tons -	2418

		£.	s.	d.
Official Value of Imports into Ireland in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1804 - - - -		5275650	1	0
Official Value of Exports in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1804.	Irish produce and manufactures	4629086	3	0
	Foreign articles - -	141301	17	3

An Account, shewing how the MONIES granted for the Service of the Year 1803, for IRELAND, have been disposed of, stated in Irish Currency.

SERVICE.	Sums granted.			Sums paid.			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Forces:									
Army, with garriſons and their incidents	1000003	3	8	933280	7	9¼	66722	15	10¾
Recruiting and contingencies for the land forces	101119	15	11	16959	19	10¾	84159	16	0¼
General and staff officers, and officers of the hospitals	31855	8	9	33843	19	0	11	9	9
Muster-master-gen. and other officers of public departments	7359	10	10	6866	11	6	492	19	4
Half-pay officers and reduced chaplains	66248	11	9	34545	12	7½	31702	19	1½
Widows of officers	6500	0	0	6015	8	8	484	11	4
Volunteer corps, cavalry and infantry	172433	6	8	172433	6	8			
Barrack department	297570	16	10	297564	6	9¼	6	10	0¼
Hospital contingencies and royal military infirmary	20000	0	0	19954	11	11¼	45	8	0¾
Royal hospital, Kilmainham	49104	0	4½	42189	19	3½	6914	1	1
Embodied militia and contingencies	529579	12	4½	494351	6	3½	35228	6	1
Extraordinaries for the army	650000	0	0	650000	0	0			
Vote of credit	541666	13	4	290807	10	11	250859	2	5
Office of ordnance	223067	4	4½	223067	4	4½			
Public Officers for several Services:									
Accountant-general	340	0	0	340	0	0			
Deputy-accountant-general	240	0	0	240	0	0			
Paymaster of corn bounties	800	0	0	800	0	0			
Examinator of corn bounties	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Inspector general of imports and exports	250	0	0	250	0	0			
First clerk to ditto	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Examinator of excise	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Assistant examinator of excise	150	0	0	150	0	0			
Clerk in the office of the Auditor of the Exchequer	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Miscellaneous Services:									
Civil buildings	25000	0	0	25000	0	0			
Printing and binding 250 acts of 43d Geo. III.	900	0	0	900	0	0			
Printing proclamations, &c. in Dublin Gazette, &c.	7026	9	10½	7026	9	10½			
Printing and stationary for public offices in Dublin Castle	20410	0	0	20410	0	0			
Treasury incidents	2000	0	0	2000	0	0			
Apprehending public offenders	2500	0	0	2500	0	0			
Criminal prosecutions and other law proceedings	20000	0	0	20000	0	0			
Expense of pratique in the port of Dublin	1047	10	2	1047	10	2			
Working his Majesty's gold mine in the county of Wicklow	1784	6	6	1784	6	6			
Printing 1500 Index to acts 39th and 40th Geo. III.	312	10	0	-	-	-	312	10	0
Building law offices	4000	0	0	4000	0	0			
Civil contingencies	54166	13	4	47788	7	6	6378	5	10
Public Boards:									
Board of First Fruits for building and repairing churches	5000	0	0	5000	0	0			
Linen and hempen manufacture	21600	0	0	21600	0	0			
Commissioners for making convenient streets in Dublin	4500	0	0	4500	0	0			
The Corporation for paving, &c. the streets of Dublin	10000	0	0	10000	0	0			
The Dublin Society for promoting husbandry and other arts	5500	0	0	5500	0	0			
More towards completing additional buildings at their Repository and Botanic Garden	4500	0	0	4500	0	0			
Farming Society	2000	0	0	2000	0	0			
Public Hospitals and Schools:									
Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Schools	21062	16	2	21062	16	2			
Secre. to Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests	400	0	0	400	0	0			
Penitentiary for young Criminals in Dublin	2200	0	0	2200	0	0			
Foundling Hospital in Dublin	17500	0	0	17500	0	0			
Hibernian Marine Society	2043	14	9	2043	14	9			
Hibernian Military School	4500	0	0	4500	0	0			
Westmorland Lock Hospital, Dublin	6395	0	0	6395	0	0			
Fever Hospital, Dublin	515	9	3	515	9	3			
House of Industry, Dublin	18765	5	1	18765	5	1			
Roman Catholic Seminary at Maynooth	8000	0	0	8000	0	0			
Society for discountenancing Vice	1000	0	0	1000	0	0			
Female Orphan House near Dublin	978	12	0	978	12	0			
Lying-in Hospital, Dublin	2700	0	0	2700	0	0			
	3977396	12	0	3494077	17	0½	483318	14	11½
Exchequer bills	386250	0	0	373500	0	0	12750	0	0
£.	4363646	12	0	3867577	17	0½	496068	14	11½

An Abstract, shewing the Amount of Sums raised, and the Increase thereby of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT of IRELAND, since the Union to the 5th of January 1804; the Amount of CHARGES thereon; and the Produce of the TAXES imposed, for the Year ended 5th of Jan. 1804: with an ESTIMATE of any further Produce of the said TAXES that may be expected annually.

Amount of Sums raised from 1st January 1801, to 5th Jan. 1804.	Capital created from 1st Jan. 1801, to 5th Jan. 1804.	Amount of Charges from 1st Jan. 1801, to 5th Jan. 1804.	Produce of Taxes imposed for defraying Charges for Year ending 5th Jan. 1804.
£.8708652	£.12879968	£.533236	£.484640
Note.—The taxes imposed in session 1803 took place from 14th July 1803; and if the produce for 12 months be estimated at double the produce from 14th July to 5th Jan. an additional sum is to be estimated for the annual produce of taxes of 1803, of —			247406
		Total annual produce — —	732046
		Amount of charges — —	533236
		Annual surplus of taxes — —	198810

Note.—The produce stated is exclusive of produce of stock on hand.—The public accounts being stated in Irish money, the above account is stated in Irish money likewise.—JOHN SMITH.

An Account of IRISH MANUFACTURED LINENS exported, from the Union to the 5th Jan. 1804; distinguishing each Year.—Dated Inspector General's Office, 13th April 1804.

			Years ended 5th January		
			1802.	1803.	1804.
Linen	Cambrick	Yards	1672	1117	71
	Plain	Yards	37767077	35491131	37432365
	Coloured	Yards	142853	120879	137489

Account of the Produce of the PERMANENT TAXES in GREAT BRITAIN, in the Years ending the 5th Jan. 1803, and 5th Jan. 1804, respectively.—Dated 27th April 1804.

	In the Years ended 5th January 1803.			5th January 1804.		
TOTALS.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Total of customs, excise, stamps, and incidents, prior to the year 1793	12084333	16	5	11925320	15	5
Add proportionate part of sugar, now annually granted	2055803	10	6¼	1792846	11	6½
Additional duty on malt — — ditto	842830	6	2¼	814396	17	3
Duty on tobacco — — — ditto	442922	0	0	451940	0	0
Total of duties, pro anno 1793	310412	9	2	321280	16	4
Ditto — — — 1794	796688	18	4	832477	15	4¼
Add proportionate part of sugar, now annually granted	444498	1	2½	387642	10	0¾
Total of duties, pro anno 1795	1473577	2	11¾	1546315	7	11¼
Ditto — — — 1796	1376892	9	7¼	1429797	18	0½
Ditto — — — 1797	2761616	15	8¾	2603065	10	1¼
Add proportionate part of sugar, now annually granted	416716	18	8¾	363414	16	11¼
Total of duties, pro anno 1798	683757	10	6¼	708945	3	3½
Ditto — — 1799	133689	12	3¾	103128	14	0
Ditto — — 1800	697451	18	0¼	821309	0	0
Ditto — — 1801	1730753	19	10	1850377	7	3
Ditto — — 1802	1957340	12	10¾	4584445	7	8½
Ditto — — 1803	—	—		139436	17	8
	28209286	2	5½	30676141	8	10¾
Amount of custom duties outstanding	997903	1	0	1003609	7	10
Ditto — excise — ditto	3057486	15	6	4163757	16	10¼
	4055389	16	6	5167367	4	8¼
	28209286	2	5½	30676141	8	10¾
	32264675	18	11½	35843508	13	7

Mem.—The computation of the excise duties in Scotland not having been received, their amount is included in the consolidated excise, except the articles of wines, British and foreign spirits, and salt, which are apportioned in the same proportions as in the year 1802.

An Account of the net Produce of all the PERMANENT TAXES in GREAT BRITAIN, in the Years and Quarters ending 5th April 1803 and 5th April 1804, respectively.

		In the Quarters ended						In the Years ended					
		5th April 1803.			5th April 1804.			5th April 1803.			5th April 1804.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	Consolidated, after reserving 62500*l.* per quarter by act 43 Geo. III. cap. 68, from July 1803	612678	2	7¼	690983	1	6½	3348246	12	1	3750799	18	10¼
	Quarantine duty	766	3	4	2955	0	9½	5914	12	6	15172	13	1½
	4½*l.* per cent.	7130	7	7	10456	13	6¼	14564	2	8¼	31142	4	9
	Canal and dock duty	1957	19	8½	7724	1	6	20352	8	0	43550	2	3¾
Excise duties consolidated		3447633	0	0	2884363	0	0	13518415	0	0	13734043	0	0
Stamp duties consolidated, after deducting the surplus of the duty on receipts, anno 1803, as directed by act 43 Geo. III. cap. 126		591398	0	0	589670	0	0	3030738	5	6	3138607	14	10
Composition for stamps per Bank of England		6000	0	0	6000	0	0	24000	0	0	24000	0	0
Incidents	Letter money	212000	0	0	225000	0	0	923000	0	0	905000	0	0
	Houses and windows	250225	5	0¾	325313	18	3¾	1563488	9	8¾	1875712	9	3¼
	Inhabited houses	68271	19	7¾	97881	15	5½	295015	12	4½	434560	12	0½
	Riding horses	60955	18	1½	62925	5	2½	482223	11	10¼	543894	8	2¾
	Husbandry horses	58948	3	5¾	52697	5	1¼	441511	19	7	530118	6	1¾
	Male servants	31422	19	9	39109	1	7½	201118	9	6½	232509	0	0½
	Four-wheeled carriages	27870	15	1½	28036	13	1	181588	2	2	172179	3	5
	Two-wheeled ditto	14972	18	5½	14405	3	1½	92801	7	8½	119298	16	1½
	Dogs	12308	5	3½	14695	12	10¾	89740	7	0½	114591	7	11¾
	10*l.* per cent.	—	—		0	14	0	14	11	4½	1	15	7
	20*l.* per cent.	—	—		823	2	1	376	1	0	1239	17	2¾
	Clocks, &c. (arrears)	—	—		—	—		103	15	0½	99	11	2½
	Hawkers and pedlars	1140	0	0	1980	0	0	5095	0	0	6109	0	0
	Hackney coaches and chairs	6364	0	0	4380	0	0	25769	13	5¾	24113	13	6
	6*d.* per lib. on pensions	11000	0	0	10000	0	0	61728	0	0	52166	0	0
	1*s.* ditto on salaries	9000	0	0	9440	12	4	60488	3	7½	45496	12	4
	Seizures	23200	0	0	8181	3	9	75039	12	0	64371	14	10¼
	Proffers	46	16	10	16	14	0	687	16	0	606	17	5
	Compositions	1	10	0	—	—		2	6	8	1	0	0
	Rent of alum mines	480	0	0	480	0	0	960	0	0	960	0	0

Rent of a lighthouse	6	13	4	6	13	4	13	6	8	6	13	4
Alienation duty	—	—		2934	9	10	2941	5	4	5702	5	2
First fruits of the clergy	—	—		—	—		2962	17	2¼	3896	7	0
Tenths of ditto	—	—		—	—		9883	7	10	9828	4	5¾
Fines and forfeitures	44	0	0	—	—		624	0	0	16	13	4
Arrears of waggons	—	—		—	—		0	4	0	0	2	0
Hair-powder certificates, anno 1794	2669	15	8	8025	3	6	2669	15	8	50207	10	7
Horse-dealers' licenses, anno 1796	215	8	9	624	9	9½	215	8	9	2829	13	11
Armorial bearings, anno 1798	1678	7	0	6032	0	8¼	1678	7	0	25796	14	8
	5469386	9	9	5105141	15	6	24483972	12	4¾	25958630	3	8¼

DUTIES PRO ANNO 1803.

Brought from consolidated customs 62500*l.* per quarter per act 43 Geo. III. cap. 68	—	—		62500	0	0	—	—		187500	0	0
Brought from consolidated stamps, being the surplus of the duty on receipts, anno 1803, after reserving the sum of 16726*l.* per quarter, by act 43 Geo. III. cap. 126, from October 1803	—	—		10133	0	0	—	—		23569	17	8
	5469386	9	9	5177774	15	6	24483972	12	4¾	26169700	1	4¼
Duty on sugar } Annually granted	620972	16	11¼	553220	18	7	3106962	4	3¼	2476152	0	2¼
Ditto — malt	51722	0	0	66227	0	0	838726	6	2¼	1268096	19	11
Ditto — tobacco	119727	0	0	119480	0	0	453140	0	0	451693	0	0
	6261808	6	8¼	5916702	14	1	28882801	2	10¼	30365642	1	5½

WAR TAXES.

British spirits	—	—		207135	0	0	—	—		311885	0	0
Foreign ditto	—	—		171730	0	0	—	—		450195	0	0
Wine	—	—		115625	0	0	—	—		255724	0	0
Goods and shipping	—	—		258976	2	11¾	—	—		835355	12	11
Malt	—	—		499051	0	0	—	—		731445	0	0
Sweets	—	—		1009	0	0	—	—		1241	0	0
Tea	—	—		266161	0	0	—	—		791596	0	0
Duty on property	—	—		346960	0	0	—	—		363877	13	0
				1866647	2	11¾	—	—		3741319	5	11

An Account of the NET PRODUCE of the several DUTIES imposed by the Acts 43 Geo. III. cap. 70, 81, and 122; from their Commencement to the 5th of April 1804; distinguishing each Quarter.

By Acts 43 Geo. 3.		IN THE QUARTERS ENDED									TOTAL.		
		10th Oct. 1803.			5th Jan. 1804.			5th April 1804.					
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Cap. 70	Duty on goods and shipping	198640	18	9¾	377738	11	2	258976	2	11¼	835355	12	11
Cap. 81	- - - - malt - - -	394	0	0	232000	0	0	499051	0	0	731445	0	0
	- - - - wine - - -	57886	0	0	82213	0	0	115625	0	0	255724	0	0
	- - - - sweets - - -	132	0	0	100	0	0	1009	0	0	1241	0	0
	- - - - British spirits -	38335	0	0	66415	0	0	207135	0	0	311885	0	0
	- - - - foreign ditto -	120505	0	0	157960	0	0	171730	0	0	450195	0	0
	- - - - tea - - - - -	215813	0	0	309622	0	0	266161	0	0	791596	0	0
Cap. 122	- - - - property - -	— —	—	—	16917	13	0	346960	0	0	363877	13	0
	£.	631705	18	9¾	1242966	4	2	1866647	2	11¼	3741319	5	11

An Estimate of the DUTY on PROPERTY, due and outstanding on the 5th April 1804: so far as the same can be made up.—Dated Office of Taxes, 24th July 1804.

	£.
An estimate of the produce of the property tax, from returns received at this office – –	4123745
Ditto, from 28 districts in England, and the whole duty from Scotland, not returned to this office; estimated proportionally to the produce of the income tax in the same districts –	836565
	4960310
Deduct, probable charges at 6½*d.* in the pound – – – – – – –	134342
	4825968
Paid into the Exchequer up to the 5th of April 1804 – – – – – – –	338877
Due and outstanding – –	£.4487091

An Account of the SILVER BULLION imported into His Majesty's Mint, and the Amount of Silver Monies coined; from 18th March 1797 to the 31st December 1803: specifying the Dates when the Bullion was received.—Dated Mint Office, 25th June 1804.

Silver Bullion imported.

Date.		Standard Weight.				Value.		
1798.		lbs	oz.	dw.	gr.			
April 4.	–	881	10	0	0			
13.	–	1092	1	9	21			
24.	–	434	10	5	17			
May 1.	–	2411	4	11	14			
8.	–	370	2	11	22			
July 6.	–	4705	2	3	11			
						£.	s.	d.
		9895	7	2	23	30676	7	10

Silver Monies coined.

	£.	s.	d.
Small Silver Monies; consisting of Penny, Twopenny, Threepenny, and Fourpenny Pieces provided for His Majesty's Maundy.			
Total amount coined – –	£.278	8	0

No other silver monies coined at the Mint have been delivered within the period of this Account.—The coinage of the silver bullion imported in 1798 was suspended on the 9th May of that year, by a verbal order of the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, appointed to take into consideration the state of the coin; and subsequently by an act of Parliament (38 Geo. III. ch. 59).

An Account of the Income and Expenditure of the BOARD of AGRICULTURE, for two Years, from March 1802 to March 1804.

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.
CHARGE.								
To cash received, per the King's warrant, in consequence of votes from the House of Commons, for 1802 and 1803								6000
DISCHARGE.								
By printing	1802	26	18	6				
D°	1803	845	12	7				
					872	11	1	
Maps, engravings, &c.	1802	32	13	2				
D°	1803	197	8	7				
					230	1	9	
Salaries to the officers, 4 quarters, at the rate of								
To the secretary – – £.400 per ann.								
Under-secretary – 200 D°								
Chief clerk – 190 D°								
Second D° – 80 D°		870	0	0				
D°, 3 quarters to a third D°, at – – – £.50 D°		37	10	0				
		907	10	0				
D°, 4 quarters to 2 secretaries and 2 clerks	1803	870	0	0				
					1777	10	0	
Stationery	1802	51	10	7				
D°	1803	64	4	8				
					115	15	3	
Books and binding	1802	132	0	8				
D°	1803	8	17	9				
					140	18	5	
Repairs and furniture	1802	85	6	2				
D°	1803	28	8	8				
					113	14	10	
Fees	1802	84	16	0				
D°	1803	84	16	0				
					169	12	0	
Surveys	1802	400	0	0				
D°	1803	150	0	0				
					550	0	0	
Experimental ground	1802	230	0	0				
D°	1803	102	2	8				
					332	2	8	
Prize essays, in consequence of the requisition from the House of Lords	1802	–	–	–	206	11	0	
Medals, distributed as honorary rewards	1803	–	–	–	29	16	9	
Seeds, implements, and models	1802	41	8	0				
D°	1803	48	16	6				
					90	4	6	
Rent, taxes, house, and office incidents	1802	436	4	0				
D°	1803	463	19	7				
					900	3	7	
Lectures on the application of chemistry to agriculture	1803	–	–	–	173	5	6	
Miscellaneous articles	1802	164	4	4				
D°	1803	133	8	4				
					297	12	8	
								£.6000

(A.) An Account of the Amount of the EXCHEQUER BILLS in the Hands of the Bank, at the following Periods—Dated Bank of England, 26th April 1804.

	£.		£.
April 18th, 1798	8005000	April 18th, 1802	9871000
D° – 1799	10017000	D° – 1803	7609000
D° – 1800	10448500	D° – 1804	8033000
D° – 1801	9996000		

N. B. Any Exchequer bills which may have been purchased in the market by the Bank, are, of course, not included in the foregoing Account.

*** *This is the account referred to at the foot of the following page.*

An Account of the Amount of the EXCHEQUER BILLS outstanding on the 18th of April,
they were separately charged; and distinguishing the Amount in the Hands of

EXCHEQUER BILLS raised.			SUM	EXCHEQUER BILLS
For the Years	By Acts Geo. 3tii Rs	Cap.	granted.	Charged upon
			£.	
1795	— 35	21	2000000	Supplies, 1796
1796	— 36	30	2500000	Supplies, 1797
1797	— 37	2	2000000	61st 4*s.* aid, anno 1797
D°	—	1	750000	Annual duty on malt, anno 1797
D°	—	10	5000000	Loan of 18000000*l.* 1797
D°	—	114	3500000	Supplies, anno 1798
D°	—	144	2000000	Surplus of consolidated fund
1798	— 38	5	2000000	62d 4*s.* aid, anno 1798
D°	—	4	750000	Annual malt duty, anno 1798
D°	—	8	3000000	Loan, anno 1798
D°	—	20	3000000	Ditto — ditto
D°	—	90	1000000	Supplies, anno 1799
D°	—	84	1750000	Act for raising an aid and contribution for the war, anno 1798
D°	—	82	3500000	Supplies, anno 1799
1799	— 39	3	2000000	Act for granting annual duties on sugar, malt, and tobacco, 1799
D°	—	2	750000	Annual malt duty, anno 1799
D°	—	18	3000000	Loan, anno 1799
D°	—	33	1500000	Income duty, anno 1799
D°	—	68	3000000	Supplies, anno 1800
D°	—	69	3500000	Ditto — ditto
D°	—	70	3000000	Ditto — ditto
D°	—	71	3000000	Income duty, 1779
D°	—	114	2000000	Surplus of consolidated fund
D°	2d Sessn 39	6	1500000	Income duty, anno 1799
D°		6	1500000	Exports and imports for the year 1799
1800		3	2000000	Annual duties on sugar, malt, and tobacco, 1800
D°		2	750000	Annual duty on malt, anno 1800
D°		4	2500000	Loan, anno 1800
D°	— 39 et 40	28	3000000	Act for renewal of Bank charter (not to bear int. till 5 Ap. 1806)
D°	—	33	7000000	Aids or supplies, anno 1800
D°		103	3000000	Supplies, anno 1801
D°	—	102	3500000	Ditto — ditto
D°	—	104	3000000	Ditto — ditto
1801	— 41	8	2000000	Annual duties on sugar, malt, and tobacco, 1801
D°	—	7	750000	Annual duty on malt, 1801
D°	—	4	7000000	Aids or supplies, anno 1801
D°	—	14	3500000	Loan, anno 1801
D°	—	83	3000000	Supplies, anno 1802
1802	— 42	2	2000000	Annual duties on sugar, malt, and tobacco, 1802
D°	—	1	750000	Annual malt duty, anno 1802
D°	—	9	5000000	Supplies, anno 1803
D°	—	17	2100000	Loan, anno 1802
D°	—	21	1000000	Ditto — ditto
D°	—	41	2000000	Aids or supplies, 1802
D°	—	111	1500000	Supplies, anno 1803
1803	— 43	4	2000000	Annual duties an sugar, malt, and tobacco, 1803
D°	—	3	750000	Annual malt duty, 1803
D°	—	5	5000000	Aids or supplies, anno 1803
D°	—	36	4000000	Supplies, anno 1804
D°	—	93	5000000	— Ditto
D°	—	147	1500000	— Ditto
D°	—	148	2000000	Aids or supplies, anno 1803
1804	— 44	17	2000000	Annual duties on sugar, malt, and tobacco, 1804
D°	—	16	750000	Annual malt duty, 1804
D°	—	15	5000000	Aids or supplies, anno 1804
D°	—	31	2000000	— Ditto
				Amount of Exchequer bills in possession of the Bank, as per Voucher (A).—*(See preceding page.)*

in the Years 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804: shewing the Funds on which the Bank at each of those Periods.—Dated Exchequer, 26th April 1804.

EXCHEQUER BILLS Outstanding on the 18th Days of April						
1798.	1799.	1800.	1801.	1802.	1803.	1804.
102700	—	—	—	—	—	—
45400	—	—	—	—	—	—
1505000	331000	—	—	—	—	—
750000	194000	—	—	—	—	—
1594100	746600	—	—	—	—	—
2005000	—	—	—	—	—	—
459000	—	—	—	—	—	—
2000000	1492000	365000	—	—	—	—
750000	750000	—	—	—	—	—
2898000	3000000	—	—	—	—	—
3000000	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	1000000	—	—	—	—	—
—	1697000	487000	—	—	—	—
—	3452300	—	—	—	—	—
—	2000000	—	—	—	—	—
—	750000	750000	498000	—	—	—
—	2982215	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	544300	—	—	—	—
—	—	1914000	—	—	—	—
—	—	3500000	—	—	—	—
—	—	3000000	—	—	—	—
—	—	2837000	—	—	—	—
—	—	1923000	—	—	—	—
—	—	823300	708600	—	—	—
—	—	1500000	249700	—	—	—
—	—	2000000	—	—	—	—
—	—	750000	750000	428000	—	—
—	—	2397000	—	—	—	—
—	—	2000000	3000000	3000000	3000000	3000000
—	—	—	6517400	1595500	—	—
—	—	—	3000000	—	—	—
—	—	—	3500000	—	—	—
—	—	—	2780300	—	—	—
—	—	—	2000000	—	—	—
—	—	—	750000	750000	106000	—
—	—	—	478300	6819300	—	—
—	—	—	1097500	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	3000000	—	—
—	—	—	—	1943000	—	—
—	—	—	—	750000	750000	114000
—	—	—	—	5000000	5000000	—
—	—	—	—	2100000	—	—
—	—	—	—	1000000	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	1764500	—
—	—	—	—	—	1500000	—
—	—	—	—	—	1503000	—
—	—	—	—	—	750000	750000
—	—	—	—	—	4982700	904300
—	—	—	—	—	—	3000000
—	—	—	—	—	—	5000000
—	—	—	—	—	—	1500000
—	—	—	—	—	—	1500000
—	—	—	—	—	—	1919000
—	—	—	—	—	—	750000
—	—	—	—	—	—	5000000
—	—	—	—	—	—	1684600
15109200	18395115	24790600	25329800	26385800	19356200	25121900
8005000	10017000	10448500	9996000	9871000	7609000	8033000

An Account of all subsisting PENSIONS granted by the CROWN, during Pleasure or otherwise, and payable at the Exchequer: specifying the Amount of such Pensions respectively, and the Times when, and the Persons to whom, and for whose Benefit, such Pensions were granted. —Dated Treasury Chambers, 7th May 1804.

Pensions formerly paid by the Paymaster of Pensions.

Names.	Pensions per Annum.		
	£.	s.	d.
Andrews, Catharine (now Nott)	100	0	0
Arnold, Margaret	500	0	0
Brudenell, Robert	131	0	0
Brudenburgh, Dorothy	40	0	0
Barlow, Sophia	50	0	0
Barlow, Maria	50	0	0
Barlow, Louisa	50	0	0
Barlow, Catharine	50	0	0
Buckworth, John	131	0	0
Bishopp, Colonel Thomas	400	0	0
Balcarres, Earl of	300	0	0
Brudenell, Augusta	131	0	0
Chamberlayne, Betty Clerk	66	13	4
Cowper, Sp. Represent^{s} of, for the life of his daughter Jane Cowper	230	0	0
Cressener, Elizabeth	500	0	0
Colebrook, Dame Mary	400	0	0
Clarke, Frances	100	0	0
Corbett, Major Moses	250	0	0
Dent, Catharine, widow	80	0	0
Dent, Catharine, spinster	30	0	0
Dent, Sophia	30	0	0
Dent, Caroline	30	0	0
Dent, Cotton	30	0	0
Dutton, Patentia	131	0	0
Dunmore, Countess of	400	0	0
Elliott, R. in trust for Eleanor Eden, now Lady Auckland	796	0	0
Foldesey, Michael	40	0	0
Fauquier, Francis	300	0	0
Falkland, Ld. and J. Law, in trust for the 2 daughters of the late Col. Carey, 100*l.* each	200	0	0
Faucett, Susanna, during the lives of her 2 daughters	400	0	0
Greville, Fulk	730	0	0
Gardener, Charlotte	65	0	0
Howard, Lady Mary	150	0	0
Howard, Lady Elizabeth	150	0	0
Hope, Henry	200	0	0
Hill, Frances	80	0	0
Harnage, Dorothea	20	0	0
Harnage, Ann	20	0	0
Harnage, Mercy	20	0	0
Harnage, Mary	20	0	0
Jenkinson, Elizabeth (now Cornwall)	250	0	0
Jean, Thomas	—		
Knox, Letitia	600	0	0
Lausac, Henrietta	20	0	0
Laurenzie, Ernestine	200	0	0
Laye, Ann	120	0	0
Meuron, Susan de	393	0	0
Middleton, Elizabeth	195	0	0
Onslow, A. in trust for Poley, George, Walton, and Arthur Onslow	300	0	0
O'Hara, Jemima	100	0	0
Popham, Catharine	200	0	0
Peyton, Sir Yelverton	250	0	0
Porten, Mary	300	0	0
Pownall, Mary	600	0	0
Palmer, Wm. Finch, in trust for the Hon. Brydget Byng	131	0	0
Randall, Susanna, Martha, and Elizabeth	50	0	0
Renard, Louis Peter	200	0	0
Rochford, Earl of	1000	0	0
Salgas, Maria, Louisa, and Rose	60	0	0
Schaw, James	150	0	0
Skinner, Hester	100	0	0
Smith, John	100	0	0
Serle, Amb. (for 31 years, from 5th July 1776)	393	0	0
- - - - Ditto	131	14	0
Swanton, Emma	300	0	0
Sussex, Lord, representatives of, and Robt. Burton, in trust for Mrs. Durell	500	0	0
St. John, Henry	131	0	0
Thomas, Gertrude	100	0	0
Vernon, Charles	300	0	0
Wettestein, L. in trust for Sir L. Schaub's daughters	200	0	0
Willis, James	150	0	0
Williams, Charles	263	0	0
Yates, Lady	250	0	0

In lieu of Apartments at Somerset Place.

Names.	£.	s.	d.
Burdon, Elizabeth	33	15	0
Freemantle, Maria	—		
Holt, Jane	33	15	0

Pensions formerly paid at the Treasury.

Names.	£.	s.	d.
Alt, Christina	50	0	0
Alt, Henrietta	50	0	0
Alt, Maria	50	0	0
Audley, Lord	500	0	0
Broughton, Bryan	100	0	0
Bradshaw, Lawrence	100	0	0
Bradshaw, Augustus Hill	100	0	0
Bliss, Jonathan	150	0	0
Bowlby, Lady Mary	200	0	0
Beawes, Mercy	100	0	0
Cawthorne, Joseph	100	0	0
Clarke, Harley	40	0	0
Cockburne, Dame Augusta Ann	600	0	0
Chambers, Frances	18	18	0
Delaval, Edward Hussey	300	0	0
Dodd, John	150	0	0
Durant, William	54	12	0
Davies, Henry	70	0	0
Davies, Esther	40	0	0
Faddy, Peter	50	0	0
Forbes, Lucy	20	0	0
Finch, Ann	50	0	0
Fawkener, Elizabeth	200	0	0
Goldie, Sophia	100	0	0
Gower, Countess (March^{s} of Stafford)	300	0	0
Green, John	200	0	0
Gunn, Ann	20	0	0
Guy, John	160	0	0
Hay, Elizabeth	25	0	0
Hamilton, James	200	0	0
Jeans, Rev. Thomas	200	0	0
Kelly, Elizabeth	100	0	0
Kelynge, James	50	0	0
Kilshaw, Rev. Richard	100	0	0
Lind, Maria Henrietta	30	0	0
Lind, Mary	50	0	0

Names.	Pensions per Annum. £.	s.	d.
Lloyd, Ann, spinster	50	0	0
Lennox, Alexander	100	0	0
Lake, Ann	50	0	0
Lind, Lætitia	50	0	0
Mayor, John	650	0	0
Master, Mary	50	0	0
Morrison, Mary	300	0	0
Macdonald, Roderick	18	18	0
Mein, John	200	0	0
Maclean, Col. Allen, in trust for Mrs. Hawkins's children	50	0	0
Machié, Charlotte	25	0	0
Nicolaides, Stephanus	80	0	0
Otway, Meliora	100	0	0
Petch, Mary	80	0	0
Pirard, Francis	50	0	0
Planta, Joseph	120	0	0
Richmond, Robert	40	0	0
Ramus, George	200	0	0
Roche, Elizabeth	50	0	0
Speer, William	200	0	0
Speed, Mary Ann	100	0	0
Stonehewer, Richard	600	0	0
Smith, Frances, Richmond	25	0	0
Villion, Elizabeth	100	0	0
Vacchini, John	30	0	0
Watson, Elizabeth	20	0	0
Whitefoord, Caleb	200	0	0
Williams, Lieut. William	100	0	0
Watkins, John	150	0	0

Pensions to the late Queen Caroline's Servants.

Names.	£.	s.	d.
Alms-house at Hanover	18	3	8
Gibson, George	100	0	0

Pensions to the late Princess of Wales's Servants.

Names.	£.	s.	d.
Bridge, William	19	9	6
Brett, William	50	0	0
Bowlby, Lady Mary	285	0	0
Bulley, John	100	0	0
Cadman, Richard	56	14	0
Cameron, Dougald	39	0	0
Dalton, Thomas	30	0	0
Duval, Philip	250	0	0
Davies, Jane	10	0	0
Evelyn, Augusta (now Mrs. Jenkins)	412	0	0
Egerton, Uriana Margaret	372	10	0
Egerton, Mary	131	10	0
Griffiths, John	200	0	0
Ditto	100	0	0
Heineker, D. (now Mrs. Munro)	121	13	0
Harris, John	42	15	0
Hutchinson, Thomas	39	0	0
Hamilton, P. (now Lady Fust)	31	10	0
Irby, A. G. E. (now Lady Walsingham)	372	10	0
Jackson, Jane	65	0	0
Love, Richard	3	0	0
Ludby, Edward, for Edward Godfrey	10	0	0
Maitland, Hon. Alexander	209	0	0
Muller, Christopher	25	4	0
Newton, Sarah	50	0	0

Names.	Pensions per Annum. £.	s.	d.
Neville, Catharine	372	10	0
Nicholai, Christopher	173	10	0
Paschall, Ann Elizabeth	21	0	0
Ramus, Charles	28	10	0
Rushton, Henry	52	14	6
Rushton, James	19	9	6
Ritso, George	50	0	0
Ditto	100	0	0
Scott, William	475	0	0
Schawer, John	39	0	0
Scott, Henrietta	12	12	0
Thomas, Charles Nassau	131	10	0
Viney, Walter	42	15	0
White, Peggy	2	12	6
Watts, William	300	0	0
Ditto	80	0	0
Ditto	80	0	0

Pensions by Sign Manual.

Date of Sign Manual.	Names.	Pension per Ann. £.	s.
20 July 1793,	Antrobus Ed. and Coutts Trotter, in trust for Eleanor Molleson	300	0
Ditto	Arnold B. and T. Morrison, Esqrs. in trust for Ed. S. Arnold, J. R. Arnold, Sophia Matilda Arnold, and G. Arnold, 100*l.* each	400	0
20 Jan. 1795,	Allen, Frances Ann	65	0
1 June 1803,	Abbot Rt. Hon. C. and P. I. Thelluson, in trust for Eleanor Madelaine Wickham	675	0
26 July 1783,	Bolland, Quashey	27	0
4 Mar. ditto,	Brooksbank, Ann	200	0
9 Feb. 1785,	Barnes J. and J. White, in trust for Theodora Rose *	300	0
11 Dec. 1786,	Browne, Charlotte	100	0
Ditto	Bremer, Ann	53	16
14 Mar. 1787,	Bates, Ann	11	16
2 July 1788,	Butler, Eleanor	50	0
4 Sep. 1789,	Beauclerk, Henrietta	100	0
Ditto	Beauclerk, Charlotte	100	0
Ditto	Beauclerk, Martha	100	0
6 Nov. 1792,	Butler, Lady Elinor	100	0
13 Mar. 1793,	Burghall, George	300	0
20 Sep. 1794,	Burke, Rt. Hon. E. Repres. of, during life of Mrs. Burke	1200	0
24 Feb. 1795,	Bunbury, Henry	500	0
9 July ditto,	Bulmer, Dorothy	50	0
9 July 1795,	Browell H. and R. Henderson, in trust for the 6 children of J. Fallowfield	56	0
1 July 1796,	Burgess, Sir James Bland	1200	0
6 July 1798,	Brooks, Lydia	100	0
2 Oct. 1799,	Byron, Catherine Gordon	300	0
9 May 1800,	Bearcroft, Clare St. George	200	0
14 June 1783,	Christie, Ann	31	0
16 Apr. 1794,	Ditto	18	11

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* This pension was granted in consideration of George Rose, Esq. having relinquished the yearly sum of 400*l.* nett, granted to him in pursuance of an address of the House of Lords.

Date of Sign Manual.	Names.	Pension per Ann. £.	s.
27 June 1789,	Colleton, Lucy Cordelia —	25	0
6 July 1793,	Chamberlayne, Betty Clerk £.66	13	4
20 ditto ditto,	Cooke, Penelope Ann —	150	0
Ditto	Cooke, Eliza — —	175	0
Ditto	Cooke, Maria — —	175	0
Ditto	Call Sir J. and J. Roberts, Esq. in trust for Sarah Bates	500	0
1 July 1794,	Cumberland, Lady Albinia	400	0
20 Jan. 1795,	Coulson, Mary, widow —	35	0
27 July 1796,	Coutts, T. Esq. in trust for Lady Augusta Murray	1200	0
16 Oct. 1798,	Cathcart, Eliz. Baroness	500	0
6 Mar. 1799,	Cranston, H. in trust for Lord Cranston — —	300	0
22 Jan. 1802,	Cabell, Martha, B. S. Jones, and W. Cabell, in trust for Mary Cabell, Ann Eliz. Cabell, T. S. Cabell, and R. D. Cabell, 50*l.* each	200	0
8 Dec. 1802,	Cunynham, Lt. Col. Francis	258	0
10 Mar. 1803,	Clare, Dowager Lady —	1000	0
2 Dec. 1803,	Currie I. R. Raikes, and S. Lawford, in trust for Dame Eliz. Maria Shee —	430	0
20 July 1793,	Davy, Elizabeth —	32	10
2 May 1798,	Davies, Mary — —	16	0
7 Oct. 1800,	D'Ivernois, Sir Francis	200	0
10 Mar. 1803,	Digby, Rev. W. in trust for Lucia Cary Gratten, Caroline Cary Gratten, and Frances Cary Gratten, 40*l.* each	120	0
9 Dec. 1789,	Elliot, Mary — —	69	0
25 June 1790,	Elphinstone, Eliz. and Keith Elphinstone, daughters of late Lady Elphinstone	300	0
10 Nov. 1794,	Ewart, Eliz. widow —	645	0
Ditto	Ditto, in trust for J. Ewart	121	0
Ditto	Ditto, in trust for Eliz. Ewart	121	0
Ditto	Ditto, in trust for Mary Ewart	121	0
29 Mar. 1797,	Edgcombe, Peggy —	196	0
11 July ditto,	Erskine, Mary Henrietta	400	0
14 Oct. 1801,	Ernest, Dorothy, widow	150	0
Ditto	Ernest, Charlotte, spinster	50	0
21 May 1793,	Folger, T. and his wife	196	0
20 July ditto,	Fordyce J. and W. Fullarton, Esqrs. in trust for G. H. Gordon — —	200	0
6 Sep. ditto,	Fawkener, William —	300	0
9 Oct. ditto,	Francis, Frances —	60	0
Ditto	Francis, Elizabeth —	60	0
Ditto	Flint, Ann, widow —	66	0
Ditto	Ditto, in trust for the 2 eldest of her 8 children —	66	0
12 Mar. 1801,	Fitzgerald, Lord Robert	800	0
10 Mar. 1803,	Forster, John — —	68	0
Ditto	Fraser, Capt. Percy —	300	0
Ditto	Fauconberg, Viscount —	200	0
27 June 1789,	Greeme, Mary —	100	0
23 Aug. 1791,	Gilbert Etienne, Clerk —	100	0
3 Apr. 1799,	Goddard, C. Esq. to be wholly or proportionately suspended, agreeably to the amount of any office he may hold	850	0
21 May 1800,	Gower, Earl, and Sir A. M'Donald, in trust for Gertrude Phillipine de Kutzleben — —	130	0
12 Mar. 1801,	Green, Eliz. widow —	200	0
1 July ditto,	Gray, Margaret, widow —	200	0
Ditto	Gray, Anne Maria —	100	0
11 Dec. 1786,	Haslam, Sarah Ann —	32	14
29 June 1787,	Hamilton, Dame Cassandra	100	0
27 June 1789,	Holdsworth, Elizabeth —	300	0
7 May 1790,	Hamilton, Mary —	80	0
2 Sep. 1793,	Halifax R. and Catharine Halifax, widow, in trust for Gertrude, Charlotte, Marianne, Caroline, Catherine, and Elizabeth Halifax, 60*l.* per ann. each —	360	0
1 July 1794,	Hobart H. represent. of, and R. Cumberland, Esq. and the survivor of them, in trust for Eliz. Margaret Cumberland — —	100	0
Ditto	Ditto, in trust for Albinia Eliz. Cumberland —	100	0
22 Dec. 1795,	Hollingsworth J. and A. Hollingsworth, in trust for Sarah Adams — —	300	0
28 Sep. 1796,	Hort, Sir John — —	1000	0
19 July 1797,	Hyde, Rev. G. H. —	50	0
10 June 1799,	Howell, Anne — —	16	0
29 May 1800,	Hereford, Lord and Lady, and the survivor of them —	900	0
14 Mar. 1801,	Hewgill, Elizabeth —	300	0
17 May ditto,	Huskisson, William —	1200	0
30 Nov. 1802,	Heathcote, Antoniett, widow	300	0
1 June 1803,	Hill, Hon. Anne, widow	130	0
2 July 1788,	Johnstone, Deborah Charlotte (now Nugent) —	300	0
7 Oct. 1800,	Jardine, Christine —	125	0
1 July 1801,	Jennings, Robert, during the life of his son — —	195	0
Ditto	Jennings, Ann — —	325	0
21 Apr. 1790,	Kyte, Loretta Maria, widow	150	0
2 Apr. 1788,	Lloyd, Ann, spinster —	50	0
4 Feb. 1792,	Lockman, Arabella Dorothea	33	10
2 May 1798,	Lewhellin, Ann — —	16	0
24 Oct. ditto,	Lempriere J. and Eliz. Bandinell his wife, severally and successively — —	200	0
14 Aug. 1799,	Leslie, Lord — —	500	0
7 Oct. 1800,	Livingston, Edmund —	500	0
4 May 1801,	Lloyd, John — —	50	0
29 Apr. 1785,	Moncton, Susannah —	200	0
10 Nov. ditto,	Maclean, Jane — —	150	0
28 Sep. 1786,	Manclean, Jane — —	150	0
7 Aug. 1789,	Moyle, Isabella and Mary	150	0
13 Nov. 1790,	Maclain, Rev. A. and Henrietta Ann Maclain —	100	0
6 Oct. 1792,	Morland, W. for the life of Harriet Bernard —	554	0
20 July 1793,	Miles, William Augustus	300	0
20 Jan. 1794,	Morley, Jane, widow —	50	0
2 Sep. 1797,	Mordaunt, Lady Mary —	400	0
13 Jan. 1798,	Mudge, Thomas —	130	0
7 Feb. ditto,	Maclaine, Harriet Anne —	200	0
11 June 1800,	Maclaine, C. A. Esq. —	130	0
8 Oct. ditto,	Montfort, Lord —	600	0
9 Oct. ditto,	Mallet du Pan, Mrs. F. —	200	0
14 Oct. ditto,	Maurice, Thomas, clerk	300	0
20 Oct. ditto,	Munday, Rev. Rob. —	90	0
24 Oct. ditto,	Mordaunt, Lady M. —	200	0
19 Jan. 1801,	Mitchell, Rev. W. —	130	0
12 Mar. ditto,	Miller, Ann, widow —	130	0
20 Oct. 1802,	Marjoribanks, Ed. —	250	0
10 Mar. 1803,	Murphy, Arthur —	200	0
Ditto	Montfort, Lord H. (additional)	200	0
1 June 1803,	Mottier, William —	200	0

Date of Sign Manual.	Names.	Pension per Ann. £.	s.
3 Dec. 1803,	Murray, Ch. Ann, commonly called Lady George Murray	385	10
8 Feb. 1804,	M'Donald, Thomas	770	0
27 June 1789,	Noel, Maria	100	0
2 Oct. 1799,	Nott, Charlotte G. Augusta	150	0
Ditto	Nott, Augusta	150	0
20 July 1793,	Osborn Sir G. and J. Ley, Esq. in trust for Jane Wraxhall	400	0
24 Dec. 1782,	Poole, Sir Ferdinando	670	0
21 June 1786,	Pierson, Sarah	27	10
Ditto	Pierson, Frances	27	10
Ditto	Pierson, Mary	27	10
Ditto	Pierson, Diana Ann	27	10
2 July 1788,	Ponsonby, Sarah	50	0
14 Mar. 1801,	Pierson, Rev. Thomas	130	0
6 July 1803,	Portland, Duke of, in trust for Josepha Elizabeth, and Charlotte Sabina Byron de Gontaut	194	0
24 Dec. 1782,	Rowe, Sukey	270	0
4 Mar. 1783,	Ramsden, Frecheville	300	0
27 June 1787,	Ritso, Louisa	250	0
9 Oct. 1793,	Robinson, C. Gertrude	600	0
21 Apr. 1794,	Rivers, James	446	0
17 Nov. 1797,	Ross, James Tyrrell	250	0
30 Nov. 1802,	Routh, Abigail	100	0
7 May 1790,	Scarsdale, Lord	1200	0
4 July 1790,	Sundius, Christopher	100	0
18 Sept. 1793,	Sneyd, Elizabeth	336	0
20 Jan. 1794,	Sutton, Captain Evelyn	250	0
17 Apr. 1799,	Sutton T. M., G. Dawning, and M. Beachcroft, Esqrs. in trust for M. Ann Herries	300	0
Ditto	Do. in trust for I. Maria Herries	150	0
Ditto	Do. in trust for Cath. Herries	150	0
Ditto	Do. in trust for Julia M. Herries	150	0
16 Oct. 1800,	Swinburn, Mary	60	0
14 Mar. 1801,	Spiegel, Van de Digna, Joanna	500	0
4 May ditto,	Smith, Ann	50	0
1 June 1803,	Stephenson, Hon. Jane	130	0
Ditto	Trimblestown, Ann Baroness Dowager	200	0
1 Feb. 1801,	Villiers Rt. Hon. Jn. and Wm. Garthshore, in trust for Lady Louisa Paget	300	0
2 July 1788,	Woodcock, E. in trust for Lady M. Fordyce, representat. of	150	0
4 Sept. 1789,	Williams, Mary	100	0
7 Sept. ditto,	Wrightson, J. and the repres. of T. Gibbons, in trust for Dame M. J. Perrot	60	0
5 Nov. 1790,	Willis, Thomas Clerk	400	0
20 July 1793,	Whitefoord, Caleb	200	0
27 July 1794,	Walsingham, Ld. in trust for G. and T. de Gray, and survivor	1200	0
25 Sept. ditto,	Webster, W. his wife and surv.	65	0
22 Aug. 1798,	Woodford, Sir R. Baronet	200	0
21 Dec. ditto,	Wilson, Dr. James	250	0
23 Oct. 1801,	Walier, Robert	500	0
10 Mar. 1803,	Yonge, Rt. Hon. Sir G. K. B.	1000	0

Pensions by Patent.

Date of Patent.	Names.	Pension per Ann. £.	s.
8 Sept. 1796,	Ainslie, Sir Robert	1000	0
21 Mar. 1795,	Douglas, Rt. Hon. Sylvester, during the life of himself and F. S. North Douglas, and the survivor of them	600	0
11 June 1790,	Hamilton, Sir Ch.	200	0
10 Dec. ditto,	Knox, William	600	0
2 Apr. 1800,	Minto, Gilbert Baron	1200	0
14 Mar. ditto,	Skinner, Sir John	2000	0
10 Jan. 1804,	Shee, Sir George	770	0
19 Sept. 1788,	Watson, Brooke, in trust for his wife	557	10
29 Jan. 1791,	Willis, John, M.D.	717	0
Ditto	Willis, Rev. Francis	1000	0

Pensions to late Foreign Ministers.

Date of Sign Manual.	Names.	£.	s.
8 Dec. 1774,	Sir R. Woodford, Envoy Extraordinary at Copenhagen	800	0
2 Feb. 1776,	W. Money, for services performed in foreign parts	100	0
26 Dec. 1775,	J. Osborn, late Envoy Extraordinary to Dresden	800	0
20 Nov. 1776,	Sir Rt. Gunning, late ditto and Plenip. to Petersburgh	1000	0
9 July 1779,	Horace St. Paul, late Envoy Extraordinary to Stockholm	600	0
24 Dec. 1781,	Joseph Fry, Chargé des Affaires at Brussels	200	0
27 Aug. 1784,	J. Milliquet, Ch. des Affaires at Dresden	250	0
24 Nov. 1785,	G. Cooke, Consul General at Tripoli	248	0
27 Jan. 1786,	N. Davison, do. at Algiers	360	0
16 Feb. 1787,	L. Dutens, Ch. des Affaires at Turin	300	0
15 July 1788,	Sir J. Stepney, Envoy Extraordinary at Berlin	800	0
17 May 1793,	Ld. Torrington, Minister Plenipotentiary at Brussels	1684	0
26 June ditto,	C. Keene, Ch. des Affaires at Stockholm	250	0
30 May 1794,	Cha. Logie, Consul General at Algiers	460	0
28 Jan. 1797,	Ld. Malmesbury, late Ambas. Extr. to the States Gen. of the United Provinces *	2300	0
26 June ditto,	T. Walpole, late Envoy Extr. to the Elector Palatine *	800	0
7 Feb. 1798,	Maj. Gen. Gardiner, late Minister Plen. to the Court of Warsaw *	600	0
3 Apr. 1799,	C. H. Fraser, late Resident with the Hans Towns *	900	0
23 Dec. ditto,	J. Coleman, Esq. late Ch. des Affaires at Hamburgh *	120	0
9 May 1800,	Rt. Hon. J. Trevor, late Envoy Extr. and Min. Plenip. at the Court of Turin *	1200	0
20 Jan. 1801,	Ld. Henley, late Envoy Extr. and Minister Plenip. to the Court of Vienna *	2000	0
23 May 1799,	Ld. Macartney, late Ambas. Extr. and Min. Plenip. to the Court of Petersburgh, and Emperor of China *	2213	0
12 Mar. 1801,	Hon. Rt. Walpole, late Envoy Extr. and Min. Plenip. at Lisbon *	2000	0

* To continue until otherwise provided for in His Majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from His Majesty.

Date of Sign Manual.	Names.	Pension per Ann. £.	s.
12 Mar. 1801,	D. Hailes, late Envoy Extr. to the Court of Stockholm *	800	0
29 Dec. 1802,	J. L. Doerfeld, late Chargé d'Affaires at several Courts *	250	0
14 Jan. 1804,	J. Talbot, Secre. of Embassy to the Fr. Republic * —	600	0

Pensions payable out of the Duties of 4½ l. per Cent. in Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands.

Date of Patent.		Names.	£.	s.
25 Nov.	1761,	Earl of Chatham —	3000	0
19 July 24 Ch. II.	1762	Wm. Earl of Kinnoul and his heirs —	1000	0
4 July	1776,	Sir H. Strachey, Baronet	587	0

* To continue until otherwise provided for in His Majesty's service, or until determined by warrant from His Majesty.

Date of Sign Manual.	Names.	Pension per Ann. £.	s.
23 June 1764,	Henry Ellis, Esq. — —	300	0
7 Nov. 1787,	Hon. Mrs. Moncton, widow	100	0
9 July 1789,	Mary Martin, spinster —	50	0
Ditto	Sarah Martin, spinster —	50	0
Ditto	Alice Martin, spinster —	50	0
10 Sept. 1791,	Fredeswed Savory, widow —	40	0
Ditto	Charlotte Todd — —	30	0
Ditto	Frances Tucker — —	30	0
6 Jan. 1797,	James Craufurd, Esq. —	815	0
1 Feb. ditto,	Henry Ch. Selwyn, Esq. —	400	0
17 July 1799,	John Earl of Dunmore —	600	0
26 Dec. ditto,	Sir Home Riggs Popham —	500	0
30 Apr. 1802,	Sir Abraham Hume, Bart. and others, in trust for Henry Master — — —	100	0
	Richard Thomas Master —	100	0
	St. Vincent Frederick Master	100	0
Ditto	Isab. Frances Master, widow	200	0

RECAPITULATION.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Amount of pensions formerly paid by late Paymaster of Pensions† — —	15506	17	4			
Ditto ditto at the Treasury† — — — — —	8417	8	0			
Ditto ditto to the servants of the late Queen Caroline and late Princess of Wales†	5125	2	8			
Ditto ditto by Sign Manual — — — — —	44544	0	4			
Ditto ditto by Patent — — — — —	8644	10	0			
Total amount of pensions having reference to the 6th class of Civil-list Payments, as directed by act 22 Geo. III. cap. 82 — — — — — — —				82237	18	4
Amount of Pensions to late Foreign Ministers — — — — —				21635	0	0
Ditto out of the duties of 4½l. per cent. — — — — — —				8052	0	0
				111924	18	4

Mem.—The pensions granted by authority of Parliament, and charged upon the Consolidated Fund, are not included in this account.—It is very probable that several of the persons whose names appear on these lists are dead, but that can only be ascertained from time to time as the certificates are delivered by their representatives at the Exchequer.

† These pensions were transferred to the Exchequer by the act of the 22d of His present Majesty, cap. 82.

Abstract of the Estimate of the future annual Charge on HIS MAJESTY'S CIVIL LIST REVENUES.—Dated 9th July 1804.

Classes.		£.	s.	d.
1st.	Royal Family	222500	0	0
2d.	Judges	32955	0	0
3d.	Foreign Ministers	112330	0	0
4th.	Bills	172505	19	4
5th.	Salaries	98542	0	5
6th.	Pensions and Compensations	131252	16	4
7th.	Salaries	55398	8	1
8th.	Treasury	13822	0	0
Occasional payments		139737	6	7
		£.979043	10	9

An Account of the Quantities of CORN, MEAL, MALT, FLOUR, and GRAIN, imported into, and exported from, Great Britain; together with the BOUNTIES and DUTIES paid thereon, from 1st January 1800 to 1st January 1804; distinguishing each Species and each Year.

Species.	IMPORTED IN THE YEARS								EXPORTED.			
	1800.		1801.		1802.		1803.		1800.	1801.	1802.	1803.
	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Quantity.	Quantity.	Quantity.
	Qrs. Bu.	£. s. d.	Qrs. Bu.	£. s. d.	Qrs. Bu.	£. s. d.	Qrs. Bu.	£. s. d.	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu	Qrs. Bu.	Qrs. Bu.
Barley —	130976 1	5 12 11	113966 4	—	15251 7	—	14027 4	73 9 6	3393 1	1614 5	4727 5	32794 5
Beans —	15796 5	—	16246 3	—	5792 6	—	1737 6	11 18 5	7145 5	5476 1	6792 2	4885 0
Indian Corn	8436 1	—	44472 5	—	736 7	—	669 6	0 7 4	—	378 3	1327 4	—
Malt — —	— —	—	— —	—	2302 6	—	25 0	23 6 8	2415 0	2110 6	3148 0	11714 6
Oats — —	543242 7	4 14 7	582994 5	—	516935 6	—	485715 4	2245 7 2	9505 6	12277 2	15482 2	23100 3
Pease — —	26796 3	2 1 8	44218 1	—	10671 2	—	23991 6	227 15 10	1821 2	1507 6	2369 3	2626 3
Rye — —	138713 0	0 11 8	99847 5	—	15171 2	589 4 8	4655 3	24 8 3	37 0	25 0	6484 1	1030 1
Wheat —	1174654 2	772 3 0	1186236 7	—	557636 6	19 7 2	271727 2	7179 6 7	7865 3	5227 4	104413 4	45862 2
	Cwt. qr. lb.		Cwt. qr. lb.		Cwt.		Cwt. qr. lb.		Cwt. qr. lb.	Cwt. qr. lb	Cwt. qr. lb.	Cwt. qr. lb.
Indian Meal	382 1 3	—	113141 0 21	—	15513 2 0	—	144 1 3	0 6 9	—	1987 3 0	400 0 0	—
	Bolls. lb.		Bolls. lb.		Bolls. lb.		Bolls. lb.					
Oat Meal —	2231 93	—	61 64	—	84031 101	4 13 10	44567 12	101 12 4	3950 2 21	4773 2 14	3299 3 20	3907 0 27
	Cwt. qr. lb.		Cwt. qr. lb.		Cwt. qr. lb.							
Rye Meal —	22025 1 27	—	177494 1 2	—	1162 1 14	—	— —	— —	1447 2 24	6926 0 12	—	—
							Cwt. qr. lb.					
Wheat Flour	314531 1 25	—	834850 1 7	—	315093 2 15	26 5 6	355047 1 17	8268 6 7	49515 1 21	81126 0 23	157112 2 27	102951 0 22
Rice — —	315649 1 23	150 14 1	310608 3 21	—	432300 3 13	1146 2 7	*104014 0 22	12241 9 11	6421 2 13	20947 0 18	210899 1 4	54456 3 11
		935 17 11	— —	—	— —	1785 13 9	— —	30397 15 4				

Note.—The bounties paid in Great Britain on the importation of grain, meal, and flour, in the under-mentioned years, were as follow, viz.

				£. s. d.
1800	—	—	—	44836 13 0½
1801	—	—	—	1420355 1 1½
1802	—	—	—	715323 16 4
1803	—	—	—	43977 9 10

* The year 1803 is exclusive of the importation of rice from the East Indies, as that account cannot yet be rendered.

An Account of the Quantity of RAW SUGAR imported into, and of RAW and REFINED SUGAR exported from, Great Britain in three Years, ending 5th January 1804; and of the DUTIES paid, and DRAWBACKS and BOUNTIES received thereon; distinguishing each Year.—Dated Inspector General's Office, 26th April 1804.

		IMPORTED.		EXPORTED.						More imported than exported.	More exported than imported.
		RAW.		RAW.		REFINED.		Total of RAW and REFINED SUGAR exported.			
		Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Drawback.	Quantity.	Bounty.	Quantity.	Drawback and Bounty.	Quantity.	Quantity.
		Cwt. qr. lb.	£. s. d.	Cwt. qr. lb.	£. s. d.	Cwt. qr. lb.	£. s. d.	Cwt. qr. lb.	£. s. d.	Cwt. qr. lb.	Cwt. qr. lb.
British Plantation	1801	3729302 1 8	3486572 10 2	409105 2 27	486544 19 20	333384 2 10	604776 11 7	*975857 0 8	1091321 11 5	2753445 1 0	
	1802	4173148 1 16	4051021 9 9	1023210 2 14	968690 14 7	529509 0 9	902111 3 8	1923375 3 24	1870801 18 3	2249772 1 20	
	1803	2943639 3 6	3064179 10 10	591845 2 25	737624 2 2	541987 1 19	1191967 17 11	1513222 2 7	1929592 0 1	1430417 0 27	
East India	1801	61213 2 21	88384 16 4	60741 0 22	— —	— —	— —	60741 0 22	— —	472 1 27	
	1802	57714 0 22	23016 19 4	25540 0 4	— —	— —	— —	25540 0 4	— —	32174 0 18	
	1803	68296 0 0	53988 12 10	28512 0 15	— —	— —	— —	28512 0 15	— —	39783 3 13	
Foreign Plantation	1801	186048 1 18	10687 5 9	165220 3 23	— —	— —	— —	165220 3 23	— —	20827 1 23	
	1802	66216 1 26	4920 11 1	93979 0 8	— —	— —	— —	93979 0 8	— —	— —	27762 2 10
	1803	152294 1 6	15213 19 8	138534 2 11	— —	— —	— —	138534 2 11	— —	13759 2 23	

Note.—The drawbacks and bounties above stated are the sums actually paid in each year, and not the computed amount on the quantities exported within the period of the account. This account is exclusive of the temporary duty on sugar, under the act 43d of His Majesty, cap. 70; amounting to 29131*l.* and the drawback to 18126*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*

Note.—* Refined sugar is reduced into the denomination of raw, at the proportion of 34 cwt. of raw to 20 cwt. of refined.

Abstracts of the SUBDIVISION ROLLS in Great Britain.—Dated Whitehall, 7th May 1804.

	No. in 1st Class effective.	2d effective.	3d effective.	4th effective.	Voluntary Service.	Army, Marines, Volunteer Corps, Sea Fencibles.	Clergy, licensed Teachers, Medical Men, and Constables.	Infirm.	Enrolled in Parishes out of the County.
Aberdeen -	8210	1897	1784	7388	2585	3162	120	1461	5
Anglesea -	1889	386	779	2499	1729	1729	133	137	—
Argyll - -	5061	952	1176	6215	10989	1280	288	120	—
Ayr - - -	4885	1130	1582	5600	4458	—	217	1357	3
Banff - - -	1491	393	154	1944	1108	902	4	96	3
Bedford - -	3511	678	1582	5226	5814	—	—	—	—
Berks - -	6721	1771	2309	8617	2457	734	317	1160	23
Berwick - -	1810	123	445	2505	1471	337	67	142	—
Brecon - -	2709	673	672	2605	1295	—	226	371	—
Bucks - -	5557	1241	2448	8895	6034	1893	356	1353	8
Bute - - -	792	84	175	1005	—	480	41	64	—
Caithness -	1010	160	294	1649	—	925	84	114	159
Cambridge -	4991	1189	2669	8260	—	1404	333	1104	42
Cardigan - -	1858	445	794	2802	489	618	224	315	—
Carmarthen -	3771	751	1225	4862	531	371	179	357	—
Carnarvon -	2329	689	939	1982	632	1394	75	195	—
Chester - -	10917	2386	5807	15689	7211	2641	499	2384	365
Clackmannan	396	77	209	678	—	—	3	155	—
Cinque Ports	3279	626	1470	4830	445	4998	142	690	53
Cornwall -	9486	2178	2814	12363	3213	4316	198	844	—
Cromarty -	393	50	88	510	180	209	8	31	3
Cumberland -	7160	1875	2092	8556	1615	76	188	706	—
Denbigh - -	3641	868	930	3987	518	1	12	107	—
Derby - -	9242	1996	3785	12924	14985	319	303	2179	2
Devon - -	18114	3457	5675	23855	15919	10312	1308	4674	2
Dorset - -	6347	1503	2469	9747	4353	2306	451	1590	20
Dumbarton -	1377	337	367	1714	716	554	7	161	3
Dumfries - -	3442	677	842	3409	—	—	43	408	—
Durham - -	7787	1816	3047	10873	1101	6325	900	1768	—
Elgin - - -	1433	368	300	1980	—	717	57	267	1
Essex - - -	11[illegible]79	2838	5087	16439	3391	3926	504	2835	33
Fife - - -	3942	951	1116	6269	3673	3035	171	1092	8
Flint - -	2361	640	921	2498	718	2561	128	270	49
Forfar - -	4627	1060	1230	8019	1021	1238	126	735	—
Glamorgan -	5049	1268	2155	6286	14441	234	53	250	—
Gloucester -	12845	3612	5217	13546	17440	390	6118	—	7
Hants - -	12022	3099	4190	14537	18457	2412	576	2813	35
Hereford - -	4945	1574	1130	5912	3494	502	283	1030	59
Hertford - -	6088	1421	2578	8174	6618	447	240	1232	55
Huntingdon -	2069	395	1070	3357	753	133	125	646	—
Inverness -	3159	436	1258	4776	830	716	93	163	—
Kent - - -	12319	3159	4872	17579	4233	14373	566	4157	38
Kincardine -	1475	422	360	1891	1397	266	10	307	—
Kinross - -	372	124	67	549	—	18	52	131	—
Kirkcudbright	997	334	274	1561	—	906	95	263	—
Lanark - -	8154	2226	3548	14689	7356	—	—	—	—
Lancaster -	39210	7997	22097	62231	27728	13846	1053	14782	—
Leicester - -	6749	1780	2928	9358	8755	918	445	2211	23
Lincoln - -	10449	3161	4543	14795	5122	4968	789	3080	15
Linlithgow -	738	181	223	1158	541	450	33	235	2
Lothian, East	492	86	181	1020	2037	685	24	485	—
Lothian, Mid(co.)	2539	534	1019	4041	—	—	97	376	—
Lothian, Mid(ci.)	2519	833	867	3824	1011	2353	130	1084	12523
London - -	7241	2621	2766	9848	957	7657	523	246	112
Middlesex -	24625	9949	12138	44593	91299	13200	1200	6235	262
Man, Isle of -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Merioneth -	1609	479	531	1673	396	260	139	118	3
Monmouth -	4236	1330	1179	3609	1457	—	—	—	—
Montgomery -	3426	643	759	3546	1867	1	5	140	1
Nairn - -	212	66	87	431	767	473	30	26	—
Norfolk - -	15727	3128	7284	23186	15458	3019	813	3739	33

Abstracts of the SUBDIVISION ROLLS in Great Britain,—*continued.*

	No. in 1st Class effective.	2d effective.	3d effective.	4th effective.	Voluntary Service.	Army, Marines, Volunteer Corps, Sea Fencibles.	Clergy, licensed Teachers, Medical Men, and Constables.	Infirm.	Enrolled in Parishes out of the County.
Northampton	6579	1557	2829	10295	5494	562	415	1210	31
Northumberland	4842	1269	1588	7523	6916	4649	293	1066	171
Nottingham -	8347	1815	2568	12111	3079	1916	294	2126	1
Oxford - -	6585	1642	2269	8873	8184	—	36	188	—
Orkney & Zetland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Peebles - -	693	155	140	708	315	460	11	96	1
Pembroke -	2733	531	955	3996	—	737	283	414	1
Perth - -	7631	2024	1273	9238	8694	814	374	1021	7
Radnor - -	1514	319	417	1441	—	—	8	—	—
Renfrew - -	3259	766	1322	5306	—	247	40	528	7
Ross - - -	2142	397	820	3215	4289	394	271	426	2
Roxburgh -	2205	586	532	2527	3507	100	53	549	—
Rutland - -	1008	269	475	1337	1269	182	102	213	5
Salop - - -	10853	2812	3551	12580	3981	2971	380	2166	13
Selkirk - -	373	88	98	400	464	150	20	53	1
Somerset - -	14644	2896	4905	17433	9035	8249	611	3224	5
Stafford - -	13256	3296	6258	19141	18497	780	430	3595	45
Stirling - -	2904	713	831	3421	2135	421	29	512	1
Suffolk - -	12392	2227	4817	18016	11217	2195	299	2401	21
Sutherland -	1616	741	521	555	—	1080	104	—	—
Surrey - -	11209	3909	5062	19231	1846	10337	530	4533	33
Sussex - -	9235	2029	3947	12627	9510	3109	503	2109	38
Tower Hamlets	3966	2351	3730	10117	—	2951	233	1189	1118
Warwick -	10689	2743	4514	17757	11644	213	258	2962	9
Westminster -	Included in Middlesex.								
Westmoreland	1334	439	410	2426	2702	3	28	297	1
Wight, Isle of	619	245	285	1232	1223	2435	128	89	4
Wigtown -	1530	391	369	1962	1417	137	46	265	—
Wilts - -	9760	2188	3540	13829	12334	909	467	2501	17
Worcester -	8537	1846	2743	1069	3739	216	142	1827	11
York, (north rid.)	9456	2322	2588	11032	7642	1356	367	1459	6
York, (east rid.)	7688	1886	2828	9984	2584	803	479	581	7
York, (west rid.)	31257	6624	13792	50854	9980	1396	1440	7562	28
Cornwall Stanner.	2079	365	764	3391	—	38	—	69	—
Total -	552619	138752	345653	794291	402761	176780	29878	118322	15534

An Account of the Number and Tonnage of TRANSPORTS, taken up by the Board for the Purpose of taking on board any Part of the HANOVERIAN ARMY, and of the Expense attending the same; also, an Account of the Dates of the first Order to the Board on this Occasion, of the Orders for the Sailing of the Whole, or any Part of the said Transports, and of the Orders, if any, for countermanding the Sailing thereof.—Dated Transport Office, 14th May 1804.

Number of Ships.	Tonnage.	Expense.
		£. s. d.
Thirty-six.	Six thousand nine hundred and fifty.	11062 9 7

These ships were hired, in pursuance of an order from the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, dated the 18th May 1803. The whole of them were fitted with accommodations for troops, victualled, watered, manned, and were all assembled at the Nore, on the 12th of June, ready for convoy.

An Account of the MEN for the ROYAL ARMY of RESERVE, in each Month since the Commencement of the Act passed for that Purpose; of the Number of the same who have engaged for general Service, and of the Number of ballotted Men and Substitutes who have been enrolled for the said Army; as far as the same can be ascertained.—Dated Inspector General's Office, 1st May 1804.

I. ENGLAND AND WALES.

PERIODS.	Number of Men raised.	Number rejected, discharged, claimed by civil Law, &c. &c.	Dead.	Number deserted, claimed as Deserters from other Corps, &c. &c. &c.	Number of effective Men.	Number due, including the Casualties.	Number volunteered for general Service, included in the Effectives.
1st August - 1803 - -	103	—	—	18	85	33795	—
1st September - —— - -	19453	212	2	1473	17766	16029	—
1st October - —— - -	5168	260	36	1132	3740	12289	1747
1st November - —— - -	2117	374	74	371	1298	10991	2014
1st December - —— - -	1496	172	84	259	981	10010	2747
1st January - 1804 - -	956	101	83	181	591	9419	706
1st February - —— - -	647	111	81	186	269	9150	235
1st March - —— - -	707	205	67	147	288	8862	565
1st April - - —— - -	673	82	58	245	288	8574	348
1st May - - —— - -	438	235	45	105	53	8521	874
TOTAL - - -	31758	1752	530	4117	25359	8521	9236
Number of ballotted men - -	2531	— — —	258	— —	2273		
Number of substitutes - -	29227	— — —	6141	— —	23086		

II. SCOTLAND.

PERIODS.	Number of Men raised.	Number rejected, discharged, claimed by civil Law, &c. &c.	Dead.	Number deserted, claimed as Deserters from other Corps, &c. &c. &c.	Number of effective Men.	Number due, including the Casualties.	Number volunteered for general Service, included in the Effectives.
1st August - 1803 - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1st September - —— - -	2984	8	1	101	2874	3126	—
1st October - —— - -	999	4	1	77	917	2209	—
1st November - —— - -	359	3	1	53	302	1907	—
1st December - —— - -	227	52	1	32	142	1765	—
1st January - 1804 - -	252	12	2	20	218	1547	—
1st February - —— - -	215	7	—	21	187	1360	482
1st March - - —— - -	234	14	2	25	193	1167	371
1st April - - —— - -	193	53	3	25	112	1055	56
1st May - - —— - -	74	8	—	10	56	999	63
TOTAL - -	5537	161	11	364	5001	999	972
Number ballotted - - -	294	— — —	8	— —	286		
Number substitutes - - -	5243	— — —	528	— —	4715		

III. IRELAND.

PERIODS.	Number of Men raised.	Number rejected, discharged, claimed by civil Law, &c. &c.	Dead.	Number deserted, claimed as Deserters from other Corps, &c. &c. &c.	Number of effective Men.	Number due, including the Casualties.	Number volunteered for general Service, included in the Effectives.
1st August - 1803 - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1st September - —— - -	1508	—	—	22	1486	8514	—
1st October - —— - -	2241	25	—	153	2063	6451	—
1st November - —— - -	1367	32	—	200	1135	5316	—
1st December - —— - -	1099	37	—	140	922	4394	—
1st January - 1804 - -	658	19	1	176	462	3932	—
1st February - —— - -	497	20	—	117	360	3572	1444
1st March - —— - -	330	18	34	201	77	3495	24
1st April - - —— - -	282	25	3	52	202	3293	191
1st May - - —— - -	215	27	10	109	69	3224	140
TOTAL - -	8197	203	48	1170	6776	3224	1799
				Ballotted - - -	48		
N. B. Number of effective men - - - -				Substitutes - - -	6528		
				Recruited - - -	200		

Particulars of the Account, made up to the 1st March 1804, by which the East India Company claims from Government the Sum of £.4018000.—Dated East India House, 27th June 1804.

Dr Government in Account current with the East India Company; estimated to 1st March 1804.	£.
To expenses of the intended expedition to Mauritius in 1794 — — — —	213681
To D° of the expedition to the Cape in 1794–5, &c. — — — —	106127
To D° of the intended expedition to Manilla in 1797 — — — —	443260
To D° of the capture and possession of Ceylon, and the Dutch settlements to the eastward, including subsistence of prisoners to 1802 — — —	3130591
To D° of the capture and possession of French and Dutch settlements on the peninsula, including subsistence of prisoners to 1802 — — —	1023995
To purchase of vessels for His Majesty's fleet in India; stores supplied, &c. to 1800	43024
To estimated expense of King's troops in India, beyond the number authorized by acts of Parliament — — —	559114
	£.5519792

N. B. Interest at 4*l.* per cent. per annum, to the 1st March 1804, is included above.

Cr	£.
By cash received, including interest at 4*l.* per cent. per annum, to the 1st March 1804 — — — — —	1501666
By estimated balance, 1st March 1804	4018126
	£.5519792

N. B. There are claims upon the Company, from the office of His Majesty's Paymaster-general, for charges relative to the King's troops in India, amounting, to 24th December last, to 1285248*l.*, but the Company's claims on Government for the expenses of the army sent from India to Egypt will probably amount to upwards of 2000000*l.*

Statement of the annual estimated Cost and Charges, and Sale Amount of the East India Company's Sales in England, from the Year ending 1st March 1799, to 1st March 1804, respectively; distinguishing the India from the China Goods.—Dated East India House, 3d July 1804.

	INDIA.		CHINA.		TOTAL, INDIA and CHINA.	
	Cost and Charges.	Sale Amount.	Cost and Charges.	Sale Amount.	Cost and Charges.	Sale Amount.
1799	£.4209810	£.4663390	£.2772373	£.3652283	£.6982183	£.8315673
1800	2948176	3564694	3060046	3794982	6008222	7359676
1801	3280043	3978800	2919250	3616381	6199293	7595181
1802	2179991	3086943	2822722	3539404	5002713	6626347
1803	1846357	2289274	2909118	3753252	4755475	6042526
1804	1943920	2236396	2950009	3629677	4893929	5866073

An Account of the Cash belonging to the Separate Fund of the East India Company, from the Year 1793 inclusive to the 1st March 1804; and of all Appropriations or Payments made from that Fund in the same Period.—Dated East India House, 10th July 1804.

	£.	s.	d.
Amount of separate fund on the 1st March 1793 — — — — — —	467896	7	4
Add - - Amount of accumulated interest, from 1st March 1793 to 1st March 1804, at 4*l.* per cent. per annum on sums remaining after the payment of every half year's dividend	203123	17	6
	£.671020	4	10
Deduct - - Additional dividend of half per cent. on the capital stock paid thereout, as per act of Geo. III. cap. 52 — — — — — — — —	327500	0	0
Amount of separate fund 1st March 1804 — — — — — —	£ 343520	4	10

An Account of all West India Produce imported into Great Britain, from the 5th of Jan. 1803 to the 5th of Jan. 1804; the latest Period to which the Account can be made up; distinguishing the several Kinds of such Produce, and the Value thereof, with the Duty paid or payable thereon.—Dated Inspector General's Office, 15th June 1804.

	Quantity.	Official or rated Value.			Duty received within the Year.		
	Lb.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Aloes	23874	348	3	3	751	5	6
Arrow-root	33851	4219	7	0	148	4	3
	Cwt. qr. lb.						
Cocoa	4685 3 14	11608	7	10	1730	8	8
Coffee	210075 3 24	1431851	11	0	46359	14	5
Ginger, dry	2554 1 3	3192	16	11	2016	12	3
	Lb.						
———, preserved	12434	520	9	3	450	8	4
Gum guaiacum	6464	969	12	0	224	3	11
	Gallons.						
Juice of limes	26137	1749	8	7	600	17	0
	Lb.						
Marmalade	6076	455	14	9	144	13	9
	Cwt. qr. lb.						
Molasses	2607 0 16	1694	12	9	800	0	11
	Lb. Gall.						
Oil, castor	49080 & 895	5284	1	0	1352	16	11
	Lb.						
Pepper, Cayenne	2393	287	6	4	158	16	4
Pimento	1166314	29467	10	0	18324	5	6
	Cwt. qr. lb.						
Snuff	354 0 7	973	13	5	315	7	9
	Gallons.						
Spirits, rum	4048258	370182	3	7	131968	8	1
———, shrub	2752	537	5	9	176	0	2
	Lb.						
Succads	21385	1469	19	0	1012	14	10
	Cwt. qr. lb.						
Sugar	3087819 3 22	4221110	7	6	3078255	6	5
	Lb.						
Tamarinds	116557	770	0	10	1225	19	6
Tortoiseshell	14883	3361	17	0	1343	10	4
Turmeric	17188	188	7	8	186	16	3
	Tons. cwt. q. lb.						
Wood. Brazilletto	25 7 3 22	171	1	3	15	13	2
Fustic	2612 16 2 16	22962	17	1	2031	7	10
Lignum vitæ	760 0 2 21	3426	17	6	620	16	0
Logwood	12703 5 1 26	146562	17	6	3467	2	6
Mahogany, British plantation	4058 14 0 4	41631	15	2	15904	19	10
Nicoragua	714 5 3 6	7059	16	1	579	16	7
	Lb.						
Wool, cotton, British plantation	7266490	273539	19	5	35504	9	0
	£.	6585597	19	5	3345670	16	0

An Account of all Imports into Great Britain from the West India Colonies, in the three last Years, so far as the same can be made up; distinguishing each Year.—Dated Inspector General's Office, 15th June 1804.

	1801.			1802.			1803.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
British West India Colonies (including Trinidad)	6759617	13	4	7293316	17	1	5786432	6	0
Conquered Islands (exclusive of Trinidad)	4105839	19	4	2699504	4	9	362014	16	7
Total £.	10865457	12	8	9992821	1	10	6148447	2	7

LIST OF ACTS

Passed in the present Session of Parliament, and in the 44th Year of the Reign of His present Majesty, George III.; containing those passed since the Easter Recess, March 29, 1804; with the Date of their meeting the Royal Assent. (For the Acts passed previous to the Easter Recess, see Vol. I. pp. 383 and 1175.)

CHAP. 32. An Act for empowering His Majesty, for a Time and to an Extent therein limited, to accept the Services of such Parts of his Militia Forces in Ireland as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Great Britain. [3d May.]

33. An Act for empowering His Majesty to direct the Augmentation of his Militia Forces in Ireland, to an Extent therein limited. [3d May.]

34. An Act to amend an Act, passed in the last Session of Parliament, for making Provision for the Wives and Families of Militia-men in Ireland. [3d May.]

35. An Act to amend and continue several Laws relating to the allowing the Importation of Rape Seed and other Seeds used for extracting Oil, whenever the Prices of middling British Rape Seed shall be above a certain Limit; to the allowing the Importation of Seal Skins cured with foreign Salt, free of Duty, to the 24th June 1809; and to the Encouragement of the Greenland Whale Fisheries, to the 25th Dec. 1806; and to continue several Laws relating to the allowing the Use of Salt, Duty free, in the preserving of Fish in Bulk or in Barrels; and to the discontinuing the Bounty payable on White Herrings exported, to the 25th March 1809; to the permitting Sir William Bishop, George Bishop, and Argles Bishop, to carry on the Manufacture of Maidstone Geneva, to the 5th July 1809; and to the Admission to Entry of Oil and Blubber of Newfoundland, taken by His Majesty's Subjects carrying on the Fishery from and residing in the said Island, to 25th Dec. 1805. [3d May.]

36. An Act to amend and continue, until the 25th March 1807, so much of an Act, made in the 41st Year of His present Majesty, as relates to allowing Plantation Sugar to be warehoused. [3d May.]

37. An Act to repeal so much of an Act, passed in the last Session of Parliament, for granting to His Majesty a Contribution on Profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices, as requires Attornies, Agents, and Factors, to retain and pay the Duties chargeable upon public Annuities; and to extend the Times for hearing Appeals on Assessments or Surcharges made in pursuance of the said Act. [3d May.]

38. An Act for increasing the Rates of Subsistence to be paid to Innkeepers and others on quartering Soldiers. [3d May.]

39. An Act for defraying the Charge of the Pay and Clothing of the Militia in Great Britain for the Year 1804. [3d May.]

40. An Act to revive and further continue, until the 25th March 1805, and amend so much of an Act, made in the 39th and 40th Years of His present Majesty, as grants certain Allowances to Adjutants and Serjeant-majors of the Militia of England, disembodied under an Act of the same Session of Parliament. [3d May.]

41. An Act for defraying, until the 25th March 1805, the Charge of the Pay and Clothing of the Militia of Ireland; for holding Courts Martial on Serjeant-majors, Serjeants, Corporals, and Drummers, for Offences committed during the Time such Militia shall not be embodied; and for making Allowances, in certain Cases, to Subaltern Officers of the said Militia during Peace. [3d May.]

42. An Act to amend an Act, made in the 42d Year of His Majesty, to amend the Laws for the better Regulation of the Linen Manufacture of Ireland. [3d May.]

43. An Act to enforce the due Observance of the Canons and Rubrick respecting the Ages of Persons to be admitted into the sacred Orders of Deacon and Priest. [3d May.]

44. An Act to exempt Vessels in the Newfoundland Trade from the Provisions of an Act passed in the last Session of Parliament, for regulating Vessels carrying Passengers from the United States. [3d May.]

45. An Act for raising the Sum of Eight Millions by Loans or Exchequer Bills, for the Service of Great Britain for the Year 1804. [3d May.]

46. An Act for raising the Sum of One Million Five Hundred Thousand Pounds, by Loans or Exchequer Bills, for the Service of Great Britain for the Year 1804. [3d May.]

47. An Act for raising the Sum of Fourteen Millions Five Hundred Thousand Pounds by way of Annuities. [16th May.]

48. An Act for raising a certain Sum of Money by way of Annuities or Debentures, for the Service of Ireland. [16th May.]

49. An Act for granting to His Majesty, until Twelve Months after the Ratification of a definitive Treaty of Peace, additional Duties of Excise on Wine imported into Great Britain. [16th May.]

50. An Act to revive and continue, until the Ratification of a definitive Treaty of Peace, an Act, made in the last Session of Parliament, for providing for the more speedy Completion of the Establishment of Officers in the Militia of Great Britain; and for facilitating the filling up of Vacancies therein. [16th May.]

51. An Act for making Allowances, in certain Cases, to Subaltern Officers of the Militia in Great Britain while disembodied. [16th May.]

52. An Act to alter and amend so much of an Act, passed in the 34th Year of His present Majesty, as relates to the Amount of the Sums to be paid by Persons compounding for the Performance of the Statute Duty. [16th May.]

53. An Act for granting to His Majesty, during the present War, and for Six Months after the Expiration thereof by the Ratification of a definitive Treaty of Peace, additional Duties on the Importation of certain Goods, Wares, and Merchandise, into Great Britain; and on Goods, Wares, and Merchandise, brought or carried coastwise, within Great Britain. [18th May.]

54. An Act to consolidate and amend the Provisions of the several Acts relating to Corps of Yeomanry and Volunteers in Great Britain; and to make further Regulations relating thereto. [5th June.]

55. An Act for more effectually preventing the Sale of exciseable Liquors in Scotland by Persons not duly licensed; and for altering the Times of granting Licenses to sell such exciseable Liquors by Retail. [5th June.]

56. An Act for establishing and maintaining a permanent additional Force for the Defence of the Realm; and to provide for augmenting His Majesty's regular Forces; and for the gradual Reduction of the Militia in England. [29th June.]

57. An Act to exempt from Duties on Export all Linens of the Manufacture of the United Kingdom. [29th June.]

58. An Act for directing certain Public Accounts of Ireland to be laid annually before Parliament. [29th June.]

59. An Act to indemnify Solicitors, Attornies, and others, who have neglected to enter Certificates within the Time limited by an Act made in the 37th Year of His present Majesty; and to amend so much of the said Act as relates to the entering such Certificates. [29th June.]

60. An Act for the preventing of Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament for the Borough of Aylesbury, in the County of Buckingham. [29th June.]

61. An Act to amend two Acts, made in the 18th and 39th Years of His present Majesty, for the erecting a Court House for the holding of Sessions of the Peace in the City of Westminster; and for purchasing certain Buildings and Grounds between St. Margaret Street, Union Street, and King Street, in the said City, for the Use of the Public. [29th June.]

62. An Act for making further Provision for making and maintaining an Inland Navigation, commonly called the Caledonian Canal, from the Eastern to the Western Sea by Inverness to Fort William, in Scotland. [29th June.]

63. An Act for vesting the capital Messuage, with the Appurtenances, situate in Kevin Street, in the City of Dublin, called the Palace of the Archbishop of Dublin, at Saint Sepulchre's, in His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors; and for applying the Purchase-money, together with another Sum therein mentioned, in Manner and for the Purposes therein mentioned. [29th June.]

64. An Act to continue, until the 1st of July 1805, the Operation of an Act, passed in the last Session of Parliament, to suspend Proceedings in Actions, Prosecutions, and Proceedings under certain Acts relating to the Woollen Manufacture; and also under an Act of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, so far as the same relates to certain Persons employed or concerned in the said Manufacture. [30th June.]

65. An Act to continue until 1st July 1805, an Act passed in the last Session, for continuing two Acts, the one passed in the 42d of His Majesty, for regulating the Prices at which Grain, Meal, and Flour, may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain; and the other, made in the last Session, for permitting the Exportation of Seed Corn from Great Britain to Ireland, and the Importation of Malt into Great Britain from Ireland. [3d July.]

66. An Act for establishing and maintaining a permanent additional Force for the Defence of the Realm, and to provide for augmenting His Majesty's regular Forces; and for the gradual Reduction of the Militia of Scotland. [10th July.]

67. An Act for granting to His Majesty, until 25th March 1805, certain Duties on the Importation of the Goods, &c. herein mentioned, into Ireland, and also certain Duties of Excise on Spirits, Malt, and Tobacco, in Ireland; and for the Increase of certain public Revenues in Ireland, by making the same payable in British Currency. [10th July.]

68. An Act for granting to His Majesty certain Stamp Duties in Ireland [10th July.]

69. An Act to amend the Laws for regulating the Linen Manufacture of Ireland. [10th July.]

70. An Act to enable His Majesty to authorize the Exportation of the Machinery necessary for erecting a Mint in the Dominions of the King of Denmark. [10th July.]

71. An Act to prevent the Counterfeiting of Silver Coin issued by the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, called Dollars, and Silver Coin which may be issued by the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland, called Tokens. [10th July.]

72. An Act for allowing the Sale of certain East India Prize Goods in the Port of Liverpool. [10th July.]

73. An Act to enable the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury of Great Britain to issue Exchequer Bills on the Credit of such Aids or Supplies as have been or shall be granted by Parliament for the Service of G. Brit. for 1804. [10th July.]

74. An Act for establishing and maintaining a permanent additional Force to be raised in Ireland, for the Defence of the Realm, and to provide for augmenting the regular Forces. [14th July.]

75. An Act for enabling Subjects of foreign States to enlist as Soldiers in His Majesty's Service, and for enabling His Majesty to grant Commissions to Subjects of foreign States to serve as Officers or as Engineers, under certain Restrictions. [14th July.]

76. An Act for settling and securing a certain Annuity on the Viscountess Kilwarden, and on the Family of the late Lord Kilwarden. [14th July.]

77. An Act to render valid certain Marriages solemnized in certain Churches and Chapels in which Banns had not usually been published before, on, or at the Time of passing an Act, made in the 26th of George II. intituled, 'An Act for the better preventing of clandestine Marriages.' [14th July.]

78. An Act for making Compensation to the Proprietors of certain Lands and Hereditaments situate at Weedon Beck, in the County of Northampton, purchased for the Service of His Majesty's Ordnance. [14th July.]

79. An Act to vest certain Messuages, Lands, &c. in Trustees, for better securing His Majesty's Docks, Ships, and Stores, at Chatham, and for the Use of His Majesty's Ordnance at Warley Common and Woolwich. [14th July.]

80. An Act for the better Support of His Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of the United Kingdom; and for preventing Accumulation of Arrears in the Payments out of the Civil List Revenues. [20th July.]

81. An Act for enabling His Majesty to raise the Sum of 2,500,000*l.* for the Use and Purposes therein mentioned. [20th July.]

82. An Act to obviate certain Inconveniences which have been experienced in the Accountant-general's Office in the Court of Chancery, in the Execution of an Act for granting a Contribution on the Profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices. [20th July.]

83. An Act for regulating the Appointment of Commissioners to act in the Execution of an Act for granting to His Majesty a Contribution on the Profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices. [20th July.]

84. An Act to permit certain Persons in the Office of Ordnance, and the Quarter-master General, to send and receive Letters free from the Duty of Postage; and to enable the Board of Ordnance, the Adj. General, Quarter-master General, and Barrack-master General, to authorize Persons in their Offices to send Letters free from the said Duty. [20th July.]

85. An Act for further continuing for seven Years,

an Act, made in the 12th Year of His Majesty, for encouraging the Manufacture of Leather, by lowering the Duty payable upon the Importation of Oak Bark. [20th July.]

86. An Act for reviving, amending, and continuing several Laws relating to the more effectual Encouragement of the British Fisheries, until 5th April 1806, and to the Encouragement of the Trade and Manufactures of the Isle of Man, to the improving the Revenue thereof, and the more effectual Prevention of Smuggling to and from the said Island, until 5th July 1805. [20th July.]

87. An Act to amend an Act passed in the 39th and 40th of His Majesty, intituled, 'An Act for settling Disputes that may arise between Masters and Workmen engaged in the Cotton Manufactory of England.' [20th July.]

88. An Act for explaining and amending several Acts relating to Hackney Coaches employed as Stage Coaches. [20th July.]

89. An Act for confirming the Provisions of an Act, made in Ireland in the 32d of His Majesty, so far as the same prohibits the Import of Malt into Ireland; and for repealing the Power given to the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, prohibiting the Use of Oats and Oatmeal in the Distillation of Spirits in Ireland. [20th July.]

90. An Act to continue, until seven Years after the passing thereof, an Act, made in the Parliament of Ireland in the 27th of His Majesty, intituled, 'An Act for the better Execution of the Law and Preservation of the Peace within Counties at large.' [20th July.]

91. An Act to permit the Issue and Negotiation of certain promissory Notes, under a limited Sum, by registered Bankers in Ireland; and to restrain the Issue and Negotiation of certain other Notes. [20th July.]

92. An Act to render more easy the apprehending and bringing to Trial, Offenders escaping from one Part of the United Kingdom to the other. [20th July.]

93. An Act for granting to His Majesty a Sum of Money, to be raised by Lottery. [20th July.]

94. An Act to explain an Act of the present Session, for consolidating and amending the Provisions of the several Acts relating to Corps of Yeomanry and Volunteers in Great Britain, so far as respects the accounting for Monies received by Volunteer Officers. [28th July.]

95. An Act to amend certain of the Provisions of an Act, made in the 43d of His Majesty, to enable His Majesty to provide for the Defence and Security of the Realm, which respect the Purchase of Lands and Hereditaments for the public Service. [28th July.]

96. An Act to alter, amend, and render more effectual, an Act, passed in the present Session, intituled, 'An Act for establishing and maintaining a permanent additional Force for the Defence of the Realm, &c.;' so far as the same relates to the City of London. [28th July.]

97. An Act for raising the Sum of 800,000*l.* Irish Currency, by Treasury Bills, for the Service of Ireland, for 1804. [28th July.]

98. An Act to repeal the several Duties under the Commissioners for managing the Duties upon stamped Vellum, Parchment, and Paper, in Great Britain, and to grant new and additional Duties in lieu thereof. [28th July.]

99. An Act for granting additional Annuities to the Proprietors of Stock created by two Acts, passed in the 37th and 42d of His Majesty. [28th July.]

100. An Act for warehousing Goods within the Limits of certain Docks made under an Act, passed in the 39th and 40th of His Majesty, intituled, 'An Act for making Wet Docks, Basons, Cuts, and other Works, for the greater Accommodation and Security of Shipping, Commerce, and Revenue, within the Port of London;' and to make Regulations relating to the said Docks. [28th July.]

101. An Act for permitting, until the 1st of Aug. 1807, the Exportation of Salt from the Port of Nassau, in the Island of New Providence, the Port of Exuma, and the Port of Crooked Island, in the Bahama Islands, in Ships belonging to the Inhabitants of the United States in America, and coming in Ballast. [28th July.]

102. An Act for the more effectual Administration of Justice in those Parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called England and Ireland, by the issuing of *Habeas Corpus ad testificandum*, in certain Cases. [28th July.]

103. An Act for making further Regulations for the better Collection and Security of His Majesty's Revenue of Customs and Excise in Ireland, and for preventing Frauds therein. [28th July.]

104. An Act to permit, until 25th March 1805, the warehousing of Spirits in Ireland for Exportation; for charging a Duty on the same when taken out for Home Consumption, and to regulate the Exportation to Great Britain of such Spirits as shall not be warehoused. [28th July.]

105. An Act to continue, until 29th Sept. 1805, several Acts for the better Collection and Security of His Majesty's Revenue in Ireland, and for preventing Frauds therein. [28th July.]

106. An Act for appointing, until 1st Aug. 1805, Commissioners to inquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments, which are or have been lately received in the several Public Offices in Ireland therein mentioned; to examine into any Abuses which may exist in the same; and into the present Mode of receiving, collecting, issuing, and accounting for Public Money in Ireland. [28th July.]

107. An Act for making Compensation to the Proprietors of certain Lands and Hereditaments, situate at Woolwich and Charlton, in the County of Kent, purchased for the Service of His Majesty's Ordnance. [28th July.]

108. An Act for the Relief of certain Insolvent Debtors. [30th July.]

109. An Act to regulate the Importation and Exportation of Corn, and the Bounties and Duties payable thereon. [30th July.]

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